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MR. COLERIDGE

WILL COMMENCE

ON MONDAY, NOV. 18th,

A COURSE OF LECTURES ON SHAKESPEAR AND MILTON,

IN ILLUSTRATION OF

THE PRINCIPLES OF POETRY,

AND THEIR

*Application as Grounds of Criticism to the most popular Works of later English Poets, those of the Living included.*

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AFTER an introductory Lecture on False Criticism, (especially in Poetry,) and on its Causes: two thirds of the remaining course, will be assigned, 1st, to a philosophic Analysis and Explanation of all the principal Characters of our great Dramatist, as OTHELLO, FALSTAFF, RICHARD 3d, IAGO, HAMLET, &c. : and 2nd, to a critical Comparison of SHAKESPEAR, in respect of Diction, Imagery, management of the Passions, Judgment in the construction of his Dramas, in short, of all that belongs to him as a Poet, and as a dramatic Poet, with his contemporaries, or immediate successors, JONSON, BEAUMONT and FLETCHER, FORD, MASSINGER, &c. in the endeavour to determine what of SHAKESPEAR's Merits and Defects are common to him with other Writers of the same age, and what remain peculiar to his own Genius.

The Course will extend to fifteen Lectures, which will be given on Monday and Thursday evenings successively. The Lectures to commence at  $\frac{1}{4}$  past 7 o'clock.

Single Tickets for the whole Course, 2 Guineas; or 3 Guineas with the privilege of introducing a Lady: may be procured at J. Hatchard's, 180, Piccadilly; J. Murray's, Fleet Street; J. and A. Arch's, Booksellers and Stationers, Cornhill; Godwin's Juvenile Library, Skinner Street; W. Pople's, 67, Chancery Lane; or by Letter (post paid) to Mr. S. T. Coleridge, J. J. Morgan's, Esq. No. 7, Portland Place, Hammersmith.

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W. Pople, Printer, Chancery Lane, London.

Prospectus of Coleridge's Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton in 1811-12, from the original in the Folger Shakespeare Library. See p. 89.



## Margaret of Anjou: Romantic Princess and Troubled Queen

THOMAS H. McNEAL



THE unhistorical episode of Margaret of Anjou and the Earl of Suffolk which appears at the end of *1 Henry VI* (V. iii and v), however or whenever devised, is certainly a necessary link obviously added for the tying together of Parts I and II of Shakespeare's early Trilogy.<sup>1</sup> One may imagine that in the beginning the three plays as we have them now were not conceived as a series. Rather it appears that the first of them at least was complete in itself, and only Parts II and III could at all have been composed as something like a unit. But after a while it was decided to offer the whole of Henry's reign in chronological order, perhaps after final work was done on *Richard III*, which is certainly a sequel to *3 Henry VI*; and then it was that Part I, which did not fit into such a scheme with any grace, had to be readied especially for the Trilogy, or, more logically, a presentation of all four plays. The link scenes were now added in what looks like a race against the inevitable deadline of show business.<sup>2</sup>

The story of the link tells of the romantic meeting near a battlefield in France of an English nobleman (Suffolk) and a French princess (Margaret), a brief encounter devised to herald events which are to follow in three ensuing plays, but particularly looking forward to Margaret's adventures in *2 Henry VI*:

Margaret is the daughter of Reignier, titular and bankrupt King of Naples, Duke of Anjou and of Maine. The Earl of Suffolk, fighting for King Henry in France, takes her prisoner. Though smitten by her beauty, he cannot offer to marry her, since he already has a wife. He therefore plans secretly to make her his paramour, and proposes that she become Henry's queen—that he will return to England and make the match. Margaret seriously considers the matter, and at last suggests that they consult with her father.

Suffolk summons Reignier to the castle wall, and the poverty-ridden king descends for a parley. He agrees to the marriage on condition that he be left in peace as duke of his two counties. The Earl, as deputy for King Henry, accepts the terms, and starts for England to solicit Henry with Margaret's wondrous praise.

In the last scene of the play, Henry is given a glowing description of the lady, and enthusiastically accepts the marriage arrangement. The nobles

<sup>1</sup> Time and facilities for the present study were made possible by a generous grant in aid from the University of Alabama.

<sup>2</sup> I shall avoid throughout this paper any discussion of multiple authorship.

are scandalized, however, and try to bring their King to his right senses, for they would not have him wed a dowerless and politically unimportant princess. Henry nevertheless is by now so much in love with this romantic damsel whom he has never seen, that he refuses to listen to them. Suffolk has won the first trick, and departs for France to bring home England's future queen. The play closes with the Earl's soliloquy, predicting trouble ahead:

Margaret shall now be Queen, and rule the King,  
But I will rule both her, the King, and realm.

It should be emphasized that the scene of the capture of Margaret by Suffolk is completely foreign to the chronicles. Holinshed mentions the Earl only as contriving the marriage, as Henry's proxy in the nuptial arrangements, and as the escort who brings the bride to her new home. This meeting of an earl and a princess then is pure invention, or is derived from another source than history.

The time and circumstance of its composition is likewise obscure. J. Dover Wilson in the Introduction to his recent edition of *Henry VI* declares that it was part of the play from the beginning:

But, it is argued by some, the Margaret scenes are palpably an afterthought added later than the rest of the play for the sole purpose of linking it up with the other two Parts. The prominence right from the beginning given to her father Reignier seems a sufficient confutation of this notion. He appears first in I. 2 and is a leading character among the French adherents of the Dauphin for the rest of the play. Yet the chronicles do not mention him until his daughter is introduced, i.e. until they record the negotiations for Henry VI's marriage. Clearly then those responsible for drafting the play contemplated scenes dealing with these negotiations from the outset, and Reignier being necessary for such scenes was brought in at the earliest possible moment.<sup>3</sup>

I cannot at all agree with such reasoning. Reignier is not the key figure in this game of international chess-playing which Shakespeare has plotted out and filled in. Rather, the man emphasized, and necessarily so if there are to be any link scenes, is Suffolk—a character incongruously omitted in Professor Wilson's argument. Reignier, let it be granted, was most surely given prominence in the play right from the start, a logical procedure in that history also presents him as prominent. According to Holinshed, he was a kinsman of the King of France. Yet there is nothing in the lines given him which looks like a preparation for the scenes at the end of the play. In Suffolk's case, however, there is much which suggests that the link scenes were late additions. Unlike Reignier, the Earl does not enter the play until II. 4 (the famous Temple Garden scene), but he is given half a dozen speeches there, as well as one of the most dramatic bits of stage business in the play: he is the first to pluck the red rose. After this display of entertaining energy, he remains strangely silent through two acts which follow, speaks not again until he enters the first link scene (V. 3), "with Margaret in his hand". But oddly enough his name appears, in desperate necessity perhaps, on the lists of characters heading III.i and iv, and IV.ii. Thus,

<sup>3</sup> *The First Part of Henry VI*, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1952, p. x.

though dumb, he is kept physically present before the audience in the long interim during which no speeches were supplied him. It is not difficult to see now that we have in the Earl of Suffolk a character very hurriedly written into an already completed play, a character that is "palpably an afterthought" inserted for a special reason. We must believe then that the Temple Garden scene in Act II was composed at the same time as the Margaret-Suffolk link scenes at the end of Act V, and was inserted in the play almost wholly for the purpose of introducing the Earl, who must pave the way for the entrance of the lady. His speechless presence between Temple Garden and the Walls of Reignier's Castle is merely a dramatic trick, a time saving device. Fortunately for the busy Shakespeare, no preparation at all was necessary for the late appearance of Reignier, since he has had a part in the unrevised play from the beginning, as Professor Wilson says. He can be readily recognized for who and what he is in the newly contrived ending.

As a preparation for a *Henry VI*, this ending of Part I, if taken at face value, is wholly adequate. The audience is surely and for the first time made aware of a princess who, in Part II and on the next afternoon perhaps, will walk the boards as Henry's queen. Publicity is well served, too, for a promise is given of exciting events to come—the Lady Margaret is soon to find herself entangled in an unholy alliance with the intriguing Earl who has so agreeably ended the present play. A gap is therefore neatly bridged.

But our story of a Princess and an Earl, no matter how completely it serves as a foreword for Part II, is still a puzzling contraption. The main difficulty is that the characters employed do not fit the wornout fable. The action assigned them is made up of sentimental claptrap out of metrical romance, carrying on at the moment in fashionable love-pamphlets and romantic comedies. What must be present is of course a sighing lover and a painfully virtuous damsel in distress. As the first of the link scenes opens, we are led to believe that this is exactly what we are going to enjoy, for the Earl immediately introduces the love-at-first-sight motif and begins the usual rhapsody on the lady's charms.

History from Holinshed out of Hall, however, plus certain character enlargements in the plays which follow, intrude and affect the conventional pattern. The audience was certainly in for a shock, and must gradually have sensed that something was wrong—even that it had been betrayed. Decorum goes out the window, and the gallant lover turns under the experimenting hand of the dramatist into a prosaic married man with political ambitions and villainous overtones. The beautiful damsel who has so caught both interest and admiration unexpectedly reveals a vein of iron. She is alarmingly unresponsive in the love overture, and begins in a little while to look like a heartless woman with an eye to the main chance. So it must have been that Elizabethan men and women one afternoon in the early nineties watched in half belief the spectacle of an historical reality invading a dream world, the meeting of a seducer and a hussy on a meadow in Arcady.

Thus the old story-book motif of a meeting of lovers halts for a moment the course of English history, and the characters of the half-villain Suffolk and the cruel Queen Margaret are forced into attitudes which falsify considerably their true natures. Yet this strange blending of real and romantic was an unavoidable rather than a planned innovation, for it became inevitable as soon as Shake-

speare, faced with the task of joining together Parts 1 and 2 of *Henry VI*, chose for his aid the sighing-lover-denying-lady device with all its artificial paraphernalia. The only question left with no answer is, after all, why he decided to use material so out of key with the surroundings into which it was made to fit.

But perhaps the problem is less difficult to solve than might be expected. For incongruities become at least understandable if a certain hypothesis should ever be accepted as fact: that the *Henry VI* plays and their concluding piece *Richard III* have been consistently affected and distorted by an early play named *The True Chronicle History of King Leir, and his three daughters, Gonorill, Ragan, and Cordella*, a work which was to serve over a decade later as the main source of Shakespeare's *Tragedy of King Lear*.<sup>4</sup>

Certain easily demonstrated reasons suggest that this particular old comedy rather than a general familiarity with love-pamphlets or metrical romances is responsible for the link scenes. In the first place the number of devices common to the meeting of Cordella and the Gallian King in *Leir* and the meeting of Margaret and Suffolk in 1 *Henry VI* is impressive. Cordella has been driven from her father's house by the machinations of the Wicked Sisters. She is discovered in a lonely wood by the young Gallian King, come to England to view with matrimony in mind the renowned daughters of King Leir. The following similarities especially tie the works together:

A princess in distress (Cordella-Margaret) meets a foreign prince (Gallian King-Earl of Suffolk) who has in mind a fitting marriage for his king.

The prince views the lady, who is unaware of his presence, and falls in love at first sight.

He recognizes that she is of royal blood, fit for a throne.

The lady declares that she is without dowry, that she is unworthy to become a queen.

Identities are revealed and a marriage is arranged. The princess agrees to depart for her new home across the English Channel.

Nobles of the realm discuss the appropriateness of such a marriage.

But with so many scenes of the sort in the air, these parallels in character and action can be taken at most as only a suggestion for further examination. Joined with them, however, are at least a few rather definite likenesses of phrase and thought which are not so easy to explain away as coincidence or as mere Elizabethan repetitions. On such echoes the case for borrowing from the old play must largely rest.

An interesting example of what looks like paraphrase and verbal dependence, one sufficiently complicated to indicate that it could hardly belong to the realm of coincidence, derives from a speech of Cordella, repeated first by Suffolk in 1 *Henry VI*, and echoed again by York in 2 *Henry VI*:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>Cordella. I'll hold thy Palmer's staff</i>   | <i>Suffolk. I'll undertake to make thee</i>    |
| <i>within my hand,</i>                          | <i>Henry's queen,</i>                          |
| <i>And think it is the Sceptre of a Queen.</i>  | <i>And put a golden sceptre in thy hand,</i>   |
| <i>Sometime I'll set thy Bonnet on my head,</i> | <i>And set a precious crown upon thy head.</i> |
| <i>And think I wear a rich imperial Crown.</i>  | <i>1 Henry VI (V. iii. 117-119)</i>            |
| (698-701)                                       |  |

<sup>4</sup> Sir Walter Greg's "The Date of *King Lear* and Shakespeare's Use of Earlier Versions of the Story" (*Library*, xx, 1940, 377-400) presents an excellent history of *Leir*, as well as a fine analysis of the play's influence on Shakespeare's great tragedy.

York. That head of shine doth not be-  
come a crown,  
Thy hand is made to grasp a palmer's  
staff  
And not to grace an awful princely sceptre.

2 Henry VI (V. i. 96-98)<sup>5</sup>

A study of these citations suggests a continued borrowing, in both phrase and paraphrase. Self-plagiarism in York's speech is ruled out, for certain words go back to Cordella rather than to Suffolk: "Palmer's staff" belongs only to 2 Henry VI and *Leir*.

Other speeches, too, are very close in phrase; so much so indeed as to refute a charge that we are here dealing with such common material and general Elizabethan style as to make findings worthless as evidence. I offer a number of these without apology:

The hero comments on the high birth of the heroine:

|   |                   |   |
|---|-------------------|---|
| Gallian King. Thy birth's too high for<br>any but a king. | Suffolk.<br>(692) | ... her birth<br>Approves her fit for none but for a king.<br>(V. v. 68-69) |
|---|-------------------|---|

Ragan and Margaret must have their fathers' consent before they will agree that a marriage be arranged:

|   |  |               |
|---|--|---------------|
| Ragan. I am content with anyone<br>Whom he'll appoint me; this will<br>please him more. | Margaret. And if my father please, I am<br>content.<br>(184-185) | (V. iii. 127) |
|---|--|---------------|

The nobles are distressed that their young king should wed a princess whom he has never seen:

|  |   |            |
|--|---|------------|
| Gallian King. Dissuade me not, my<br>Lords, I am resolv'd. | King Henry. Therefore, my Lord Pro-<br>tector, give consent.<br>(343) | (V. v. 23) |
|--|---|------------|

Even the conventional talk of the lovers contains certain phrasal similarities which suggest borrowing:

|  |   |                 |
|--|---|-----------------|
| Gallian King. Thou fairest creature,<br>whatsoever thou art. | Margaret. Margaret my name, and<br>daughter to a king,<br>The King of Naples, whoso'er thou art.<br>(634) | (V. iii. 51-52) |
|--|---|-----------------|

|  |                   |  |
|--|-------------------|--|
| Gallian King. I am in such a labyrinth<br>of love. | Suffolk.<br>(629) | But Suffolk, stay,<br>Thou may'st not wander in that labyrinth.<br>(V. iii. 187-188) |
|--|-------------------|--|

The heroes would make the ladies queens:

|  |  |                   |
|--|--|-------------------|
| Gallian King. Sweet Lady, say there<br>should come a King. | Suffolk. Say, gentle princess, would<br>you not suppose<br>Your bondage happy, to be made a<br>queen?<br>(685) | (V. iii. 110-111) |
|--|--|-------------------|

<sup>5</sup> Texts used for citations are *The History of King Leir*, 1605 (Malone Society Reprints, 1907), and *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (New Cambridge Edition, 1942). For clarity and uniformity, I have modernized the spelling of *Leir*.

The lady feels herself unworthy to wed a king:

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <i>Cordella.</i> . . . my estate doth not<br>befit | <i>Margaret.</i> I am unworthy to be Henry's<br>wife. |
| A kingly marriage. (683-684)                       | (V. iii. 122)   |

Both heroes depart for England:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>Gallian King.</i> . . . to see if flying fame<br>Be not too prodigal in the wondrous<br>praise. (345-347)                  | <i>Suffolk.</i> Solicit Henry with her wondrous<br>praise. (V. iii. 190)  |
| <i>Mumford.</i> I long to see the gallant<br>British Dames,<br>And feed mine eyes upon their rare per-<br>fections. (359-360) | <i>Suffolk.</i> Is but a preface to her worthy<br>praise,<br>The chief perfection of that lovely dame.<br>(V. v. 10-12) |

The Channel is crossed and a marriage arranged:

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <i>Gallian King.</i> The celebration of this<br>happy chance | <i>Suffolk.</i> I'll over then to England with<br>the news     |
| We will defer, until we come to France.<br>(736-737)         | And make the marriage to be solemn-<br>ized. (V. iii. 167-168) |

Belief in the evidence presented above receives aid from other directions. Actually, we know that Shakespeare was familiar with and used the *Leir* at a very early date. R. A. Law years ago pointed out that the scene of the attempted murder of the King in the old play is an obvious source for the death of Clarence in *Richard III*.<sup>6</sup> Since this play is closely connected with the earlier histories, it is natural that Shakespeare should also have used material from *Leir* for them. Again, true borrowing is seemingly verified by another matter: Though there is so far as I can find no influence of the play on *Henry VI* save at the end, both thought and phrase echoes come on thick and fast in Shakespeare's plays immediately following and even on down to *The Tragedy of King Lear*, indicating a continued interest until the *Leir* was finally adopted as a main source. A number of these dependencies are listed in the footnote below.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> "Richard III, Act I, Scene iv", *PMLA*, xxvii (1912), 117-141. See also Dr. Law's "Richard III: A Study in Shakespeare's Composition", *PMLA*, lx (1945), p. 694; and "An Unnoted Analogue to the Imogen Story", *Studies in English*, No. 7, 1927, pp. 133-135, wherein *Cymbeline* is likewise given an indebtedness to the *Leir*.

<sup>7</sup> For the dates of Shakespeare's plays, unless otherwise indicated, I have followed Dr. Law's "On the Dating of Shakespeare's Plays", *SAB*, xi, No. 1 (Jan. 1936), 46-51:

| <i>King Leir</i>   |  | <i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i> (1590-96)   |  |
|--|--|--|--|
| <i>Cornwall.</i> The lady's love I long ago pos-<br>sessed:<br>But until now I never had the father's.<br>(442-443)  |  | <i>Lysander.</i> You have her father's love, De-<br>metrius,<br>Let me have Hermia's; do you marry him.<br>(I. i. 93-94) |  |
| <i>Cornwall.</i> 'Twere pity such rare beauty should<br>be hid<br>Within the compass of a Cloister wall.<br>(462-63) |  | <i>Theseus.</i> You can endure the livery of a nun,<br>For aye to be in shady cloister mew'd.<br>(I. i. 68-70)           |  |
| <i>Leir.</i> Will soonest yield unto their father's<br>hest.<br>(235)  |  | <i>Theseus.</i> To fit your fancies to your father's<br>will.<br>(I. i. 118)   |  |

*Ragan.* Tomorrow morning ere the break of day  
I by a will will send them to the thicket  
That is about two miles from the Court.  
(1332-34)

*Mumford.* But what disguises shall we have,  
my Lord?  
(1873)

*Cordella.* I cannot paint my duty forth in words, . . .  
But look what love the child doth owe the father,  
The same to you I bear, my gracious Lord.  
(277-280)

*Leir.* Look for no help from me or mine;  
Shift as thou wilt, and trust unto thyself.  
(316-317)

*Ragan.* . . . your beauty is so sheen,  
You need no dowry.  
(327-328)

*Perillus.* Fear not, my Lord, dreams are but fantasies,  
And slight imaginations of the brain.  
(1481-82)

*Gonorill.* Whoever hath her shall have a rich marriage of her.  
(487)

*Ragan.* Yet would you make my choice.  
(271)

*Cordella.* I will profess and vow a maiden's life.  
(624)

*Gallian King.* Dissuade me not, my Lords, I am resolv'd,  
This next *fair wind* to sail for Brittany,  
In some disguise, to see if flying fame  
Be not too prodigal in the *wondrous* praise  
Of these three Nymphs, the *Daughters* of *Leir*.  
If present view do answer absent praise,  
And *eyes* allow of what our ears have heard,  
And *Venus* stand auspicious to my vows,  
And fortune favor what I take in hand,  
I will return seized of as rich a prize  
As *Jason*, when he won the *golden fleece*.  
(345-53)

*Perillus.* . . . trust strangers rather,  
Since daughters prove disloyal to the father.  
(767-68)

*Lysander.* Steal forth thy father's house to-morrow night,  
And in a wood, a league without the town.  
(I. i. 164-165)

*Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1590-95)

*Lucetta.* But in what habit will you go along?  
(II. vii. 39)

*Duke.* And when I thought the remnant of my age  
Should have been cherished by her child-like duty.  
(III. i. 76-77)

*Duke.* And turn her out to who will take her in.  
Then let her beauty be her wedding dower.  
(III. i. 79-80)

*Romeo and Juliet* (1591-97)

*Capulet.* Graze where you will, you shall not house with me.  
(III. v. 190)

*Lady Capulet.* Do as thou wilt, for I have done with thee.  
(III. v. 205)

*Mercutio.* True, I talk of dreams;  
Which are the children of an idle brain  
Begot by nothing but vain fantasy.  
(I. iv. 96-98)

*Nurse.* I tell you, he that can lay hold of her shall have the chinks. (I. v. 118-119)

*Merchant of Venice* (1594-97)

*Portia.* O, me, the word choose. (I. ii. 23)

*Portia.* I will die as chaste as Diana.  
(I. ii. 116)

*Jessanio.* In Belmont is a lady richly left;  
And she is *fair*, and *fairer* than that word,  
Of *wondrous* virtues. Sometimes from her eyes  
I did receive *fair* speechless messages.  
Her name is *Portia*, nothing undervalu'd  
To *Cato's daughter*, *Brutus' Portia*.  
Nor is the wide world ignorant of her worth,  
For the *four winds* blow in from every coast  
Renowned suitors; and her sunny locks  
Hang on her temples like a *golden fleece*,  
Which makes her seat of *Belmont Colchis'* strand,  
And many *Jasons* come in quest of her.  
(I. i. 161-72)

*Gratiano.* We are the *Jasons*, we have won the *fleece*.  
(III. ii. 244)

*Othello* (1604)

*Brabantio.* Fathers, from hence trust not your daughters' minds.  
(I. i. 171)



Furthermore, help is offered by comparative dates. Shakespeare's four early histories are usually assigned, and with good reason, to 1590-92;<sup>8</sup> and the revival of the trilogy when the tacking on of the link scenes in *1 Henry VI* became necessary, is often given as 1594.<sup>9</sup> Now the *Leir* may definitely be assigned the same time span for composition. It must have been written during or after 1590 (publication date of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Book II, Canto x, Stanzas 27-32, in which it finds a source)<sup>10</sup> and 1594 (year of its recording in the Stationers' Register and in Henslowe's *Dairy*, set down in the latter as a revival rather than a new play).

Margaret in the plays which follow Part I completely lacks any damsel-in-distress appeal. No longer is her range limited and confused by a romantic interlude designed originally for the lovely Cordella. She is as Shakespeare first found her: "England's bloody scourge" of Part II; "She-wolf of France", with a "tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide" of Part III; and that "hateful wither'd hag" of *Richard III*. We are certainly surprised at her excessive duplicity when she appears as Henry's stormy queen. Yet there has been some preparation for the metamorphosis, and it is all good theatre (if bad and young technique). The shock is not too great to bear, and in truth the two portraits might be thought to hold a certain artistic affinity: a Romantic Princess the shadow, a Wicked Queen the substance.

The matter which amazes us, however, is that Queen Margaret has now plainly taken on the evil characteristics of Queen Ragan and Queen Gonorill of *Leir*; for these creatures of darkness may be seen to have considerably altered Holinshed-from-Hall's version of our troubled Queen. Envy and fear of a rival to the throne make up the dominant note of her character in Part II, as they appear as the dominant note in the characters of the Wicked Sisters:

|   |           |   |                   |
|---|-----------|---|-------------------|
| <i>Ragan. Or I will make you hop without<br/>a head.</i> <sup>11</sup>  | (1187)    | <i>Margaret. Would quickly make thee hop<br/>without thy head.</i>  | (I. iii. 140)     |
| <i>Ragan. These men are nothing but<br/>mere pity,<br/>As butter melts against the sun.</i>                       | (2373-74) | <i>Margaret. Free lords, cold snow melts<br/>with the sun's hot beams.</i>  |                   |
| <i>Gonorill. I marvel, Ragan, how you<br/>can endure<br/>To see that proud pert Peat, our younger<br/>sister,</i> |           | <i>Henry my lord is cold in great affairs,<br/>Too full of foolish pity.</i>  | (III. i. 223-225) |
|   |           | <i>Margaret. Can you not see, or will you<br/>not observe<br/>The strangeness of his altered counte-<br/>nance—</i> |                   |

---

*Henry V (1598-99)*

|  |          |  |              |
|--|----------|--|--------------|
| <i>Gallian King. The wind stands fair, and we<br/>will in four hours sail.</i> | (767-68) | <i>King Henry. Now sits the wind fair, and we<br/>will abroad.</i> | (II. ii. 12) |
|--|----------|--|--------------|

Not all of these parallels are by any means wholly convincing, yet as cumulative evidence it does seem to me that they stand up. Often, it should be noted, too, that similarity extends beyond word and thought echo into duplication of character and situation.

<sup>8</sup> "On the Dating of Shakespeare's Plays".

<sup>9</sup> G. L. Kittredge: "Such a revival is probable enough." (*Complete Works of Shakespeare*, 1936, p. 665.)

<sup>10</sup> First noted, I believe, by Wilfrid Perrett in "The Story of King Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare", *Palaestra*, XXV (Berlin, 1904).

<sup>11</sup> This figure appears in a number of Elizabethan plays; but nowhere save in *Leir* and *2 Henry VI* do I find it spoken by queens of identical nature.



So slightly to account of us, her elders,  
 As if we were no better than herself!  
 We cannot have a quaint device so soon,  
 Or new made fashion, of our choice invention;  
 But if she like it, she will have the same,  
 Or study newer to exceed in both.  
 Besides, she is so nice and so demure;  
 So sober, courteous, modest, and precise,  
*That all the court hath work enough to do*

To talk how she exceedeth me and you.

(97-108)

Margaret continues, in the voice of Ragan, to rail at weak men. She turns on her lover Suffolk:

Fie, coward woman and soft-hearted wretch!

Hast thou not spirit to curse thine enemy?

(III. ii. 307-308)

And in 3 *Henry VI* we find her still in her borrowed character crying out against the weakling King:

Enforc'd thee! Art thou King, and wilt be forc'd?

A shame to hear thee speak. Ah, timorous wretch!

(I. i. 230-231)

Dependence reaches a climax in *Richard III*. There we may witness the taking over of a whole episode from *Leir*, with all its mood and effective dramatic contrivances—borrowed materials used to fill a space suggested but not developed by Holinshed. The attempted murder of Leir by Ragan and Gonorill's Messenger becomes brilliantly the murder of Clarence. But this borrowing has already been explored fully by R. A. Law in "*Richard III*, Act I, Scene iv", a valuable article mentioned earlier in this paper.

From evidence presented, the character of Margaret now appears to have been developed through time and in two successive stages. She first was seen in 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, works which much have been conceived from the start as twin plays. In these she is a troubled and cruel queen, direct from Holinshed yet considerably influenced by the depraved Gonorill and Ragan. *Richard III*

<sup>13</sup> I can find none of these phrasal echoes in the *Contention*, source, abridgment, or what-you-will of 2 *Henry VI*. The point might interest C. T. Prouty (*The Contention and Shakespeare's 2 Henry VI*, Yale Univ. Press, 1954), for it may aid his stand that "... the sources point inevitably to the fact that Q (*Contention*) cannot have derived from F (2 *Henry VI*)" (p. 120). Margaret's speech in the *Contention* reads:

Can you not see, or will you not perceive,  
 How that ambitious Duke doth use himself?  
 The time hath been, but now that time is past,  
 That none so humbel as Duke Humphrey was:  
 But now let one meet him in the morn,  
 When everyone will give the time of day,  
 And he will neither move nor speak to us.  
 See you not how the Commons follow him  
 In troup, crying, God save the good Duke Humphrey.

(*A Supplement to Doddey's Old Plays*, IV, *Contention*, p. 33.)

The slight shift in thought and the phrasal echoes which I assign to *Leir* seem to have been inserted rather than deleted.

was next written, and her character remains constant there, the play reflecting still more dependence on *Leir* in the scene of the death of Clarence. At last it was decided to draw *1 Henry VI* into this group of three already well joined up plays. Two major additions were likely enough made here: the Temple Garden scene, for the purpose of introducing Suffolk into the play; and the scenes of the meeting of Suffolk and Margaret and of Suffolk and Henry, both of which prepare the way for the entrance of Margaret as England's queen in Part 2. As might be expected, Shakespeare has again turned to *Leir* for help, and has adapted incongruously enough the love scene of Cordella and the Gallian King to serve as the main link needed at the end of Part 1. Choice of the romantic episode in my opinion was not a happy one. The audience, familiar with the devices used, accepts the lady too readily as a damsel in distress, a helpless creature to be pitied; and though ingenuity is exercised in creating the impression that she is not all she seems, she nevertheless remains on stage too short a while for her true nature to quite register. The result is still shock when Margaret steps forth as the villainess of *2 Henry VI*. This then is one story gained from a study of the impact of *Leir* on the four Shakespeare plays. At least it does not too outrageously challenge conservative scholarship as regards composition, chronology, and more or less accepted dates.

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## Daniel's *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* and *Antony and Cleopatra*

ARTHUR M. Z. NORMAN



SAMUEL Daniel's closet drama, *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*—if considered as a possible secondary influence upon *Antony and Cleopatra*—provides an explanation of Shakespeare's daring use of two climaxes and of his conception of Cleopatra as the embodiment of a love transcending worldly obligations. *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, which first appeared in 1594, has of course received some consideration as a minor source of Shakespeare's drama, and critics have come quite close to seeing it in that light. Hardin Craig, in reviewing the dramatic versions of the Antony-Cleopatra theme prior to Shakespeare's, notes that the "fifth act in *Antony and Cleopatra* corresponds in contents roughly to Daniel's whole play and has the same dramatic theme".<sup>1</sup> R. H. Case and, more recently, Willard E. Farnham have listed many of Shakespeare's verbal echoes from *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*.<sup>2</sup> Furness is likewise aware of Shakespeare's imitations of Daniel's phrasing, but writes off their importance by saying:

That Shakespeare had read Daniel's *Cleopatra* is of course possible; that it is even probable, is not impossible; but that he was indebted to it, or was influenced by it, in the faintest degree, in the delineation of any of his characters, is, I think, chimerical.<sup>3</sup>

We know that Shakespeare read and was influenced by Daniel's poetry, including the *Complaint of Rosamond*, echoes of which appear in *The Rape of Lucrece* and some of the early plays, including *Love's Labour's Lost*, *2 Henry IV*, and *Romeo and Juliet*.<sup>4</sup> This fact considerably enhances the possibility that Shakespeare knew the popular *Tragedie of Cleopatra*, which appeared during his lifetime in a number of editions.<sup>5</sup>

The real evidence, however, that Shakespeare knew Daniel's *Cleopatra* rests

<sup>1</sup> Hardin Craig, *An Interpretation of Shakespeare* (New York, 1948), p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> See Case's Introduction to the 1906 Arden Edition of *Antony and Cleopatra*, re-edited by M. R. Ridley (London, 1954), p. xxviii; and Farnham's *Shakespeare's Tragic Frontier, The World of His Final Tragedies* (Berkeley, 1950), pp. 165-172. Shakespeare's indebtedness to Daniel has been surveyed most recently in a study by Laurence Michel and Cecil C. Seronsy, "Shakespeare's History Plays and Daniel: An Assessment", *Studies in Philology*, LII (1955), 549-577, who state (p. 572): "There is no evidence that Daniel's play in any way influenced Shakespeare's handling of plot and situation beyond what might be suggested in the verbal parallels themselves."

<sup>3</sup> A New Variorum Edition of *Shakespeare, The Tragedie of Anthonie, and Cleopatra*, ed. Horace Howard Furness (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 515. See also the discussion on p. 514.

<sup>4</sup> See Robert Adger Law, "Daniel's *Rosamond* and Shakespeare", *University of Texas Studies in English*, XXVI (1947), 42-48. I am grateful to Professor Law for encouraging me to write this article and for his criticism of my work.

<sup>5</sup> H. Sellers in "A Bibliography of the Works of Samuel Daniel, 1585-1623", *Oxford Biblio-*

upon a number of verbal echoes, most of them already noted by Furness, Case, and Farnham. These in turn raise the question of Daniel's influence upon Shakespeare in the greater parallels of character, content, and theme between the two plays. Robert Adger Law has indicated that Shakespeare's use of Daniel has not yet been fully determined:

The poet's full debt to the *Rosamond*, then, consisted not only of words, but of rhythmic effects and of fundamental thought in some of his most striking early poetry. These echoes seem to be suggested sometimes by mere sound, at other times by association of ideas. His way of turning them to his own purpose in *Lucrece* is typical of his use of more substantial source material elsewhere. (P. 48)

In order to present the echoes and parallels, I will consider *The Tragedie of Cleopatra* by individual acts. Since the choruses, which follow each act in good, moral, Senecan tradition, are apparently not echoed by Shakespeare, no further mention will be made of them.

ACT I. The first act of Daniel's play consists of a monologue by Cleopatra. She bewails her change of fortune now that Antony, her champion, is dead. Her present misfortunes are the reward of her lust, but for the sake of her son Caesario, she must temporize with Caesar before attempting to join Antony in death.

In the soliloquy, Cleopatra is quick to realize that her continued existence would be at the price of humiliation in Caesar's triumph:

Thinke *Caesar*, I that liu'd and rain'd a Queene,  
Do scorne to buy my life at such a rate,  
That I should vnderneath my selfe be seene,  
Basely induring to suruiue my state:  
That Rome should see my scepter-bearing hands  
Behind me bound, and glory in my teares;  
That I should passe whereas *Octavia* stands,  
To view my misery, that purchas'd hers.  
No, I disdaine that head vvhich wore a crowne,  
Should stoope to take vp that which others giue;  
I must not be, vnlesse I be mine owne,  
Tis sweet to die vvhen we are forc'd to liue.

(Lines 63-74)<sup>8</sup>

graphical Society, *Proceedings & Papers*, II (1928 [for 1927]), 29-54, lists editions of 1594, 1595, 1599, 1601-1602, 1605, 1607, and 1611. It may be noted that *Rosamond* and *Cleopatra* often appeared in print together.

See also Max Lederer, *Daniel's The Tragedie of Cleopatra nach dem Drucke von 1611*, Band 31 of *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* (Louvain, 1911), pp. ix-xiii. Daniel revised and reshaped his drama from edition to edition, and Lederer, on the basis of seven of the editions, divides them into three groups: Group I (1594); Group II (1599, 1601-1602, 1605); and Group III (1607, 1611). Groups I and II stand rather close together, but differ so markedly from Group III that (p. xi): "hier tatsächlich ein völlig umgestaltetes, neues Stück erscheint." Ironically enough, the Group III editions of Daniel's play were apparently recast under the influence of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. The grounds for this are outlined by Case, pp. xxviii-xxx; the opposing point of view is discussed by Johannes Schütze in "Daniels 'Cleopatra' und Shakespeare", *Englische Studien*, LXXI (1936), 58-72. The Group III revisions would argue for 1607 as the *terminus ad quem* for the existence of Shakespeare's play rather than 1608, the year in which it was registered for publication. Therefore the year 1605, the date of Daniel's last revision of the Group II *Cleopatra*, would become the *terminus a quo* for *Antony and Cleopatra*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Case, p. xxviii (who also makes comparison with IV. xv. 27-30), and Farnham, pp. 168-169.

Similarly, when Proculeius and his guard seize Shakespeare's Cleopatra in her monument, she cries out:

This mortal house I'll ruin,  
Do Cæsar what he can. Know, sir, that I  
Will not wait pinion'd at your master's court  
Nor once be chastis'd with the sober eye  
Of dull Octavia. Shall they hoist me up  
And show me to the shouting varlotry  
Of censuring Rome? Rather a ditch in Egypt  
Be gentle grave unto me!

(V. ii. 51-58)

Here Shakespeare parallels rather closely the sense of Daniel's lines. Shakespeare's Cleopatra will not tolerate the thought of passing in review beneath the eyes of Octavia and Rome, and like Daniel's heroine she threatens suicide.<sup>7</sup>

Daniel's Cleopatra readily acknowledges her failings, which contributed to Antony's downfall:

And Antony, because the world takes note  
That my defects have only ruin'd thee. . . . (Lines 115-116)

Likewise Shakespeare's heroine extenuates herself to Caesar with a similar excuse that is not provided by Plutarch:<sup>8</sup>

I cannot project mine own cause so well  
To make it clear; but do confess I have  
Been laden with like frailties which before  
Have often sham'd our sex. (V. ii. 121-124)

Cleopatra eulogizes Antony's love in a long speech (lines 171-186) concerning "This Autumn" of her beauty. The beginning lines are of especial interest:

And yet thou cam'st but in my beauties vvaine,  
When nev appearing vvrinckles of declining  
Wrought vvith the hand of yeares, seem'd to detain  
My graces light, as now but dimly shining,  
Euen in the confines of mine age. . . . (Lines 171-175)

Might this have provided the verbal hint out of which Shakespeare compacted Cleopatra's self-description as one "with Phœbus' amorous pinches black/ And wrinkled deep in time" (I. v. 28-29)? The fifth scene of Act I is original with Shakespeare, drawing little or nothing from Plutarch. There is, furthermore, a suggestion of Daniel already present in the scene. In line 23 Shakespeare has

My texts are *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (London, 1885), III, 1-94, and *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. George Lyman Kittredge (Boston, 1936). The Grosart text is taken from the 1623 edition of *Cleopatra* issued by Daniel's brother, which in turn is based on the 1594-1605 versions of the play.

<sup>7</sup> Might Daniel's lines, with their picture of a queen who feels it beneath her to stoop to pick up others' charity, have suggested to Shakespeare the related picture in V. ii. 15-18: "If your master/ Would have a queen his beggar, you must tell him/ That majesty, to keep decorum, must/ No less beg than a kingdom."

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, a modernized edition of Sir Thomas North's translation, ed. Walter W. Skeat (London, 1874), p. 225: "Cleopatra began to clear and excuse herself for that she had done, laying all to the fear she had of Antonius. . . ." All citations are to this edition.

Cleopatra characterize Antony as "The demi-Atlas of this earth". Similarly, he is called "My *Atlas*, and supporter of my pride" (line 15) by Daniel's Cleopatra in her first act soliloquy. Since *Atlas* is not a common word in Shakespeare's vocabulary—the only other occurrence, in fact, being in 3 *Henry VI*—its use here provides some grounds for conjecture.<sup>9</sup>

ACT II. The second act is taken up with an account by Proculeius to Caesar of the capture of Cleopatra. Caesar marvels that a queen should be so much harder to subdue than a country. Proculeius relates the manner of Cleopatra's capture and her subsequent attempt at suicide. He tells how he pleaded Caesar's mercy to her and recounts Cleopatra's outburst against Caesar for robbing her of the right to die. Caesar and Proculeius, finally, engage in a stichomythic conversation asking whether Cleopatra can be prevented from taking her life.

Cleopatra's tirade (lines 330-350) parallels the reaction of Shakespeare's Cleopatra after she is seized. Lines 330-333, for example, might be compared with V. ii. 40-42:

"Ah, what hath *Caesar* here to doe", said shee,  
 "In confines of the dead, in darknesse lying?  
 Will he not grant our sepulchres be free,  
 But violate the priuiledge of dying?"

[*Proculeius.*] [Disarms her.]  
 Do not yourself such wrong, who are in this  
 Reliev'd, but not betray'd.  
*Cleo.* What, of death too,  
 That rids our dogs of languish?<sup>10</sup>

Comparison might also be made with V. ii. 46-48.

ACT III. The first scene of Act III is devoted to the colloquy of Philostratus and Arius, which is suggested by the account in Plutarch (pp. 223-224). The philosophers argue the necessity of killing Cleopatra's son Caesarion. One passage, in particular, is suggestive:

Thus doth the euer-changing course of things  
 Runne a perpetuall circle, euer turning:  
 And that same day that hiest glory brings,  
 Brings vs vnto the point of backe-returning. (Lines 555-558)

Furness compares these lines with Shakespeare I. ii. 128-130:

The present pleasure,  
 By revolution low'ring, does become  
 The opposite of itself.<sup>11</sup>

The second scene of Act III depicts the meeting of Caesar with Cleopatra in the presence of her treasurer Seleucus and Caesar's friend Dolabella. Seleucus informs Caesar that Cleopatra's account of her wealth is false, whereupon Cleo-

<sup>9</sup> Farnham, p. 170, discusses the first of these two echoes; the *Atlas* echo was first noted by Furness, p. 515.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Farnham, pp. 166-168, who remarks on this resemblance, also noting how Shakespeare and Daniel both have Proculeius urge Cleopatra to sue for Caesar's "grace" (V. ii. 21-28 and 287-289).

<sup>11</sup> Furness, p. 515. The citation is misprinted as I. ii. 145.

patra attempts to excuse herself. Caesar answers with cheering words, and Dola-bella confesses an admiration for the aging queen that is close to infatuation.

After Seleucus has betrayed his mistress, the Cleopatra of both dramas makes a speech of justification which paraphrases North's Plutarch. Faint overtones, however, in the words of Shakespeare's Cleopatra may be seen to come from Daniel. In the following quotations large and small capital letters are used to identify the words employed both by Shakespeare and Daniel that are not borrowed from North:

"Alas," said she, "O Cæsar: is not this a great shame and reproach, that thou having vouchsafed to take the pains to come unto me, and done me this honour, poor wretch and caitiff creature, brought into this pitiful and miserable state: and that mine own servants should come now to accuse me? though it may be I have reserved some jewels and trifles meet for women, but not for me (poor soul) to set out myself withal, but meaning to give some pretty presents and gifts unto Octavia and Livia, that they, making means and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favour and mercy upon me." (Pp. 225-226)

*Cle.* Ah Cæsar, WHAT A great indignity  
Is THIS, that here my vassall subiect stands  
T'accuse me to my Lord of trechery?  
If I reseru'd some certaine vvomens TOYES,  
Alas it vvvas not for my selfe (God knowes),  
Poore miserable soule, that little ioyes  
In trifling ornaments, in outward showes.  
But what I kept, I KEPT to make my vvay  
Vnto thy Livia and Octavia's grace,  
That thereby in compassion mooued, they  
Might MEDIAE thy fauour in my case. (Lines 684-694)

*Cleo.* O Cæsar, WHAT A wounding shame is THIS,  
That thou vouchsafing here to visit me,  
Doing the honour of thy lordliness  
To one so meek, that mine own servant should  
Parcel the sum of my disgraces by  
Addition of his envy! Say, good Cæsar,  
That I some lady trifles have reserv'd,  
Immoment TOYES, things of such dignity  
As we greet modern friends withal; and say  
Some nobler token I have KEPT apart  
For Livia and Octavia, to induce  
Their MEDIATION— (V. ii. 159-170)

By comparing the speeches of Daniel and Shakespeare with the excerpt from Plutarch, we see that while Shakespeare versified North's translation independently of Daniel, he has modified it in petty but telling ways suggested by Daniel. He prefers, for example, the rhythm of Daniel's sentence order in "what a wounding shame is this"; he adapts the word *toys* to his own use; he borrows the verb *mediate* and perhaps echoes Daniel's word *Lord* (line 686) with *lordliness* (line 161); and he follows Daniel in mentioning Caesar's wife before his sister.



ACT IV. The first scene of the fourth act is devoted to the conversation of Seleucus and Rodon. Both have betrayed their trust—Seleucus by revealing Cleopatra's deception and Rodon by delivering Caesario into enemy hands—and they indulge in mutual recriminations.

The second scene consists of a monologue by Cleopatra. She reads Dolabella's letter of love, which informs her that Caesar will send her to Rome. Then, before the tomb of Antony, she offers oblations in a speech that draws upon Plutarch.

A curious echo of Daniel is present in Shakespeare's version of Dolabella's message. Unlike Daniel, however, Shakespeare does not offer a reason for Dolabella's help to Cleopatra; he is content merely to dramatize the account given by Plutarch.

Heere *Dolabella* farre forsooth in loue,  
VVrites, how that *Caesar* meanes forthwith, to send  
Both me and mine, th'ayre of *Rome* to proue:  
There [h]is Triumphant Chariot to attend.  
I thanke the man, both for his loue and letter;  
The one comes fit to warne me thus before,  
But for th'other, I must die his debter,  
For *Cleopatra* now can loue no more. (Lines 1090-1097)

*Dol.* Madam, as thereto sworn, by your command  
(Which my love makes religion to obey)  
I tell you this: *Caesar* through Syria  
Intends his journey, and within three days  
You with your children will he send before.  
Make your best use of this. I have perform'd  
Your pleasure and my promise.

*Cleo.* Dolabella,  
I shall remain your debtor. (V. ii. 198-205)

The paraphrase of Daniel's "I must die his debter" and Dolabella's allusion to his "love" alone hint that Shakespeare had Daniel's scene in mind.

ACT V. In the first scene of the fifth act Titius tells Dolabella how Cleopatra received his letter, returned from Antony's tomb, and then sent messengers to Caesar.

The second scene is taken up with the riddling speeches of the Nuntius and the Chorus, following which the Nuntius relates how he delivered the asps to Cleopatra; how she waveringly but with final determination killed herself; and how the messengers discovered Eras dead at her feet while Charmion trimmed her crown.

As the Nuntius enters Cleopatra's monument (disguised as a countryman), he sees her in sumptuous state:

Well, in I went, where brighter then the Sunne,  
Glittering in all her pompeous rich aray,  
Great *Cleopatra* sate, as if sh'had wonne  
*Caesar*, and all the world beside, this day:  
Euen as she was when on thy cristall streames,  
Cleare *Cydno*s, she did shew what earth could shew;  
When *Asia* all amaz'd in wonder, deemes



Venus from heauen was come on earth below.  
 Euen as she went at first to meete her loue,  
 So goes she now at last againe to finde him.  
 But that first, did her greatness onely proue,  
 This last her loue, that could not liue behind him. (Lines 1473-1484)

Only a ghost of Daniel's thought is present in Shakespeare's condensation as Cleopatra commands:

Show me, my women, like a queen. Go fetch  
 My best attires. I am again for Cydnus,  
 To meet Mark Anthony. (V. ii. 227-229)<sup>12</sup>

We have seen that in content Act V, Scene ii, of *Antony and Cleopatra* dramatizes the same material contained in Act II, in Act III, Scene ii, and in Act V, Scene ii, of Daniel's Senecan tragedy. Moreover, Shakespeare presents this material in a long scene of 369 lines which is limited even more than Daniel's play by the unities of place, time, and action. It is, of course, ridiculous to infer that Shakespeare modelled Act V after Daniel's drama. But it is reasonable, I think, to suggest that Daniel's conception of Cleopatra as an overwhelming character—one worthy of an entire drama—influenced Shakespeare's picture of his heroine sufficiently to bring about a long act devoted to her personal tragedy.

Both Shakespeare's Cleopatra and Daniel's vary markedly from the unsym-

<sup>12</sup> Noted by Furness, p. 515, and by Case, p. xxviii (who also makes comparison with V. ii. 350-351). For the sake of completeness, a number of minor points should be mentioned:

Shakespeare parallels Daniel in his countless references to *Nilus*, a river of little or no interest to Plutarch.

Cleopatra's description (lines 1174-1177) of the difficulty which keeps her from suicide ("But what haue I saue these bare hands to do it? And these weake fingers are not yron-poynted") recalls Iras' exclamation upon hearing Shakespeare's Cleopatra prophesy of their life in Rome: "I'll neuer see't; for I am sure my nails/ Are stronger than mine eyes" (V. ii. 223-224).

Though Plutarch refers only to "this aspick" (p. 227), which is brought to Cleopatra in a basket of figs, Daniel's Cleopatra orders "Two Aspicks" (line 1452) brought to her. Similarly, Shakespeare has Cleopatra apply one asp to her breast and another to her arm.

Case (p. xxviii) compares "My resolution and my hands I'll trust" (IV. xv. 49 ff.) with "I haue both hands, and eவில், and I can die" (line 54); Farnham (p. 168) also notes the similarity of thought between line 54 and V. ii. 39.

Farnham (p. 171) notes the verbal echo *baser life: Lifes basenes*, which is part of a larger parallel in thought between V. ii. 292-293 and lines 1579-1582.

Furness (p. 515) also makes comparison between lines 153-154, "... now am I taught/ In death to loue, in life that knew not how" with V. ii. 1-2, "My desolation does begin to make/ A better life". He cites lines 1144-1145, "O worke they may their gracious helpe impart/ To saue thy wofull wife from such disgrace"—which may be compared with V. ii. 290, wherein Cleopatra calls upon the dead Antony as "Husband". But this resemblance, as Furness notes (p. 512), is to be found in other of the early versions, and has a basis in Plutarch (p. 223).

George Stevens in *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, rev. Isaac Reed (London, 1803), XVII, 294, compares a part of the address by Daniel's Cleopatra to the asp (lines 1509-1550) to the speech by Shakespeare's Cleopatra (V. ii. 311-313), but notes that "Dryden is more indebted to it than Shakespeare". He detects (p. 295) in "Your crown's awry" (V. ii. 321—an emendation by Rowe of the Folio's *away*) an echo of "And sencelesse, in her sinking downe she wryes/ The Diademe vvhich on her head she vvorre" (lines 1651-1652).

Other traces of Daniel's influence upon this play have been suggested by R. C. Bald, *Times Literary Supplement* (November 20, 1924), p. 776, who relates I. ii. 120-121 to the prose Argument of "A Letter sent from Octavia to her husband Marcus Antonius into Ægypte". Farnham (p. 172) notes in II. iii. 38-40 another echo of the Argument. Holger Norgaard in "Shakespeare and Daniel's 'Letter from Octavia'", *Notes and Queries*, CC (1955), 56-57, draws attention to the similarity between I. i. 20-32 and Stanza 2 of the "Letter". Stevens (p. 119) also quotes Mason concerning the phrasal resemblances between II. vii. 16-19 and *The Civile Wars*, Book 8, Stanza 104.

pathetic picture of the queen given by Plutarch, to whom Cleopatra is Antony's evil genius.<sup>13</sup> Daniel's Cleopatra, though she thinks of herself as a bad woman and a weak one, is ennobled by the realization of the extent of her love for Antony and by sacrificing herself to that love. Shakespeare's Cleopatra, though she is the amoral, willful person described by Plutarch, is equally close to Daniel's heroine as the embodiment of an enduring passion.

By considering that Act V of *Antony and Cleopatra* was written under the influence of Daniel, we can explain Shakespeare's audacious use of a double climax in the play, a matter which has provoked critical comment both good and bad. As Tucker Brooke sympathetically stated this problem:

... Shakespeare has ventured his very boldest experiment in structure, for he has written two conclusions into *Antony and Cleopatra*. The fourth act is Antony's catastrophe, the fifth act Cleopatra's. . . . By all reason the fifth act should be anticlimax; by all experience it is not.<sup>14</sup>

But if we ignore the solution provided by *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, we have not explained why Shakespeare should have even attempted the structural *tour de force* of Antony's suicide in Act IV followed by Cleopatra's a very full act<sup>15</sup> later. (Dryden, after all, was quite content to have his principals in *All for Love* perish in the same act.)

The enigma of Shakespeare's Cleopatra will probably never be disposed of to everyone's satisfaction. Likewise, scholars will always be tempted to argue whether *Antony and Cleopatra* is an amorphous chronicle or a masterfully contrived play. Considerable light is thrown on these problems, however, by considering that it may have been under the influence of the well-languaged Daniel that Shakespeare developed the two-fold nature of his tragedy and that much of the puzzle of Cleopatra's character arises from the difficulty Shakespeare faced in weaving a Cleopatra of exalted passion into the portrait given by Plutarch.

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<sup>13</sup> See Lederer, p. xiii, on the topic of Daniel's Cleopatra and her relationship to Plutarch.

<sup>14</sup> *A Literary History of England*, ed. Albert C. Baugh (New York, 1948), p. 538.

<sup>15</sup> Allowing for the change in significance of the act division since Elizabethan times, when the drama would be played almost without interruption, some 446 lines elapse between the first climax of Antony's suicide and the end of the play.

## Another Globe Theatre

RICHARD BERNHEIMER

**H**IDDEN away in one of Robert Fludd's works, among Rosicrucian symbols and samples of precocious scientific thought, is that rarest of all birds, a visual representation of a theatre of the Elizabethan type.<sup>1</sup> Learned Shakespearians seem to have passed it by; and no wonder, for the engraving occurs in one of Fludd's rarest books, the *De Naturali, Supernaturali, Præternaturali, et Contranaturali Microcosmi Historia* published in Oppenheim in 1619; and the chapter in which it appears is, of all things, that on mnemotechnics, or in Fludd's language: "De Animæ Memoratiæ Scientia, qui Vulgo Ars Memoriae Vocatur". Obviously, before we enter into a discussion of the print, we shall have to understand how a theatre, any theatre, came to find its place in an exposition of the mnemonic art.

Fludd himself seems to provide the clue in an autobiographical note, in which he relates how the new interest came to him, while residing in Nîmes in Southern France, under the impact, as one is bound to assume, of the great Roman theatre there; and how, having learned to take delight in "the sweetness of that art" he retired to Avignon to explore it, and finally imparted his knowledge to a group of Provençal noblemen and to the Duc de Guise.

But in thus tracing the origin of his interest Fludd is more than a little disingenuous, for he forgets that the project of using a theatre as a mnemotechnic tool must have come to him from a book then a few decades old and already a classic in the field, namely Giulio Camillo's *Idea del Teatro* of 1550.<sup>2</sup> It was from there that he derived the idea of identifying the levels in the Divine plan with the superimposed rows of seats in the ancient theatre and of thus giving to all concepts their place within an architectural scheme. Camillo had also been the first to think of mnemotechnics not merely as a means for retaining the contents of a particular lecture or speech, and of thus training oneself for delivery without the benefit of notes, but rather as a device for impressing upon the mind the universal order of things. He had upheld the older doctrines only in so far as he believed, as all orators had done since Cicero's and Quintilian's time, that the best way of summoning up ideas was to formulate them in terms of images fitted to facilitate recall, then to place these mentally upon various architectural parts, and to take them down, when the corresponding passages in the speech had been reached.

<sup>1</sup> In composing this paper I have been greatly helped by the learned advice of Dr. Guenther Schöne, of the Theater Museum in Munich, and of my colleagues Stephan Herben and Arthur Colby Sprague of Bryn Mawr College. Special thanks are due to the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, which enabled me, through the grant of a fellowship, to accomplish this research.

<sup>2</sup> For literature on Giulio Camillo see R. Bernheimer, *Theatrum Mundi*, the *Art Bulletin* (1956), p. 225.

Fludd enlarged upon Camillo's scheme. He added to the "ars rotunda" with its basis in the circular theatre an "ars quadrata" adapted to a cubiculum, a private room, pleading, however, that the latter, also a "theater" according to his manner of speech, was an inferior device, a mere makeshift without any relation to cosmological fact.<sup>3</sup> As far as the "ars rotunda" was concerned, Fludd prolonged Camillo's semicircular theatre into the full round, and then proceeded to divide it into an oriental part, containing things in their luminous, solar and ethereal aspect, and a Western one, in which their shadowy and nocturnal side was to be set forth. The modern reader will find it somewhat hard to accept that the entities to be displayed on the seats were words, sentences, and paragraphs: curious spectators indeed in a place where, to quote Fludd's own thought, comedies and tragedies were to go over the stage. There were to be in addition five equidistant doors symbolizing the orders of men, women, brutes, birds, and fishes, and, correspondingly, five columns set apart to serve as places where the various grammatical parts were to be arrayed. The whole was to hold a peculiarly ambiguous position in the world halfway between corporeal things and their images in men's minds.

It is a shock to pass from Fludd's words to the illustration of the "ars rotunda", for the theatre shown is not round, nor does it comply with the other specifications contained in the text. Instead of five evenly spaced doors there are three in the lower part of a straight "scenae frons", and two others at the two extremities of an upper stage; and as far as the five columns are concerned—remnants, incidentally, of a feature in Camillo's scheme<sup>4</sup>—they do not appear at all except in groundplan far in front of the other details of the stage. There can be no doubt that the illustration did not arise from the text, and that it had its origin elsewhere; and that the author or the publisher, whichever it was, must have replaced the structure demanded by a mnemotechnic scheme with a real theatre, making only a halfhearted attempt to adjust it to the requirements of the topic at hand. We get an inkling of what the point of comparison may have been, when we read written across a bay window on the upper stage "Theatrum Orbi" (inflectionally false for *Theatrum Orbis*), a term equally fit to designate a real theatre such as Shakespeare's Globe playhouse in London and a mnemotechnic device of Camillo's type. It is helpful to learn in the paragraph devoted to the square art that "each of the above-mentioned loci", that is of the buildings used as receptacles for human imagery, was to have the form of a theatre containing three doors and that this was to be done "pro maiore conformitate", for the sake of greater conformity.<sup>5</sup> Since the second "theatre" is only a simple room, and as such amenable to any convenient arrangement of its parts, conformity between the two must have meant that the second "theatre" was shaped after the first—if indeed Fludd's ambiguous phrase does not mean that there was "conformity" between the latter and a theatre out somewhere in the real world.

That the illustration portrays a structure of generally Elizabethan type,

<sup>3</sup> The use of such a room as a "locus" in mnemotechnic training goes back to antiquity and is thus older than the use of a theatre. See particularly Fr. Yates, "The Ciceronian Art of Memory", in *Medieval e Rinascimento, Studi in Onore di Bruno Nardi* (Florence, 1955).

<sup>4</sup> See R. Bernheimer, p. 277.

<sup>5</sup> "Pro maiore conformitate dabimus unicuique horum praedictorum locorum figuram theatri contentis 3 portas".

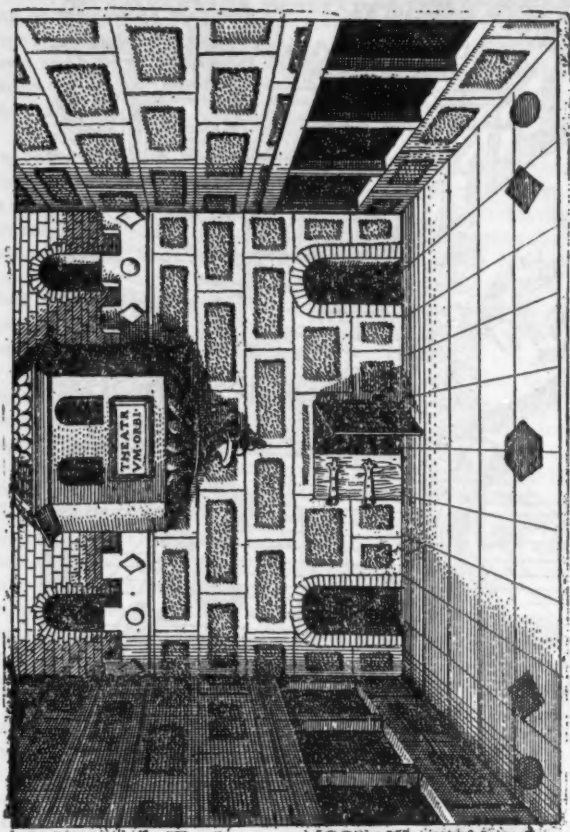
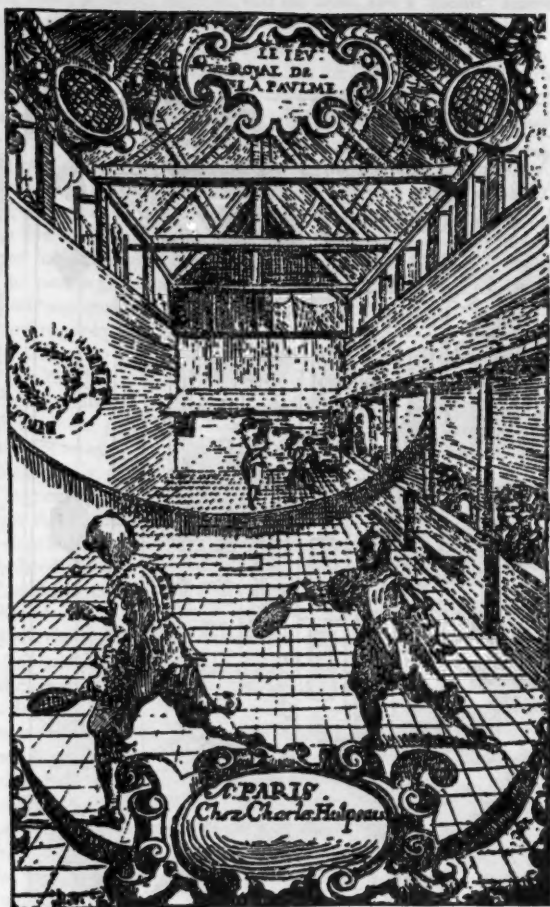


Illustration in Robert Fludd's *De Naturali, Supernaturali, Praeternaturali, et Contranaturali Microcosmi Historia* (Oppenheim, 1619), showing an "orbis theatrum" or "Globe Theatre".



View of a Tennis Court. Reproduced by Lucien Dubech in *Histoire Générale Illustrée du Théâtre* (1932), III, 267, from the print in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

though an unusual one stylistically, is apparent at first glance. Shakespearians will recognize the presence of a lower and an upper stage, of two entrance doors flanking an inner stage, of battlements fitted for scenes of siege, and of a bay window, out of which Juliet might lean to drink in the honeyed words of her swain: all things which none has ever seen, although they have been postulated by research into stage directions and allusions in dramatic texts. It is disappointing, on the other hand, that this theatre diverges from the dominant Elizabethan type by the straight design of the auditorium, which provides seats only on floor level, and by the absence of a raised and built-up stage. It will be necessary to weigh the evidence item by item, and to compare the print with what is known about the characteristics of the Shakespearian stage.

It is no surprise, to begin with, to find on the floor level two doors flanking an inner stage, features that have long been recognized as necessary parts of the usual Elizabethan tiring house. That actors should enter at opposite doors, is standard practice at such theatres as the Globe. We observe that the entrances are comparatively high, arched, and devoid of doors or curtains that could obstruct the view. There is no curtain anywhere, apparently because the artist meant to render a theatre stripped of its histrionic appurtenances, an empty shell, that alone would fit the requirements of a mnemotechnic scheme. No spectators or actors are about, nor have any preparations been made for the performance which would justify a theatre.

In the center is what I called an inner stage, a cubicle closed by strong folding doors similar to those which existed at the "Swan". In both cases the doors are reinforced by iron hinges of a rather formidable type. We learn from Fludd's engraving that doors of this kind opened outward so that there had to be means to fasten and prevent them from obstructing the inner stage. Several Elizabethan and post-Elizabethan plays mention the presence of doorposts and one of them, Fletcher's *Maid in the Mill*,<sup>6</sup> implies that they were placed under a projecting part of the tiring house.<sup>7</sup> The inner stage itself is unusually small, much smaller than anticipated by most Shakespearian research, and its interior could hardly have been seen from seats close by. Its minuteness must have prevented the setting up of any kind of unified stage, limiting its use to those scenes which demanded an isolated inner room. It may have represented a chamber, a study, or a counting house, or again a tomb or a dungeon, depending upon the requirements of the text.

On the upper level, in positions corresponding to those below, there are two more doors of the same shape and size, presupposing a staircase behind the stage and an elevated platform whence it could be reached. It is perhaps reasonable to surmise that a third entrance hidden behind the bulk of the bay window, and therefore not visible in the print, provided a convenient exit from the upper room, and thus allowed actors to reach the lower stage quickly and unseen. The two doors on the terrace will not surprise those familiar with Elizabethan stage arrangements; witness for instance the indications in *Claudius Tiberius Nero*, performed at the Globe in 1607:<sup>8</sup> "Enter Caligula at the one end of the stage, and Seianus at the other end below; Julia at one end aloft, and Tiberius

<sup>6</sup> 1623; I. iii.

<sup>7</sup> On this subject see J. C. Adams, *The Globe Playhouse* (1942), p. 108.

<sup>8</sup> Adams, p. 246.



Nero at the other": or in the *Rape of Lucrece*, a Red Bull play: "Enter in several places Sextus and Valerius above";<sup>9</sup> where it is to be understood that the first stands on a hill outside the city, the other on the city walls.

The terrace itself is fortified with battlements, as is fitting for a stage meant to resound with the noise of sieges and the clamor of war. We may assume that it symbolized the walls of a city or a palace gate; that it was an observation post for persons bent to overhear action unfolding on the floor beneath; that it was the gallery for spectators at plays within the play; and that it housed the musicians whence the sound of their instruments could be best conveyed. To have laid "sieges to the music room" was a usual procedure of stagecraft in Elizabethan and Jacobean times.<sup>10</sup> In Fludd's print the terrace is spacious enough to house a moderate crowd of persons, as is sometimes required in scenes laid on the upper stage. The curious circles and parallelograms which decorate the battlements would seem to be ornamental only and meant to reflect the groundplan of non-existent pillars far out on the floor of the lower stage.

Finally there is the bay window, by far the most prominent as well as the most pleasing part of the design. Its use can be reconstructed from stage directions and references in Elizabethan plays: "Enter Brabantio above at a window";<sup>11</sup> "Enter Romeo and Juliet at the window";<sup>12</sup> "The favorites appear to their half bodies in their shirts in the upper rooms above".<sup>13</sup> Specific mentions of bay windows also occur, first in plays meant to be performed at the Globe, later also in other theatres. Thus in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*,<sup>14</sup> a Globe play of about 1602, an inn is identified by its bay window, a scene which almost repeats itself in 1607 in *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage*.<sup>15</sup> The feature appears at the Blackfriars and the Cockpit Theater. "Look that way", says Reignald to old Lionell in Heywood's *English Traveller*,<sup>16</sup> a Cockpit play: "What goodly faire Baye Windows" and is answered by Old Lionell: "Wondrous stately". Reignald continues: "And what a Galleries, how costly seeled. What painting round about?" Reignald: "Tarrast above, and how below supported; do they please you?" This dialogue could well have been spoken in Fludd's theatre, provided that the reference to bay windows rather than a single one is not meant to evoke two symmetrically placed projections instead of one.

The strong forward thrust of the central window may explain another singularity of the Elizabethan stage, namely the readiness with which its characters refer to penthouse, meaning onesided sloping roofs or canopies. "Stand thee close then under this penthouse, for it drissles raine" says Borachio to Conrade in *Much Ado about Nothing*;<sup>17</sup> and in *The Merchant of Venice* Gratiano re-

<sup>9</sup> Adams, pp. 240-245; see G. F. Reynolds, *The Staging of Elizabethan Plays at the Red Bull Theater 1605-25* (1940), p. 100, where there is a list of similar uses of the upper stage.

<sup>10</sup> Jasper Mayne, speaking of Jonson in *Jonsonus Virbius* (1638) in praise of his Italianate methods of stagecraft: "Thou laiddst no sieges to the music room". See W. J. Lawrence, *Physical Conditions of the Elizabethan Playhouse* (1927), p. 85.

<sup>11</sup> *Othello*, I. i.

<sup>12</sup> *Romeo and Juliet*, III. v (First Quarto text).

<sup>13</sup> *Lady Alimony*, IV. vi; see W. J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse and other Studies* (1913), p. 39.

<sup>14</sup> V. ii. See Adams, p. 260.

<sup>15</sup> Sig. G4, Adams, p. 260.

<sup>16</sup> IV. i. See Adams, p. 164.

<sup>17</sup> III. iii.



marks: "This is the penthouse, under which Lorenzo desires us to make a stand";<sup>18</sup> not to forget the later instance in Davenant's *Distresses*<sup>19</sup> (acted in 1630), where the musicians are warned to "stand close beneath the penthouse; there is a certain chamber maid from yond' was ever free of her wine". We may be entitled to project this combination of awning and bay window upon the Elizabethan stage on the assumption that such directions refer to the lower surface of the bracket supporting an upper room.

The sides of Fludd's theatre are the least satisfactory part of the design, top-heavy as they are, with the upper walls bearing down upon insufficient supports. If carried out in stone, such a construction would be bound to collapse. The layers of dressed stone, which are so prominently displayed, are thus only a sham, a disguise painted upon a wooden scaffolding.<sup>19a</sup> Instead of theatrical illusion, of which there is none, we have thus an attempt at camouflage, an effort to heighten the selfconceit of the audience through a deliberate architectural fraud. Only the wall behind the upper stage is exempted from this elaborate pretense, being composed of other and smaller elements. It is, so we believe, the only visible part of the building—of a hall or of an open court—in which the theatre had been installed. If so, then the two upper doors did also exist before they were put to their theatrical use, determining by their height the level to which the balcony could be raised.

To return to the auditorium, its walls rise so sheer and unrelieved, that they pose the problem of how such a structure could be lit. It must have been narrow and dark at best, even if built into an open court. If it was part of an enclosed space, a hall, then its windows must have been placed very high indeed, much higher than was the custom in the usual interior design. Only one kind of structure received its light in that way, one then frequently employed to accommodate a stage: namely a tennis court, shelter for a then enormously popular game, which required a roofed and specially appointed hall.<sup>20</sup> To protect them against straying balls, the windows in such an edifice had to be pushed as high as the elevation of the structure allowed.

That Fludd's theatre had been such a court (and still remained one in some respects) is indicated by the form of the stalls, whose thin square wooden beams rest upon panels about half human size. Exactly such stalls were requisites of the game, partly to house what spectators there were, partly to let the balls bounce off the slope of their roofs. We find them represented in such contemporary prints as that by Charles Hulpeau of 1623 illustrating the French *Jeu de Paume*, or Crispin de Passe's depiction of a game played in Strassburg in 1609.<sup>21</sup> In spite of the addition of the upper walls the piers of the boxes are so clearly

<sup>18</sup> II. vi.

<sup>19</sup> II. ii; Adams, p. 249.

<sup>19a</sup> The painting of simulated masonry upon façades is frequently found in the late Renaissance, particularly in Germany; see for instance the painting on the façade of the oldest tract of the Royal residence in Munich or the lower portion of the inner court in Schloss Ambras near Innsbruck.

The use of simulated stone architecture is attested for the Swan playhouse, for de Witt writes about it in 1596 that "it is supported by wooden columns painted in such excellent imitation of marble that it is able to deceive the most cunning."

<sup>20</sup> A. de Luze, *La Magnifique Histoire du Jeu de Paume* (1933). Detailed indications of the use of tennis courts as theatres, notably in France, are on p. 88 ff.

<sup>21</sup> A. de Luze, Pl. VII.

part of the conventional equipment of a tennis court that they must have been left standing when the rest of the room was adjusted to its new histrionic use.

Structurally such a "penthouse"<sup>22</sup> is not very strong, since it has no weight to support, and it would be folly to impose upon it the load of second floor galleries. It was thus necessary to forgo the benefit of additional seating space—an important sacrifice economically—once it was decided to retain the lower stalls. One will understand why the carpenter in charge, seeing that there could be no upper floors, attempted to tidy matters up by boarding up the lateral walls and then uniting the boards with the corresponding parts of the tiring house. If our theory is right, then the tiring house occupies the space originally reserved for the so-called *Dedans*, an extension of the penthouse to the end wall of the court, and for the upper balcony, where spectators sat behind thick nets to protect them against the impact of straying balls. Both areas were, we believe, conjoined to broaden the upper stage and to provide the tiring house with sufficient depth for the installation of wardrobe facilities. By a lucky coincidence the gallery in this particular tennis court seems to have been somewhat lower than was usually the case, so that the tiring house could be given a convenient height.<sup>23</sup>

It will also be understood by now why, contrary to the conventions of the actors' craft, there should be no elevated platform stage, for if the position of the spectators was fixed, before the rest of the theatre was built, then the erection of a podium would have placed the actors above eye level. Given the small distance between the two human groups, this would have been tantamount to introducing distortions of considerable magnitude. If the platform were to be made high enough to contain a trap door and to provide sufficient space beneath, so that actors could stand there while awaiting their cue, then a scene placed in the center of the stage would have been only partly visible from the stalls.<sup>24</sup>

Thus the results of inquiry confirm the opinion that, much as it served magic and speculative ends, Fludd's theatre was not a castle in the clouds, but a concrete building, rooted in the habits of the contemporary stage. Other wise the engraver would not have dared to stress the imperfections of its makeshift frame, linking it with the humble necessities of the actor's life. Neither the primitive stalls nor the distinction between permanent and temporary parts would have been emphasized, had the artist aimed at presenting an ideal norm. He must have used a sketch taken on the spot with a sharp eye for curious and characteristic detail. With a combination of persistence and luck—more luck, incidentally, than we have had—it should be possible to identify its prototype.

To begin with, the particulars of the stage, notably of the bay window, are so far removed from all that we know of Elizabethan art, that they could not have been of English workmanship. Although British himself, Fludd had entrusted his book to the foreign publishing of Theodore de Bry, long settled in Frankfurt am Main and only recently removed to Oppenheim, the place name stamped

<sup>22</sup> This is the technical term covering all the lower spectators' galleries in a tennis court.

<sup>23</sup> For the usual height of the upper gallery, see the print by Charles Hulse here reproduced.

<sup>24</sup> It is particularly worth noting that the conditions provided for the players in Fludd's theatre are the exact reverse of those conjectured to have prevailed at the first performance of *Twelfth Night* in Whitehall (L. Hutson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night* (1954), p. 65 ff.), when apparently a podium, but no scenic wall was used. We shall have to accustom ourselves to the idea that the Elizabethans possessed the flexibility of a great age and that they were ready to omit any of the accustomed paraphernalia of the stage, if the occasion required it.

on the title-page.<sup>26</sup> It is therefore reasonable to assume that the print, like others in an amply illustrated tome, was German work intended to convey the aspect of a theatre on German ground; and that those English features which I tried to describe, including all major arrangements of the stage, were installed in order to accommodate players from across the sea, who demanded conditions similar to those at home. That such players were touring the continent in Shakespeare's time, offering their services wherever they were received, is too well known to require comment here.

Details bear this out. The German element comes to the fore in the ornaments on the corbel under the bay window, which belong to a type commonplace among German corbels of similar date. The brackets, for instance, which used to support bay windows in Kassel before the recent holocaust—one bearing the convenient date of 1603<sup>20</sup>—were essentially similar to that in Fludd's print. The roof over the bay window, with its double curve, of which only the lower part is visible in the print, belongs to a type known throughout the countries north of the Alps, but particularly frequent in Germany during the late Renaissance.

It is equally true, on the other hand, that the form of the bay window, with its two openings in front, and its side walls sloping at an angle of forty-five degrees, betrays the influence of English design. If this part had been built according to the German architectural norm, it would either have been polygonal, but then with one window only on every side, or a projecting rectangle with vertically receding walls possessing several windows in front.<sup>27</sup> Both types had been part of the layout of German fortified homes, and had been limited to the upper floors, with the incidental creation of the bay window, by virtue of straightening the line of the basic walls. In Tudor England, on the other hand, the bay window with the sloping sides and with the multiple glass in front was entirely commonplace—a feature acceptable in any London home. Its appearance as part of a German stage is thus a concession to English taste, an attempt to carry out

<sup>26</sup> It is not insignificant, on the other hand, although difficult to evaluate, that this printing house founded by a Fleming in a German Imperial town should have had as strong ties with England as it did. The founder, the older Theodore de Bry, after establishing himself in Frankfurt am Main, remained in England for several years (1586-1589), where, among other things, he came to work on the *Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, an account of Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to the new world. The publication, expanded to include materials on the Indies East and West, was dragged out for decades, and its last installment appeared in 1634, more than forty four years after it had begun. Through all of this time contact with England could not have been lost. It received formal approval through a family liaison, when one of the daughters of the younger Theodore de Bry married Thomas Fitzer of London, who took over the firm together with the engraver Matthaeus Merian, when the younger Theodore died. For all this see A. Hind, *Engraving in England in the 16th and 17th Centuries, A Descriptive Catalogue* and Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeiner Lexikon der Bildenden Kuenstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, article de Bry. It is noteworthy that Fludd's print should have been brought out by a firm whose memory was as long as the de Brys'. We need not assume that the print was made from a very recent design, for where enterprises were counted in decades rather than in years, there must have been archives to serve future needs. The very fact that there is no accord between Fludd's text and the illustration chosen to bear it out argues for the existence of such a file containing drawings suitable for reference.

<sup>20</sup> A. Holtmeyer, *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler des Regierungsbezirks Kassel* (Marburg, 1923), Pl. 53 and 406, and W. Kramm, *Kassel, Wilhelmshöhe, Wilhelmsthal* (Berlin, 1933), p. 28.

<sup>27</sup> See for polygonal examples, among others, the townhall in Altenburg, J. Hoffman, *Baukunst und Dekorative Skulptur der Renaissance in Deutschland*, Pl. 1, or Schloss Heinitz, Pl. 91; and for the rectangular one, the Kaiserhaus in Hildesheim, Pl. 88. The polygonal form is most usual in bay windows at the corners of houses.

stipulations by the visitors from across the sea. Given the craftsman's ignorance of procedures abroad, one will understand why details should fail to live up to English precedent: why, instead of the glass front of the Elizabethan house, there should be two windows with wall space between, and why the side walls should be altogether closed. The combination of medieval battlements with details of a vaguely classicizing type such as those found upon the second floor of the tiring house has also few parallels in German architecture of the time, while it is frequent in England of the early 17th century.<sup>28</sup>

All this may come as a surprise to those who believe that, amidst the poverty and uncertainty of their lives, the strolling players could only afford a platform and at best perhaps some curtains within which to make the most necessary changes of costume and scenery.<sup>29</sup> There is evidence, however, that at times their mode of life allowed them the satisfaction of an elaborate stage. In the German version of *Titus Andronicus* Titus "looks down from above", "siehet von oben herab", when he is visited by the queen and her sons.<sup>30</sup> The same reliance upon an upper stage is built into Jacob Ayer's play *Von der schoenen Phoenicia und Graf Tymbrus von Golisan aus Arragonien*, a variant of Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*.<sup>31</sup> We read in the first act of that play that all the ladies (das ganze Frauenzimmer) go up to the battlements (die Zinnen) and look down to witness a tournament. Later there is a serenade, and an unwanted lover is drenched from above, scenes that could very well have been played on a stage such as that under scrutiny. Finally there is the well known tale of the stage, magnificent perhaps beyond contemporary norm, with which Spencer, the English actor-manager, entertained the emperor Matthias and the gentlemen assembled for the Diet of Regensburg (1613).<sup>32</sup> There was, we are told, a mighty platform, and behind a theatre "and above its stage another one thirty feet high upon six big columns above which a roof had been made; below a trap door helped in setting handsome actions".<sup>33</sup> There has been a tendency to believe that this stage was closer to the scaffoldings erected in celebration of the triumphal entries of kings than it was to the normal requirements of an acting company. This estimate may now have to be revised. It is interesting to learn, on the other hand, that Spencer required the collaboration of a sculptor in wood and of a carpenter, when he set up his stage for the coronation of Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg (Koenigsberg, 1612), where he played George Peele's tragedy of the Turkish Mahomet;<sup>34</sup> and that when he arrived at the Frankfurt fair in 1614, he brought with him his theatrical stock in "mehreren Ruestwaege-

<sup>28</sup> The corbel of the English bay window is also completely different from that found in Fludd's theatre, consisting of horizontal mouldings paralleling the lower edge of the projecting wall.

<sup>29</sup> This is maintained, for instance, by R. Pascal, "The Stage of the Englische Kommoedianten, three Problems," *MLR* (1940), p. 367.

<sup>30</sup> C. H. Kaulfuss-Diesch, *Die Inszenierung des Deutschen Dramas an der Wende des sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig), p. 74.

<sup>31</sup> C. H. Kaulfuss-Diesch, p. 197, where there are other examples of the use of an upper stage in Ayer's plays.

<sup>32</sup> The best account of Spencer's activities is in E. Herz, *Englische Schauspieler und Englisches Schauspiel zur Zeit Shakespeares in Deutschland* (Hamburg und Leipzig 1903).

<sup>33</sup> "Ein Theater darinnen er mit allerley musikalischen Instrumenten auf mehr denn zehnerley Weise gespielt, und ueber der Theaterbuehne noch eine Buehne 30 Schuh hoch auf sechs grosse Saehlen, ueber welche ein Dach gemacht worden, darunter ein viereckiger Spund, wodurch sie schoene Actionen verricht haben".

<sup>34</sup> The complete title is *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyrin the fair Greek*.

lein". Could it be that the fittings for his stage, similar perhaps to that under review, were transported from town to town, where they would be nailed together for a few weeks' stint?

The problem of where Fludd's theatre may have stood is not capable of a clear solution at this time. It was not Frankfurt, as one might expect considering that the firm of de Bry was located here and that any member of it could have made a sketch of the place where the English players declaimed. We know that through many years the actors were billeted in an inn, the "Haus zur Sanduhr", where they put up their stage in a suitable inner room.<sup>86</sup> It was only long after Fludd's book had appeared that a late-comer among the actors from across the sea, George Jolly, broke the precedent by accommodating his theatre in a tennis court.<sup>86</sup> To this we must add that if they played in one of the free Imperial towns, without the safety of princely patronage, the actors were hard put to make ends meet. They could not afford a structure, we believe, whose seating capacity was limited to the ground floor, excluding those brimming and bulging galleries which were the keystone of financial success. Fludd's theatre was much rather an intimate place suitable for the pleasures of a small élite.

Our second choice falls upon Kassel, where the local prince, Landgrave Moritz of Hessa, patronized an English establishment for many years.<sup>87</sup> There the actors were given some permanence, although their inbred restlessness and their desire to be once more on the road prevented them from making full use of their opportunity. There was even a tennis court on the castle grounds, built for the training of young noblemen (1592), and we hear by a lucky coincidence that it had ceased to operate as such, and for some time, when the new theatre was built in 1605. Both its ground plan and its outer appearance are known to us, marking it as a typical example of its kind.<sup>88</sup> All would thus favour Kassel as the quarry of our search, were it not that there is no record of where the English comedians played, whether it was in the "Ballhaus" or somewhere else. In 1605, then, all theatrical life passed to the Ottoneum,<sup>89</sup> a permanent court theatre built to replace all previous expedients. This edifice was on a much vaster scale than that under scrutiny, and it was at least in part Italianate, possess-

<sup>86</sup> This billet in the Sanduhr was used in 1603 (E. Mentzel, *Geschichte der Schauspielkunst in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt, 1882), p. 50), in 1606 and 1607 (Mentzel, p. 53), 1608-9 (p. 54), in 1611 (p. 56), in 1613 (p. 58), 1618 (p. 60) and 1626 by several English acting companies. In 1613 a man had his trousers torn in a passage leading to the theatre room, presumably while pushing his way in: something which could only have occurred in the interior of a building. We also hear in 1620 (p. 61) that the wall separating several rooms had been torn down, in order to create a bigger hall.

<sup>87</sup> L. Hooton, *The Commonwealth and Restoration Stage*, Cambridge 1928, p. 167 ff. The tennis court in which Jolly settled in 1651 belonged to the Krachbein Inn, which by that time was in common ownership with the neighboring house "zur Sanduhr". Mentzel maintains that the tennis court was not built before 1650, but her statements cannot always be trusted.

<sup>88</sup> The most complete treatment of this episode is found in H. Hartleb, *Deutschlands Erster Theaterbau* (Berlin und Leipzig), 1936.

<sup>89</sup> Holtmeyer, II, 516 ff., Pl. VIII reproducing Matthaeus Merian's city plan of Kassel (1646), and Pl. 167, showing the city plan by J. H. Wessel of 1673, the latter with all the set of inner divisions appropriate for a tennis court. This tennis court was to become a "Kommödienhaus" in the time of Landgrave Karl (1677-1731), but now, of course, one in the style of contemporary Italian and French theatre design (Holtmeyer, p. 525). A number of Rococo drawings for a rebuilding under Landgrave Friedrich (about 1750) are probably from the hand of Charles du Ry (Holtmeyer, p. 525). An inventory of 1612 mentions no theatrical equipment of any sort. If the tennis court had housed a stage prior to 1605, all traces of it must have been removed.

<sup>89</sup> See Hartleb, p. 86 ff.

ing an oval amphitheatre of seats. It requires little architectural sense to realize that this arrangement could not be reconciled with the presence of side galleries and overhanging walls.

The only one among the other princely courts in Germany that offered protracted hospitality to the English players was that of Duke Heinrich Julius of Brunswick, who also wrote plays in the English style. Here no record has survived of either a tennis court or a theatre. We have, however, the plays themselves, from which it is possible to extract evidence for the reconstruction of the stage employed. In his *Buhler und Buhlerin*, printed in 1593, a serenade is offered to a woman who lives in an "Auslage" or "Erckner" (Erker) (the latter according to the manuscript version of the text)<sup>40</sup> that is in a projecting structure in the upper part of a house. She reacts as one does when thus prodded and leans out of the window to identify her cavalier. Thus a bay window is part of the Brunswick stage, and this at an earlier date than any of those of which we have evidence in England: earlier than that at the Globe. We cannot believe, on the other hand, that its existence alone is sufficient proof that the elusive quarry has yielded to our search, for the bay windows, which we have now found in Germany and England alike, may have been a common feature of the Elizabethan stage, dating back to a period prior to 1593.<sup>41</sup> Their presence in Germany at an early date argues for an equally precocious English prototype.

One point remains. What are we to think of the inscription so prominently displayed across the bay window, naming the building "Theatrum Orbi" or, in English, Globe Theatre? To understand the bearing of that name it is well to remember that Robert Fludd must have known the illustration, before it came out in print, since he refers in his text to the difference between the appearance of his two mnemotechnic tools and the stipulations of his own theory.<sup>42</sup> Are we to assume, then, that the august name was put there only because the building was to house an array of concepts comprising the entire world? We must then also believe that Robert Fludd was indifferent to the divergence between illustration and text. Did he accept the modification of the required design because it reminded him of the Globe theatre in London, which he may well have known, using the identity of names as a mental link? In that case he chose to overlook the obvious fact that the building in question was not the Globe, but only a provincial imitation of an English stage. Or are we to believe that the publishing house of de Bry was responsible for the introduction of the term, on the ground that it had been in use among the English comedians on the continent?<sup>43</sup> Had some member of the firm been present at a performance at the Globe, so that he felt reminded of it, when he saw a play given by strolling actors in Germany? Finally is it possible that Robert Fludd and his publisher agreed, each on the

<sup>40</sup> C. H. Kaulfuss-Diesch, p. 88.

<sup>41</sup> The earliest Elizabethan stage of which we have visual record, that in Trinity Hall in London, widely used during the fifties and sixties of the century, possessed only a balcony supported by a pillar in the middle and a playing area underneath similar to an inner stage, with not a trace of a bay window anywhere. See Ch. T. Prouty, "An Early Elizabethan Playhouse", *Shakespeare Survey* 6 (1953), p. 64 ff. and Pl. 11. But in this case we are not dealing with a stage built for histrionic use, but with a makeshift adaptation of existing architectural parts.

<sup>42</sup> See p. 20.

<sup>43</sup> There is independent evidence that the de Brys knew of the English actors in Germany. They referred to them in their *India Orientalis*, Pars XII (Frankfurt, 1613), where it is stated that Hindu actresses are like "Angli Ludiones qui per Germaniam et Galliam vaguntur".

basis of his own ideas and memories? I state this question, because no hypothesis that I have been able to formulate, seems to answer the problem satisfactorily. It is hoped that among the learned readers of this periodical there will be someone competent and resourceful enough to unlock the riddle.

*Bryn Mawr College*



## SHAKSPEARIAN CLUB.

"HE would have us all as merry  
As first good company, good wines, good welcome,  
Can make good people."

SHAKSPEARE.

SIR,

MONDAY, the 23rd Instant, (St. George's day and the adopted birth day of His Most Gracious Majesty) being the Third and Gala Anniversary of the SHAKSPEARIAN CLUB, I am directed to inform you that it is the intention of the Members to dine together at the Shakspeare Hall, on that day, in commemoration of our "IMMORTAL BARD," when the favour of your company is requested.

† The Chair will be taken by the Right Worshipful the Mayor, at three o'Clock.

An early application for Tickets will oblige.

SIR,

YOUR VERY OBEDIENT SERVANT,

JOHN ASHFIELD.

Falton, Stratford, 9th April, 1827.

Announcement of the third annual dinner of the Shakspearian Club of Stratford-upon-Avon, from the original in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

See p. 89.



## Did Shakespeare Use the Old Timon Comedy?

ROBERT HILLIS GOLDSMITH

**S**HAKESPEARE'S use of the old Timon comedy in the Dyce manuscript as a source for his *Timon of Athens* has long been the subject of debate. George Steevens, in his edition of *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (1778), first called attention to parallels between Shakespeare's tragedy and the manuscript comedy. Although Dyce, in his preface to the edition of the Timon play printed for The Shakespeare Society (1842), brushes aside the possibility that Shakespeare could have been acquainted with the old play, the doubt has remained to nag and disturb succeeding commentators. Fleay scornfully rejects the idea that Shakespeare ever read the old Timon play but admits a parallel in the mock-banquet scenes from the two plays.<sup>1</sup> Adolf Mueller, in his dissertation on Shakespeare's sources for *Timon of Athens* (Jena, 1873), thinks that the presence of a faithful servant to Timon in both plays is a mere theatrical coincidence, dictated by the circumstances of the story.<sup>2</sup> But W. H. Clemons, in his essay on *The Sources of "Timon of Athens"* (1904), argues that "the academic play alone actually introduces Timon in his period of prosperity, its Laches is the only known predecessor of Flavius, and of all the extant sources it is unique in containing a banquet scene."<sup>3</sup> Tucker Brooke agrees with Steevens and Clemons that the old play probably supplied Shakespeare with important elements for his tragedy despite its "air of academic exclusiveness."<sup>4</sup>

Those who, like Dyce and Fleay, are unconvinced that Shakespeare knew or saw the old play point to its obviously academic temper with the Greek tags and pedantic buffoonery. They question whether Shakespeare could have known a school play "never performed in the metropolis."<sup>5</sup> Clemons answers that Shakespeare might very well have heard of the play when his company produced *Hamlet* in the university towns of Cambridge and Oxford sometime between 1600 and the appearance of the First Quarto in 1603. I would add that we can not even be sure that this play was never acted in London since, in the Epilogue, Timon begs the audience: "Let louing hands, loude sounding in the ayrc,/ Cause Timon to the city to reaire" (ll. 10-11). As for the pedantic buffoonery,

<sup>1</sup> "On the Authorship of *Timon of Athens*", in *Transactions of the New Shakespeare Society*, ser. I, no. 1 (1874), p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> *Ueber die Quellen aus denen Shakespeare den Timon von Athens entnommen hat*. Jena Dissertation (1873), pp. 23-24.

<sup>3</sup> "The Sources of *Timon of Athens*", *Princeton University Bulletin*, XV (Sept. 1904), 217.

<sup>4</sup> *The Tudor Drama* (London, 1912), pp. 410 f.

<sup>5</sup> Alexander Dyce, ed., *Timon, a Play Now First Printed* (for The Shakespeare Society; London, 1842), p. vii. I have used this edition of the academic Timon comedy throughout.

that is nothing new or strange to the creator of Holofernes and Sir Hugh Evans. And the Greek quotations and rhetorical terms of Demas the orator would not have troubled the former scholar from King Edward's School in Stratford. He would have passed blithely over any Greek more difficult than that taught in the seventh form. There is then no insurmountable barrier to Shakespeare's having known and used the academic comedy. In fact, I find additional evidence that Shakespeare did draw upon the anonymous play as a source—not only for *Timon of Athens* but for elements in *King Lear* as well.

A network of correspondences ties together the three plays: *Timon of Athens*, *King Lear*, and the Timon comedy. Bradley has already noted points of resemblance in language, imagery, metre, and basic idea between Shakespeare's *Timon* and his *Lear*.<sup>6</sup> To these I would add similarities in character, situation, and idea, but not in versification, between the old Timon comedy, on the one hand, and the two Shakespearean plays, on the other. Both Timon of the earlier play and Lear call upon the gods to witness their undeserved suffering:

MS Timon play

Tim. Thee, thee, O sunne, I doe to  
witness call,/ These harde misfortunes  
I haue not deseru'd: (IV. iii. 141)

*King Lear*<sup>7</sup>

Lear. Let the great Goddes/ That  
keepe this dreadfull pudder o're our  
heads,/ Finde out their enemies now.  
. . . I am a man,/ More sinn'd against,  
then sinning. (III. ii. 49)

All three, Lear and the two Timons, utter dire maledictions on the whole race of man. In wild and impotent rage, Lear and Shakespeare's Timon go far beyond the earlier Timon, but their curses stem from the same cause—utter revulsion at man's ingratitude.

MS Timon play

Tim. All plagues fall on this genera-  
cion,/ And neuer cease! Heare me, O,  
heare me, Jouel/ . . . Lett Atlas burthen  
from his shoulders slide,/ And the  
whole ffabrick of the heauens fall  
downe!/ While Timon lyues, yea, now  
while Timon prayes,/ Returne, earth,  
into thy former chaos!/ Lett neuer sunn  
shyne to the world againe,/ Or Luna  
with her brothers borrow'd light!/ Lett  
Timon see all theis things come to  
passe!/ Such a reuenge best fitts such  
wickednesse. (V. ii. 55)

. . .

Tim. Fire, water, sworde confounde  
yee! let the crows/ Feede on your peckt  
out entrailes, and your bones/ Wante a  
sepulchre! worthy, O, worthy yee,/ That

*Timon of Athens*

Tim. Plagues incident to men,/ Your  
potent and infectious Feauors, heape/  
On Athens ripe for stroke. Thou cold  
Sciatica,/ Cripple our Senators, that  
their limbes may halt/ As lamely as  
their Manners. Lust, and libertie/  
Creepe in the Mindes and Marrowes of  
our youth,/ That 'gainst the streame of  
Vertue they may striue,/ And drowne  
themselves in Riot. Itches, Blaines,  
Sowe all th'Athenian bosomes, and their  
crop/ Be generall Leprosie. . . And  
graunt as *Timon* growes, his hate may  
grow/ To the whole race of Mankinde,  
high and low. (IV. i. 21)

*King Lear*

Lear. Blow winds, & crack your

<sup>6</sup> *Shakespearean Tragedy* (2d ed.; New York, 1949), pp. 246, 445.

<sup>7</sup> I have used the text of the First Folio (1623) of Shakespeare throughout except for two passages which appear in the First Quarto of *King Lear* (1608) but do not appear in the Folio. The verse numberings are from Kittredge, *The Complete Works* (Boston, 1936).

thus haue falsifi'd your faith to mee,  
To dwell in Phlegeton! Rushe on me  
heau'n,/ Soe that on them it rushe!  
Mount Caucasus/ Fall on my shoulders,  
soe on them it fall! Paine I respecte  
not. O holy Justice,/ If thou inheritte  
heau'n, descende at once,/ Eu'n all at  
once vnto a wretches hands!/ Make mee  
an arbiter of ghosts in hell,/ That, when  
they shall with an vnhappy pace/ De-  
scende the silent house of Erebus,/ They  
may feelee paines that neuer tongue can  
tell!  
(IV. i. 41)

cheeks; Rage, blow/ You Cataracts, and  
Hyrricano's spout,/ Till you haue  
drench'd our steeples, drown the  
Cockes./ You Sulph'rous and Thought-  
executing Fires,/ Vaunt-curriers of  
Oake-cleauing Thunder-bolts,/ Sindge  
my white head. And thou, all-shaking  
Thunder,/ Strike flat the thicke Rotun-  
dity o' th' world,/ Cracke Natures  
moulds, all germaines spill at once/ That  
makes ingratfull Man! (III. ii. 1)

The words, of course, are different, but the tune throughout is much the same.

There is a parallel situation in the Timon comedy and *King Lear* wherein two speakers, acting from different motives, recommend a similar form of suicide. Timon gives the foolish Gelasimus unsought advice; whereas the blind Gloucester seeks Edgar's help in destroying himself:

MS Timon play

Tim. What art thou wretched, and  
desirest to dye? Ile tell thee where are  
wild beasts, where's the sea,/ Where's a  
steep place vpon a stony rock/ Thats  
scytuated on a mountaine high,/ And  
vnderneath the roaring sea doth swell:/  
Wilt thou goe thither? drowns thyselfe  
from hence?/ Ile be thy guide, and helpe  
thee at a push,/ And when thou fall'st  
into the lowest hell,/ I will reioyce.  
(V. iii. 32)

*King Lear*

Glou. Dost thou know Douer?  
Edg. I Master.  
Glou. There is a Cliffe, whose high  
and bending head/ Lookes fearfully in  
the confined Deepe;/ Bring me but to  
the very brimme of it,/ And Ile repayre  
the misery thou do'st beare/ With some-  
thing rich about me: from that place,/ I  
shall no leading neede. (IV. i. 72)

Clear parallels may be found between several characters in the three plays. Laches, the faithful steward of the old comedy, is linked by speeches and behavior not only with Flavius but also with Apemantus. With something like the bad manners which Apemantus shows Timon, Laches rebuffs the well-intentioned Gelasimus:

MS Timon play

Gelas. All hayle, good man.  
Lach. I will not; I had rather be sick  
than be the healthier for thy salutation.  
(V. iii. 9)

*Timon of Athens*

Tim. Good morrow to thee, gentle  
Apemantus.  
Ape. Till I be gentle, stay thou for  
thy good morrow. (I. i. 178)

Elsewhere Laches answers Timon in language which anticipates the currish replies of Apemantus to Shakespeare's Timon:

MS Timon play

Tim. Thou speakest like thie selfe,  
and in thy kinde:/ Lett those that are  
borne slaues beare abiect minds,/ I Ti-  
mon am, not Laches.

*Timon of Athens*

Tim. If thou hadst not bene borne the  
worst of men,/ Thou hadst bene a  
Knaue and Flatterer.  
Ape. Art thou proud yet?

Lach. I, poore Laches,/ Not Timon;  
yf I were, I would not see/ My goodes  
by crows deuoured as they bee. (I. i. 22)

Tim. I, that I am not thee.  
Ape. I, that I was no Prodigall.  
(IV. iii. 275)

To the fertile imagination of Shakespeare, Laches could suggest two such different characters as Apemantus and Flavius—the snarling cynic and the faithful steward. And he could also foreshadow Shakespeare's inimitable Kent.

No editor or commentator, as far as I know, has heretofore remarked that Shakespeare may have used suggestions from the Timon comedy in writing his *Lear*. Steevens in a footnote calls attention to the older play as a possible source for Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* in the following words:

There is a scene in it [MS Timon play] resembling Shakespeare's banquet given by Timon to his flatterers. Instead of warm water he sets before them stones painted like artichokes, and afterwards beats them out of the room. He then retires to the woods attended by his faithful steward, who (like Kent in *K. Lear*) has disguised himself to continue services to his master.<sup>8</sup>

Many writers have quoted Steevens on the similarities between the two Timon plays, but with one exception they have ignored or passed over the suggested resemblance between Laches of the old comedy and Shakespeare's Kent.<sup>9</sup> The persons and behavior of the two characters are more alike than Steevens indicates. Laches, like Kent, is cast off by his master because of his plain speaking; he disguises himself as a war-scarred soldier, is reemployed by his former master, and follows Timon faithfully into self-imposed exile. And as Kent curses and beats the toady Oswald, so Laches belabors and hoodwinks the fawning parasite Hermogenes.

Not only are the main circumstances alike, but many of the details of Laches' and Kent's behavior are similar. Of course, the language shows the sea change that all dramatic ideas which passed through the mind of Shakespeare underwent. But there is resemblance enough between the scenes from the two plays wherein the faithful servant or retainer rebukes his lord, is threatened with dire punishment, and is finally banished for his forthrightness:

#### MS Timon play

Lach. I would not see/ My goodes by  
crows deuoured as they bee.

Tim. I'st euen soe, my learned counsaylor?/ Rule thou this howse, be thou a cittizen/ Of Athens; I thy seruant will attend;/ Thou shalt correct me as thy bond slaue; yes,/ Thou shalt correct me, Laches; I will beare/ As fitts a slaue. By all the gods I swear,/ Bridle thy tounge, or I will cutt it out,/ And turne thee out of dores.

#### King Lear

Kent. Think'st thou that dutie shall haue dread to speake,/ When power to flattery bowes?/ To plainnesse honour's bound,/ When maiesty falls to folly, reserue thy state,/ And in thy best consideration checke/ This hideous rashnesse, answere my life, my judgement:/ Thy yongest Daughter do's not loue thee least,/ Nor are those empty hearted, whose low sounds/ Reuerb no hollownesse.

<sup>8</sup> *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (London, 1778), VIII, 318n.

<sup>9</sup> R. W. Bond, "Lucian and Boiardo in 'Timon of Athens,'" *Modern Language Review*, XXVI (Jan. 1931), 66, picks up Steevens' hint of a resemblance between Laches and Kent, but he conjectures that Laches was modelled on Kent, that the anonymous author of *Timon* was influenced by Shakespeare's *Lear*. This view will be discussed in connection with the probable date of the *Timon* comedy.

Lach. Because I speake/ The truth.

Tim. But, peace once, once more, I saye.

Lach. Yes, I'll not mutter; I'll as silent bee/ As any counsaylor without his fee.<sup>10</sup>

Tim. Inglorious dayes leade they, whose inwarde parts/ Apollo hath not made of better claye. (I. i. 26)

Lear. Kent, on thy life no more.

Kent. My life I neuer held but as a pawne/ To wage against thine enemies, nere feare to loose it,/ Thy safety being motiue.

Lear. Out of my sight.

Kent. See better *Lear*, and let me still remaine/ The true blanke of thine eie.

Lear. Now by Apollo. (I. i. 149)

There are minor differences between these two characters and between the situations. Kent, though a blunt spoken Englishman, is longer winded than is Laches. He rushes on to his doom in a torrent of words, refusing to be silent until Lear banishes him. Laches, on the other hand, is more circumspect; he remains silent until a later scene when, after scolding Timon again, he too is driven off:

#### MS Timon play

Lach. Spend and consume; gyue Gould to this, to all;/ Your ritches are immortall.

Tim. I'll pull thye eyes out, yf thou add one word.

Lach. But I will speake; yf I were blynd, I'de speake.

Tim. What, art thou soe magnanimous? Be gone;/ The dore is open; freeze or sweat, thou knaue;/ Goe, hang thie selfe! (I. v. 84)

#### King Lear

Kent. Kill thy Physition, and thy fee bestow/ Vpon the foule disease, reuoke thy guift,/ Or whil'st I can vent clamour from my throat,/ Ile tell thee thou dost euill.

Lear. Hear me recreant, on thine allegiance, heare me;/ That thou has sought to make vs breake our vowe . . . take thy reward./ Fiue dayes we do allot thee for prouision,/ To shield thee from disasters of the world,/ And on the sixt to turne thy hated backe/ Vpon our kindome. (I. i. 166)

The two characters immediately disguise themselves so that they may continue to serve their thankless masters.

#### MS Timon play

Lach. My face I haue disfigured, that vnknowne/ I may againe be plac'd in Timons howse;/ Laches is turn'd to a souldier,/ A resolute hackster with his scars and sword;/ My whiskers hanging o're the ouerlipp;/ All things agree. (II. ii. 1)

#### King Lear

Kent. If but as well I other accents borrow,/ That can my speech defuse, my good intent/ May carry through itselfe to that full issue/ For which I raiz'd my likeness. Now banishd Kent,/ If thou canst serue where thou dost stand condemn'd,/ So may it come, thy Master whom thou lou'st,/ Shall find thee full of labours. (I. iv. 1)

Although their disguises differ and the language they use to describe themselves is dissimilar, both Laches and Kent are motivated by the same stubborn loyalty. It is also interesting to observe that both men address themselves by name.

Kent has more acid on his tongue and more fierce loyalty in his heart than

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Lear's Fool's* use of a variant form of this old proverb:

Kent. This is nothing Foole

Foole. Then 'tis like the breath of an vnfeed Lawyer (I. iv. 141).

does Laches, but both characters are variations on that familiar figure of the Tudor stage—the blunt-spoken, loyal-hearted Englishman. The traits of plain dealing and straight speaking are combined in a number of characters, from the rough Plowman in *Of Gentylnes and Nobylty* (ca. 1522) to "Plain Thomas" of *Woodstock* (? 1592(?)1595) and in such bluff soldiers as Sateros of *The Cobler's Prophecy* (1594) and Stump in *A Larum for London* (1600). In keeping with his unvarnished speech, the blunt Englishman dresses simply. He prefers a suit of honest kersey or frieze to more elegant clothing. Sateros boasts, "Because I am homely clad, you hold me dishonorable: but in this plaine sute haue I been, where you dare not with all your silkes" (ll. 272 f.).<sup>11</sup> Plain Thomas of *Woodstock* got his name, York tells us, "for his playne dealing, & his simple cloathing/ lett others lett in silcke & Gould sayes hee/ a coate of english freese, best pleaseth me" (ll. 106-108).<sup>12</sup> His own plain garb admirably suits the blunt Englishman and makes him suspicious of the spruce courtier. He is only too ready to detect the cowardly, disloyal heart under the brave apparel. As Honesty says of the fawning Perin in *A Knack to Know a Knave* (1592): "The Courtier resemblenth the jay, that decketh herself with the feathers of other birds, to make herself glorious: So the Courtier must be braue, tho he be hangd at the galious."<sup>13</sup>

Laches and Kent also mock the foppish parasite and the solemn-proud servant. Although Hermogenes the fiddler and the steward Oswald have little in common but their obsequiousness, Laches and Kent rail on them in much the same manner:

## MS Timon play

Lach. —Hoil What a sponge comes here! How spruce he is! (ll. ii. 6)

## King Lear

Kent. That such a slaue as this should weare a Sword,/ Who weares no honesty. (ll. ii. 78)

But Laches and Kent go beyond the mocking irony or the surly invective of their prototypes on the English stage. They beat their victims roundly.

## MS Timon play

Herm. Good people, doe I wake, or doe I sleepe?/ I cannot thinck my selfe Hermogenes.

Lach. I'll make thee feelee thy selfe Hermogenes. (*He beats him, and hoodwincks him.*)

Herm. Oh, oh! why do'st thou beate me soe? why, why/ Do'st thou thus hoodwinck me? Lett me not lyue,/ If that I am Hermogenes. The gods/ I call to wytnes, I ne're wrong'd any.

(ll. ii. 12)

## King Lear

Stew. Why, what a monstrous Fellow art thou, thus to raile on one, that is neither knowne of thee, nor knowes thee?

Kent. What a brazen-fac'd Varlet art thou, to deny thou knowest me? Is it two dayes since I tript vp thy heeles, and beate thee before the King? Draw you rogue, for though it be night, yet the Moone shines, Ile make a sop oth'Moonshine of you, you whoreson Cullynenly Barber-monger, draw. (ll. ii. 27)

<sup>11</sup> Robert Wilson, *The Cobler's Prophecy*, 1594, ed. A. C. Wood (The Malone Society Reprints; Oxford, 1914), sig. B<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>12</sup> *The First Part of the Reign of King Richard the Second or Thomas of Woodstock*, ed. W. P. Frijlink (The Malone Society Reprints; Oxford, 1929), p. 5.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. J. S. Farmer, in *Old English Drama*, Students' Facsimile Edition (Amersham, England, 1911), sig. E.

In good and faithful service to his master, Kent is more than a match for Laches. And what is more, he demonstrates his loyalty by his behavior, not by anything that he says. It is Edgar who comments on Kent's unswerving devotion to Lear:

## MS Timon play

Lach. Ile follow thee through sword,  
through fire, and death;/ If thou goe to  
the ghosts, Ile bee thy page;/ And lacky  
thee to the pale house of hell:/ Thy  
misery shall make my faith excell.

(IV. v. 102)

\* \* \*

Lach. I will not see my master thus  
abus'd, / I'll rather die. . . / Hence, least  
thou feele my cholericke reuengel/ And  
quickly to bee gone, I say: thou foole,  
Dost thou deride my masters miseries?

(III. v. 122)

## King Lear

Alb. But who was this?

Edg. Kent sir, the banishd Kent, who  
in disguise, / Followed his enemie king  
and did him seruice/ Improper for a  
slauve. (V. iii. 219)

\* \* \*

Kent. Good my lord enter heere.

Lear. Wilt breake my heart?

Kent. I had rather breake mine  
owne, / Good my lord enter. (III. iv. 5)

Both men are human, however, and their kindness grows a little gruff at times.

## MS Timon play

Lach. Master, why muse you thus?  
what thinke you on? / Why are your  
eyes soe fixed on the earth? / Pull vp  
your spirits; all aduersity/ By patience  
is made more tolerable. (III. v. 134)

## King Lear

Kent. How doe you sir? stand you  
not so amazd, will you lie downe and  
rest vpon the cushings? (III. vi. 35). . .  
O pity: Sir, where is the patience now/  
That you so oft haue boasted to retaine?  
(III. vi. 61)

The differences between Laches and Kent are what we might expect when the great poet-dramatist worked over a character from a rather childish, academic source. But the similarities between the two characters are significant. Both characters have in common: blunt honesty, unswerving loyalty, pugnacity, and rough tenderness. Some of these characteristics are typical of the traditional blunt Englishman of the Tudor stage. But Laches and Kent exhibit these traits in situations too much alike to be explained merely as coincidence. Certainly Kent is much closer in spirit to Laches than he is to the faithful old courtier Perillus of the pre-Shakespearian *King Lear*, and the dramatic roles of Kent and Laches run more nearly parallel.

R. W. Bond questions whether the anonymous playwright may not be Shakespeare's debtor rather than his creditor, whether Laches may not be modelled upon Kent rather than the other way around.<sup>14</sup> Such a supposition would put the academic Timon play in 1608, after the printing of the First Quarto of *Lear*. Steevens thinks that "It appears to have been written or transcribed, about the year 1600", although he gives no reason for assigning this date. H. C. Hart, in his edition of Jonson's plays, argues that the old Timon play was a source for several scenes in Jonson's *Every Man Out* (1599), *Cynthia's Revels* (1600-1601), and *The Poetaster* (1601), and therefore was written

<sup>14</sup> See note 9.



sometime before 1600.<sup>15</sup> Baskervill notes a parallel between Macilente's closing speech, in which he casts off his envious humour, and the epilogue in which "Timon doffs Timon" (l. 7), but he is unwilling to conjecture "which of the two plays influenced the other."<sup>16</sup> Whether Jonson's three plays influenced or were influenced by the academic Timon, their similarities would seem to point to a date either slightly after 1601 or earlier than 1599 for the Timon comedy. G. C. Moore Smith, however, assigns a much earlier date to the anonymous play. Because of an apparent verbal borrowing from the Cambridge play *Pedantius* (ca. 1581), Smith puts the old Timon comedy somewhere between 1581 and 1590.<sup>17</sup> Although we cannot date the academic Timon play precisely, we can be reasonably sure that it is an earlier play than Shakespeare's *King Lear*.

No portion of this evidence is conclusive in itself, yet taken together and in conjunction with the remarkable resemblance between Laches and Kent, it presents rather convincing proof that Shakespeare was familiar with the old Timon comedy when he wrote *King Lear*. The evidence supports and confirms the belief that Shakespeare used the anonymous play as a direct source for his *Timon of Athens*. However, in laying that ghost to rest, I may have raised another spectre to haunt the Timon scholars—the possibility of an earlier date than is usually agreed upon for the composition of *Timon of Athens*. Many scholars follow Chambers in assigning Shakespeare's *Timon* to the period of the later Roman plays on the basis of stylistic and metrical tests.<sup>18</sup> Bradley, on the other hand, finds much closer parallels with *Lear* in substance, style, and imagery and accordingly dates the composition of *Timon of Athens* right after that of *King Lear*. Hazelton Spencer speculates that Shakespeare may have begun work on *Timon*, tossed it aside to write *Lear*, and then had no reason to return to it "after he had expressed the best things in it incomparably better" in *Lear*.<sup>19</sup> That the sketchy *Timon of Athens* came as a foreshadowing rather than as "an after vibration" to *King Lear* is an attractive theory and fits the evidence I have presented. But my real purpose in this study is to establish the old Timon comedy as one of Shakespeare's primary sources and to marvel again at his artistry in reworking his material.

#### Emory and Henry College

<sup>15</sup> *The Works of Ben Jonson* (London, 1906), I, xliii ff.

<sup>16</sup> *English Elements in Jonson's Early Comedy* (*Bulletin of the University of Texas*, "Studies in English", No. 1; Austin, Tex., 1911), p. 210n.

<sup>17</sup> "Notes on Some English University Plays", *Modern Language Review*, III (Jan. 1908), 143: "In *Timon* II, 4, Demetrius is made to say: 'I an orator not an arator.' Pedantius speaks similarly (l. 1191): 'Scibam me oratorem, non Aratorem . . . esse.' It is obvious that the play on words is much more natural in Latin than in English."

<sup>18</sup> *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (Oxford, 1930), I, 483.

<sup>19</sup> *The Art and Life of William Shakespeare* (New York, 1940), p. 353.

## Current Theatre Notes, 1956-1957

ALICE GRIFFIN



SHAKESPEARE productions around the world, as reflected in this seventh annual survey, reveal diversity in choice of works, experimentation in production, and an increased tendency towards touring the plays of Shakespeare to schools and towns either near the central production or within a larger region. The increased number and popularity of these tours indicate that, more and more, the plays of Shakespeare are reaching audiences representing not the exclusive few but people from many walks of life, more like the audiences for which the plays originally were written.

With great success the New York City Shakespeare Festival toured to each of the city's five boroughs, where plays were offered free of admission to neighborhood audiences who in the main had never seen live theatre before, much less plays by Shakespeare. In Vienna, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was taken to high schools in the city and the surrounding area. Throughout America, many universities toured their Shakespeare plays to schools and communities in their own states and those nearby. One such group, the University of Minnesota Theatre, after touring *A Midsummer Night's Dream* within the state, was sent with that production to South America by the State Department, as a cultural envoy. In France, as has been their practice in past years, the two regional theatres, the Comédie de l'Est and Comédie de l'Ouest, toured to towns in the east and west of France their offerings of *Twelfth Night* and *Hamlet* respectively. The Arts Council of Great Britain sponsored the travels of the West of England Theatre Company, which toured *As You Like It* to towns in the west of England and Wales.

Drawing a large and varied audience, the Shakespeare summer festival continued during the past season as an institution now well established. Productions during the summer, in tents, in outdoor gardens and arenas, and in specially-built festival theatres, were held throughout the Western world, including the United States (San Diego, Ashland, Stratford, Yellow Springs, and Toledo), Canada (Stratford, where a new building was opened, to house the Festival plays), Austria (the Graz Festival), and the English parent Shakespeare festival at Stratford-upon-Avon.

This listing reflects a continuing and perhaps increasing tendency toward experimentation in production. Where there are not Elizabethan-influenced stage settings or replica stages, there are likely to be simplified, non-representational settings (rather than realistic ones) so that the action can flow freely and not be interrupted by the necessity for changes of scenery. Both Dublin and Valetta, Malta, saw *Julius Caesar* in modern dress, while Brown University in Rhode Island offered its *As You Like It* in eighteenth-century costumes "because of the popularity of the play during that period, when it was produced

in contemporary dress." *Love's Labour's Lost* at Chatham College in Pittsburgh was staged in a nineteenth-century French setting and style, the Stratford, Connecticut, Shakespeare Festival set *Much Ado about Nothing* in the American southwest at the turn of the century, and the Old Vic presented its *Two Gentlemen of Verona* in regency costume. The latter theatre in mid-September opened its final season of a five-year plan devoted to presenting all the plays in the First Folio, and in 1958 will complete this plan. Professional Shakespearian production in America was considerably enhanced by the visit of a company from the Old Vic, which opened at the Winter Garden Theatre in New York and then visited Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, and Boston.

Our Current Theatre Notes for 1956-1957, which can only be considered representative, list 264 productions, covering 16 countries. We again call on members of the Shakespeare Association for their help in expanding this annual list by sending us programs and information on productions of Shakespeare plays which they may see here or abroad during the season from October 1, 1957, to October 1, 1958.

The following compilation owes much to such contributors in this country and abroad, without whose help it could hardly exist. We are sincerely grateful to all of the theatre groups who sent us their programs, photographs, and production notes, and hope they will continue to do so. Our special thanks go to the Educational Division of the National Theatre Arts Council, publishers of *Theatre Arts Magazine*, for their invaluable assistance. To Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, President of the Association, and Dr. James G. McManaway, editor of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, our grateful thanks for their important help and advice. And our sincere appreciation to all our correspondents abroad who have given so generously of their time and knowledge in aiding us to gather information on productions in their countries, including: Mr. Konstantin A. Chugunov, Moscow; Prof. Robert Davril of the United States Educational Commission for France, Paris; Dr. Doris Eisner of Vienna; Mme. Maurice Garreau-Dombasle, Paris; Rev. Henry L. Irvin, S.J., Ateneo de Manila, Philippines; Prof. A. C. Partridge, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa; Miss Rose Raskin of the Division of Slavic Languages, Columbia University; Mr. Kristian Smidt, University of Oslo, British Institute; Mr. David Stelling of London and Mr. Victor H. Woods, City Librarian, Birmingham, England.

*Hunter College and Theatre Arts Magazine*

#### Shakespearian Productions, October 1, 1956-October 1, 1957

##### *All's Well That Ends Well*

Opened June 8, for eight performances. Akademietheatre, Vienna, Austria. Translation by Wolf Graf Baudissin. Directed by Rudolf Steinboeck, designed by Otto Niedermoser, costumes by Ilse Richter. Jürgen Wilke as Bertram; Aglaja Schmid as Helena; Theo Lingen as Parolles. July 14, 21. July Festival, Carcassone, France. Directed by George Wilson, designed by Alain Bourbonnaiss. France Descaut as Helen; Jean Barrez as Bertram; J. M. Amato as Parolles.

August 12-23. The Hovenden Theatre Club, London, England. Directed by Valery Hovenden. Christabel Wheatley, Countess of Rousillon; Christopher Trace, Bertram; Eve Shirley, Helen.

On August 24, a special performance in the Courtyard of the George Inn, Southwark, presented by the Southwark Borough Council.

August 14-17. University of Colorado Theatre, Boulder, Colorado. Staged by Charles Gaupp, costumes by Polly Gaupp. Rick Wiles as Bertram; Sally Hayden as Helena; Don Finlay as Parolles.

### *Antony and Cleopatra*

Opened November 13 for two weeks. The Crest Theatre, Toronto, Canada. Directed by Douglas Campbell, settings by John Wilson. Antony, Max Helpmann; Cleopatra, Barbara Chilcott.

Opened March 5, thereafter in repertory. The Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Director, Robert Helpmann; designer, Loudon Sainthill; composer, Gordon Jacob. Antony, Keith Michell; Cleopatra, Margaret Whiting.

"The fitful, fiery strength of Antony was well displayed . . . handsome, keen and tingling with zest for whatever he undertook in the realms of politics, love or war. . . . Cleopatra was a rather superficial essay. . . . Moon-pale, she was unquestionably beautiful, but it was the beauty of innocent repose and did not help to establish the character." *Theatre World* (London), April 1957.

February. RSFSR Sverdlovsk Oblast. City of Sverdlovsk, U.S.S.R. The State Dramatic Theatre. Director, V. Bitiutsky; designer, M. Ulanovsky; composer, Clara Katzman. Antony, Boris Molchanov; Cleopatra, Vera Shatrova and Zoya Malinovskaia.

### *As You Like It*

October 17-20. Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. Directed by Janice O. Van De Water, designed by Leslie Allen Jones. Orlando, A. Richard Marcus; Rosalind, Eugenie Loupret; Celia, Joanna Kellogg. Done in eighteenth-century dress.

January 18, 19. Cap and Dagger, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Penna. Director, Myrna Hage; scene designer, Don Soule; costumes, Lynette Willson. Marlow Nevling as Rosalind, Herb Bohler as Orlando, Ben Hollander as Touchstone.

Opened January 28. West of England Theatre Company at the Queens Hall, Barnstaple. Afterwards on tour in the west of England and Wales, under the auspices of the Arts Council of Great Britain. Directed by Joyce Worsley, designed by Richard Negri (a winter setting). Anne Iddon as Rosalind, Clifford Rose as Orlando.

March 11-16. The Marlowe Society at the Arts Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by Clive Perry, settings by Roger Thompson.

Opened April 2, thereafter in repertory. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw, scenery and costumes by Motley, music by Clifton Parker. Peggy Ashcroft as Rosalind, Richard Johnson as Orlando, Robert Harris as Jaques.

"While it is agreeable to watch . . . it is sluggish in coming to life and only rarely draws us completely into the world of Shakespeare's imaginings. . . . Miss Ashcroft . . . moves in the shallows of the part rather than reaches into the depths of it. . . ." *The Stage* (London).

April 5-13. Hofstra College, Hempstead, Long Island. 8th Annual Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Bernard Beckerman on a reconstruction of the stage of the Globe Playhouse.

May 1-11. Repertory Theatre, Dundee, Scotland. Director, Raymond Westwell; designer, Edward Furby; costumes, Wendy North. Rosalie Haddon as Rosalind, Raymond Westwell as Jaques, John Flexman as Orlando. Used a revolving stage.

May 22-25. The Southsea Shakespeare Actors, Southsea, England. Designed and directed by K. Edmonds Gateley. Nancy Glenister as Rosalind, Alistair Crowley-Smith as Orlando, K. Edmonds Gateley as Jaques.

June. The March production of the Marlowe Society, listed above. Entire production with original costumes and scenery toured Holland and Germany, opening at the Schouwburg Theatre, Leiden, as part of Cambridge Week celebration. Production credits are not named, as the group prefers to preserve anonymity. "Our aim is to revive the freshness and spontaneity which we like to think characterized the first performance. . . ."

July 9-13. Denison Summer Theatre, Granville, Ohio. Directed by William Brasmer, costumes and scenery by Mary Helen Prine. Brita Brown as Rosalind, Joseph Hamer as Orlando, Ken

Roberts as Jaques. "Production staged in a formal theatrical setting which resembled a French Court Theatre of the seventeenth century with symmetrical side wings and inner proscenium. . . . Costumes patterned after paintings of Watteau."

July 22-27. San Jose State College, San Jose, California. Director, Elizabeth Loeffler; designer, J. Wendell Johnson; costumes, Bernice Prisk. Celeste McAdam as Rosalind, Robert McNamara as Orlando, Ivan Paulsen as Jaques. Alternated with *Macbeth*.

August. Marlowe Society (production listed above) of Cambridge, England for one performance at the Delphic Festival, Ecole International, Geneva, Switzerland.

August 1-30. In repertory. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon.

Opened September 21. Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria. Translation by A. W. Schlegel. Directed by Leopold Lindtberg, designed by Teo Otto, costumes by Erni Kniepert. Rosalind, Inge Konradi; Orlando, Peter Arens-Probststein; Jaques, Albin Skoda.

Season 1956-57. University of Portland, Portland, Oregon. Toured high schools in the vicinity.

Season 1956-57. At Wuerttemberg-Hohenzollern State Theater in Tuebingen and Reutlingen, Germany.

### *The Comedy of Errors*

January 28-February 2. Oldham Repertory Theatre Club, Oldham, England. Directed by Harry Lomax. Antipholus of Syracuse, Vernon Joyner; Antipholus of Ephesus, David Maloney. Decor by Eric Briers.

Opened February 15. Norwich Players, Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich. Directed by Frank Harwood. A condensed version, playing fifty minutes without intermission.

February. Uzbek SSR. City of Tashkent, U.S.S.R. State Theater of Young Playgoers.

March 13-16. The King's Players, King's College, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Directed by Carl E. Wagner. Antipholus of Syracuse, Thomas Gallagher; the two Dromios, José and Francisco Gonzales. Two matinees were given for high school students.

"The production was given a Latin American slant in design and music and dances."

March. RSFSR Novgorod Oblast. City of Novgorod, U.S.S.R. The State Oblast Dramatic Theatre. Director, A. Bashkin. Antipholus of Syracuse and of Ephesus, Nicholas Nepokochitzky; Dromios of Syracuse and Ephesus, E. Barkov and O. Vasiliev.

Opened April 23. The Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London. Directed by Walter Hudd. Offered in a shortened version, abridged by John Barton, on a double bill with *Titus Andronicus* in the same setting, both performed by a travelling troupe. Keith Michell and John Humphry played the two Antipholuses, and Robert Helpmann was Doctor Pinch. Design by Paul Mayo.

### *Coriolanus*

Opened October 23. Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, England. Directed by Bernard Hepton.

Opened November 21 at the Comédie Française, Salle Richelieu, Paris, France, and performed in repertory during the season, through February 1957. Directed by Jean Meyer. Paul Meurisse was Coriolanus; Jean Marchat, Menenius; and Annie Ducaux, Volturnia.

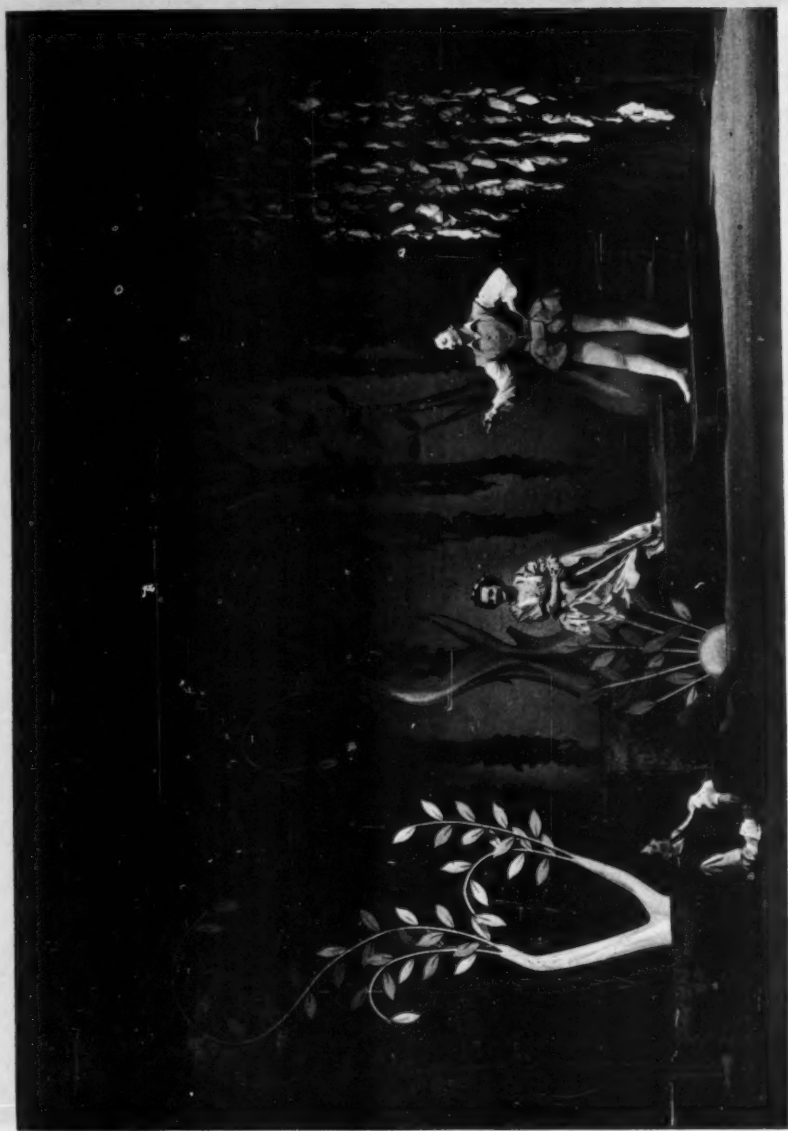
"The production attempted to replace the play in the uncomfortable technical conditions of the Elizabethan Theatre."

### *Cymbeline*

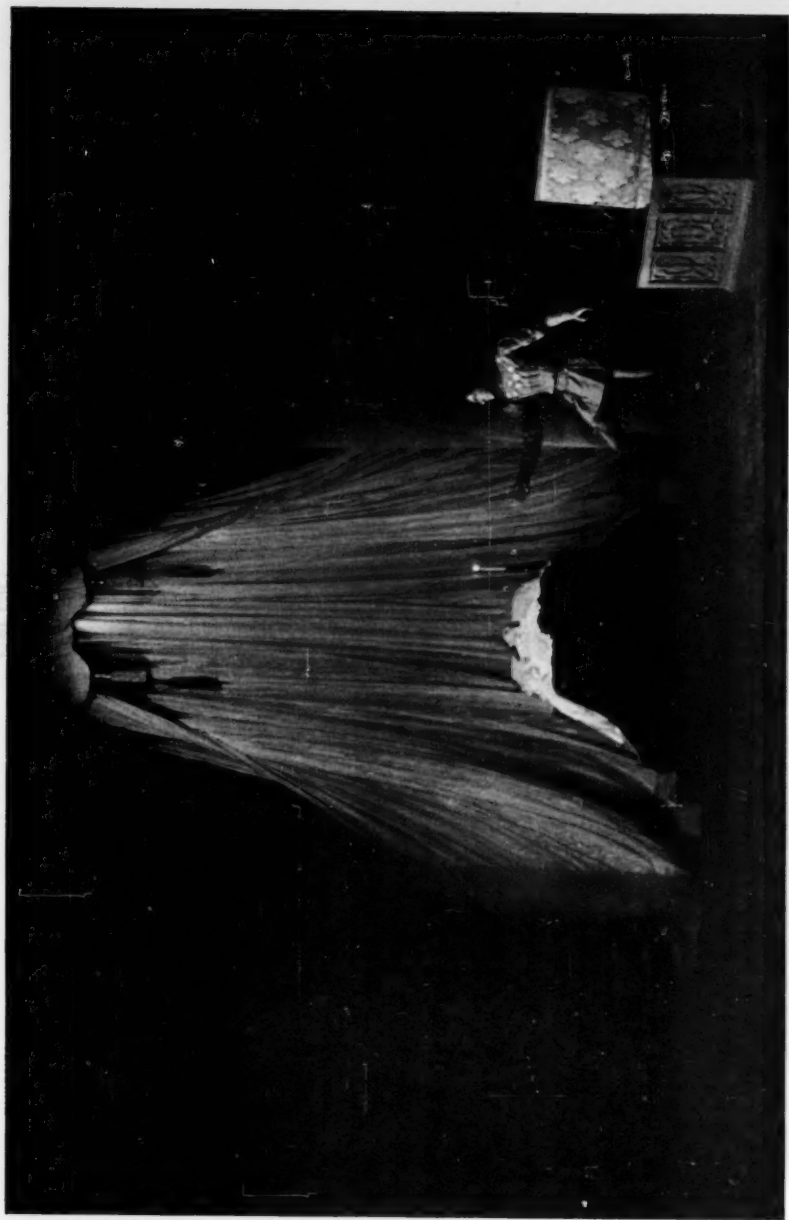
March 7-20. Department of Drama, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Directed by Allen Fletcher, designed by Milton Howarth. Leonatus, Philip Jacobus; Imogen, Wendy Mackenzie-Robertson and Janice Meshkoff; Iachimo, James Goldswig.

Opened July 2, thereafter in repertory. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Peter Hall. Robert Harris, Cymbeline; Peggy Ashcroft, Imogen; Joan Miller, the Queen; Geoffrey Keen, Iachimo.

"... Though it has decorative extensions from the bare text, [the production] does not lay on deliberate innovation too thickly. . . . True, the set has its moments of strained stretchability. . . . The nonrealistic battles, too, played as decorous mime, take up perilously near a world of charade. But straight-forwardness is more prominent than cleverness. . . ." *The Stage* (London), July 4, 1957.

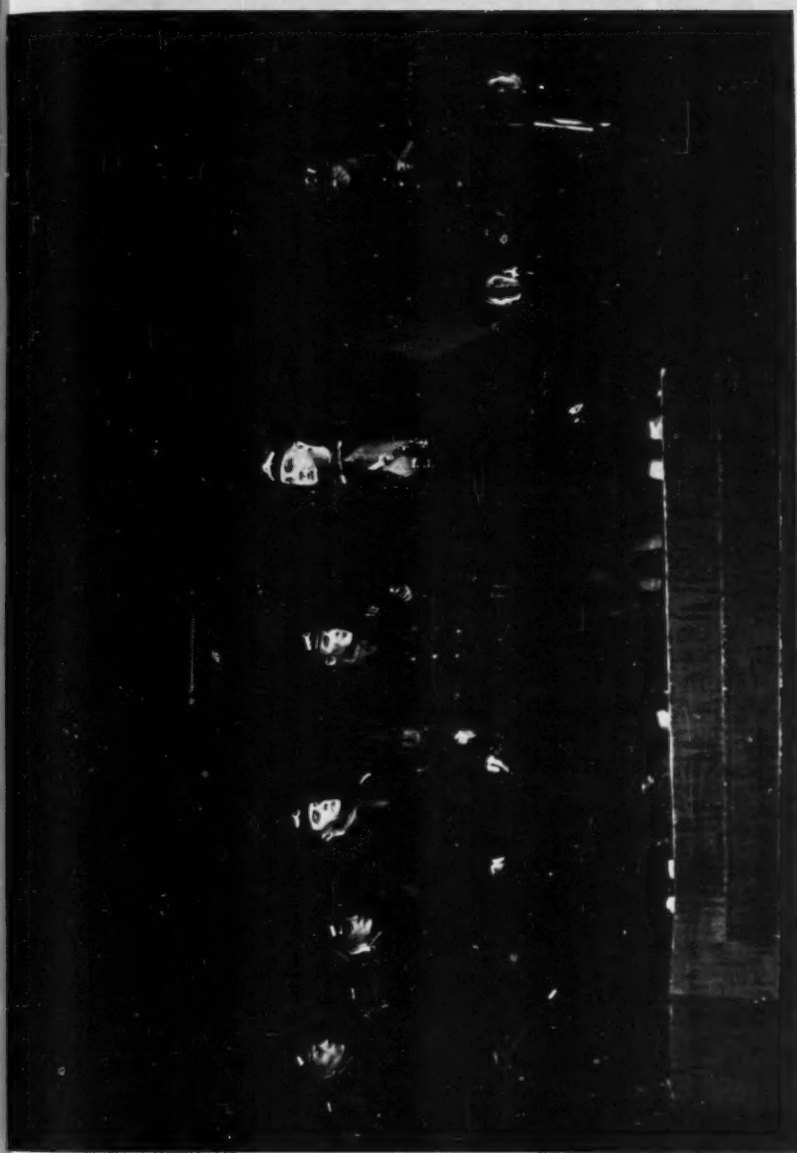


*As You Like It.* The Southsea Shakespeare Actors, Southsea, England. Designed and directed by K. Edmonds Gateley. See p. 41. (Kenneth Pratt Ltd.)



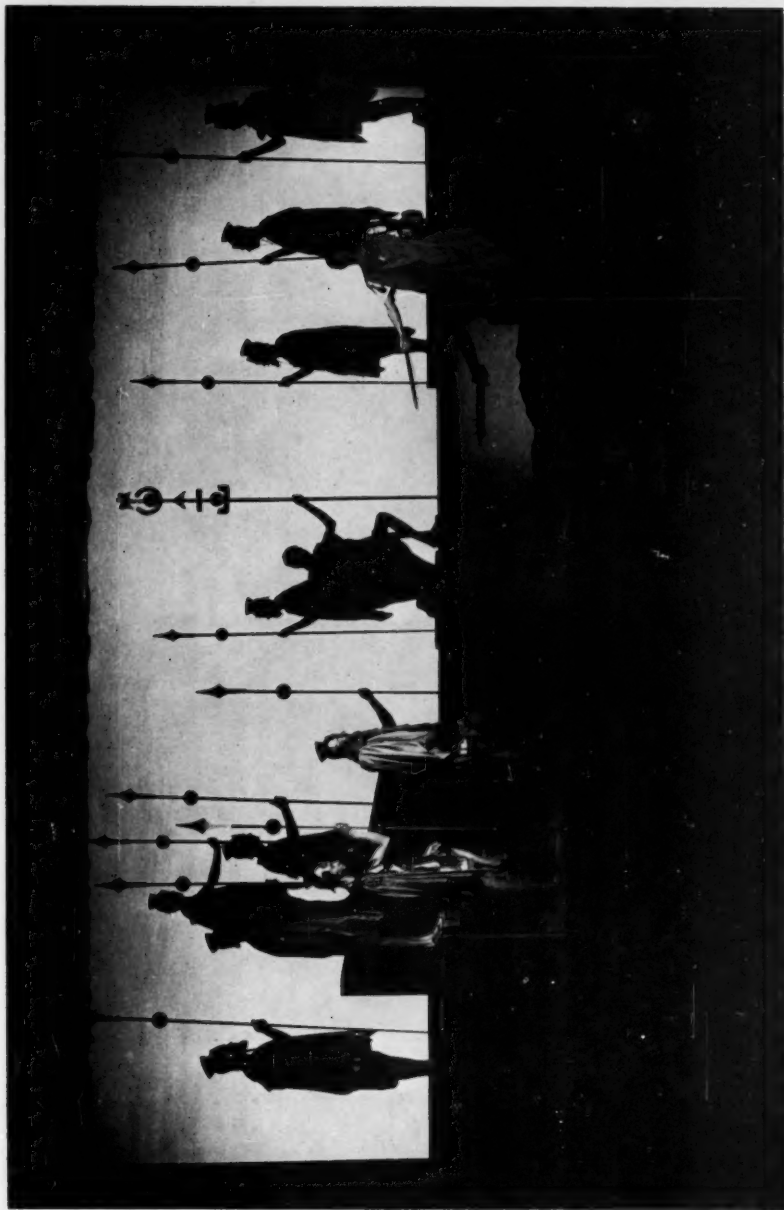
*Cymbeline.* Department of Drama, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Directed by Allen Fletcher. See p. 42.





*Julius Caesar.* The Dublin Gate Theatre and Anew McMaster Companies, Gaiety Theatre, Dublin, Eire. Produced and directed by Hilton Edwards.

See p. 44.



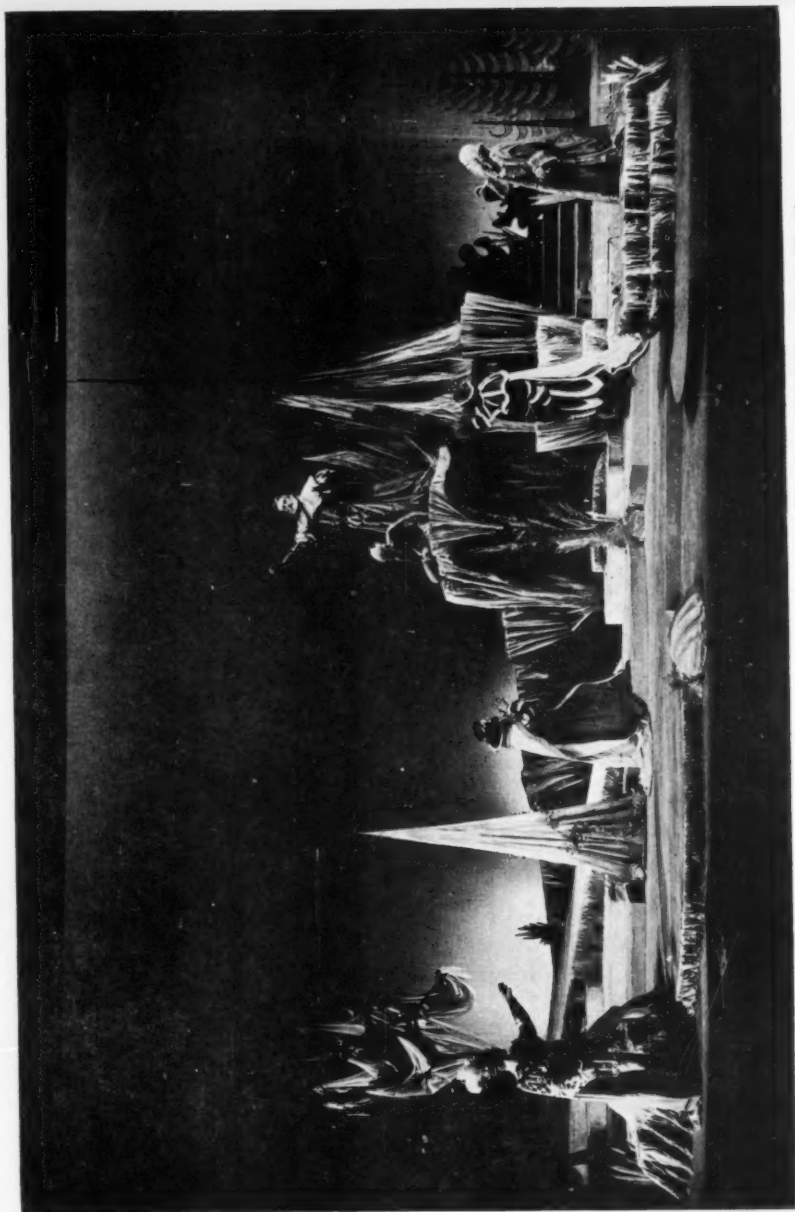
Final scene in *Julius Caesar*. Produced by Phoenix College as part of the Phoenix Civic Theatre's Alfred Knight Shakespeare Festival. Directed by John W. Paul. See p. 45.



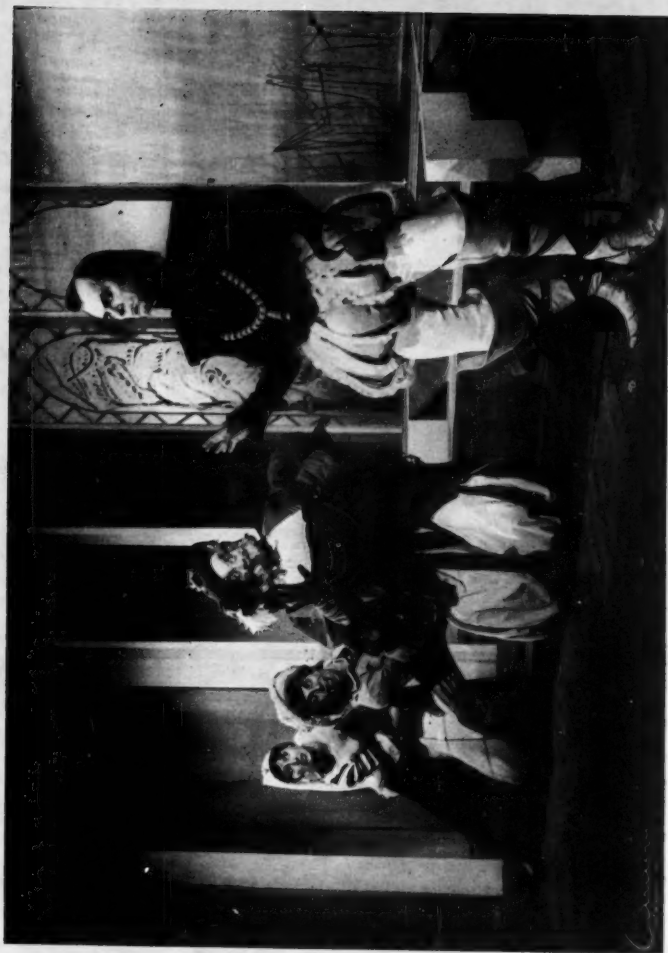
*King Lear.* Oldham Repertory Theatre Club, Oldham, England. Directed by Harry Lomax. See p. 47. (Photo, H. N. Davis.)



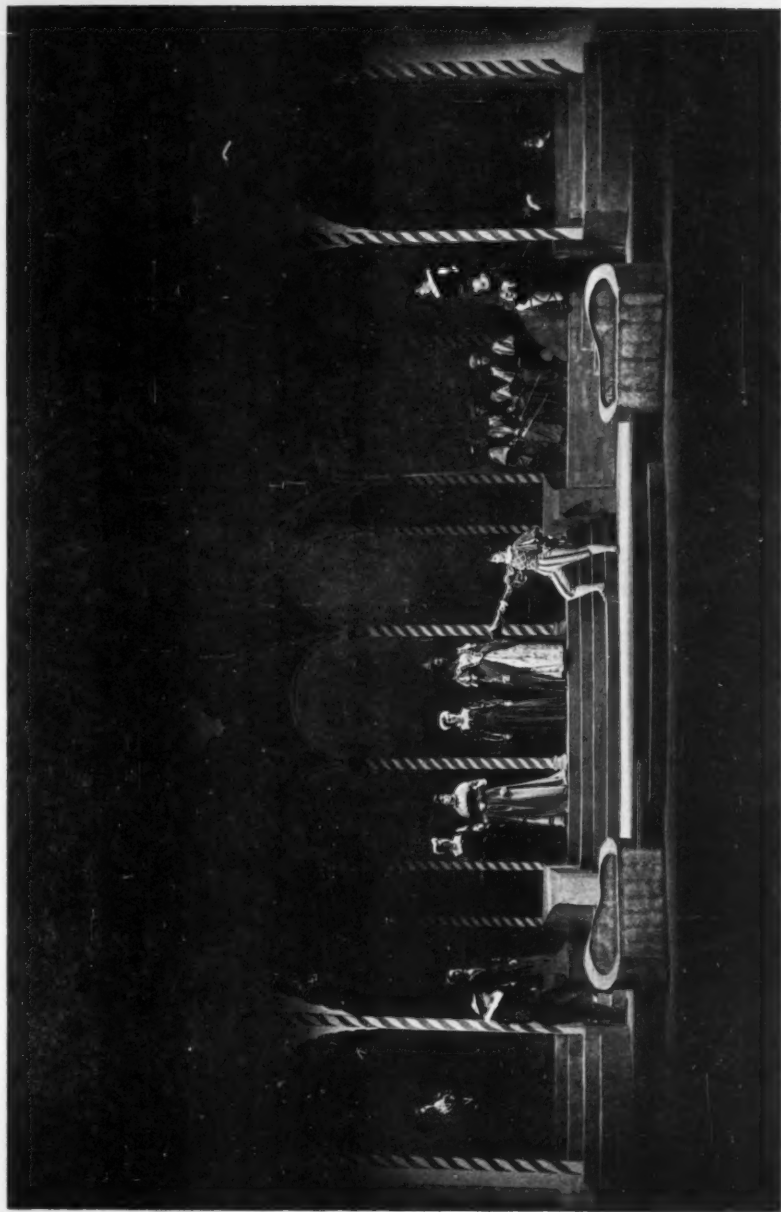
*King Lear.* The National Theatre of Greece, Athens, Greece. Directed by Alexis Minotis. See p. 47. (Photo, Emil)



*The Tempest.* Wayne State University, under the direction of Leonard Leone. See p. 55. (Wayne Photo)

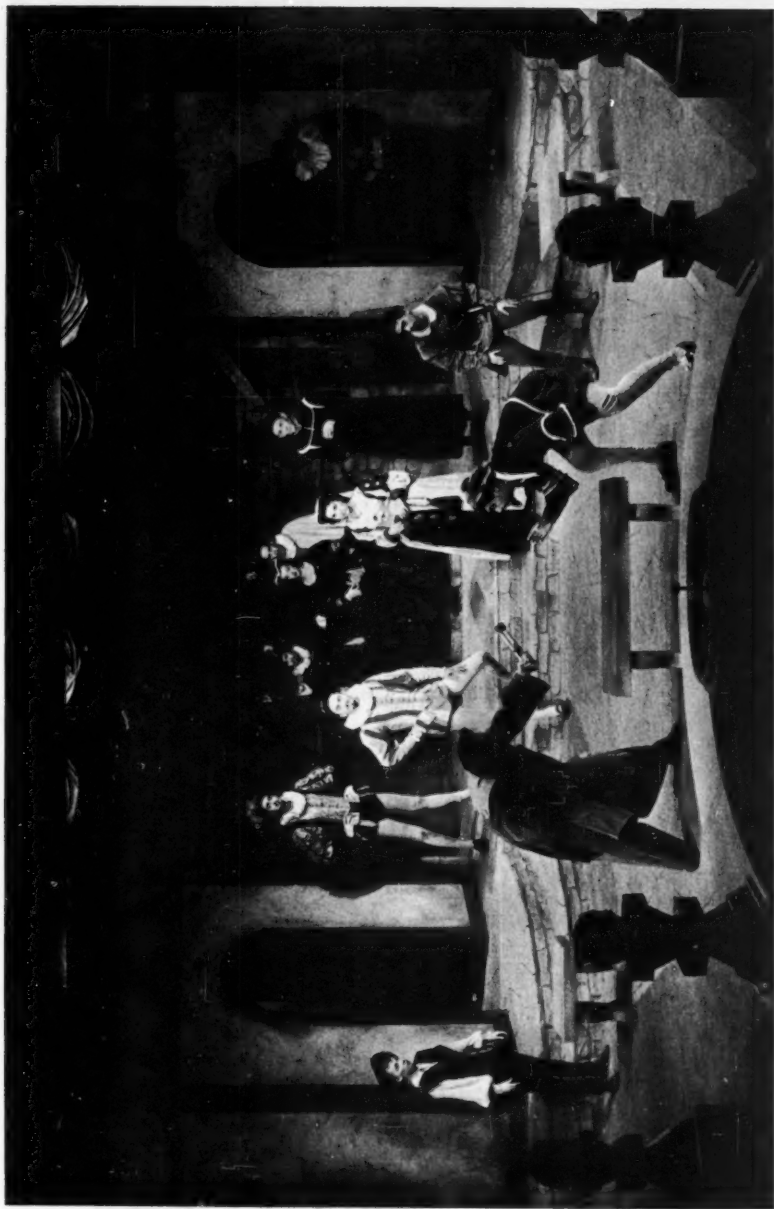


*La Nuit des Rois (Twelfth Night)*, Comedie de l'Est, Strasbourg, France. Directed by John Blatchley. (Photo Carabin—C.D.E.) See p. 56.



*Twelfth Night.* Stanford University, Stanford, California. Directed by F. Cowles Strickland. See p. 56. (Photo, Anita Fowler)





*Twelfth Night.* University of Miami Ring Theatre, Coral Gables, Florida. Directed by Delmar E. Solem. See p. 56.

**Hamlet**

Opened October 15 in Buffalo, New York, and in repertory on tour thereafter in the United States and Canada. The Canadian Players, Stratford, Ontario, Canada. Directed by George McCowan. William Hutt as Hamlet, Frances Hyland as Ophelia, Roland Hewgill as Claudius. "The Canadian Players people their stage by doubling and tripling, their costumes are a concession to theatre ritual; their method is the quick, impressionistic sketch. This method is not ideal for . . . Hamlet . . . but came off better than I had ever guessed it would." Walter O'Hearn, *Montreal Star*.

December 5-8. The Liverpool Shakespeare Society, Liverpool, England. Directed by Edith M. Bufton. Hamlet, E. Valentine; Gertrude, J. Coleman; Claudius, Michael Garner.

December 12-19. Harvard Dramatic Club, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Directed by Stephen Aaron. Hamlet, Colgate Salisbury; Claudius, Bryan Falk; Gertrude, Lisa Rosenfarb.

December. University of Arkansas. Directed by George Kernodle.

December-January. Georgian SSR. The Adjarsk Autonomous Republic. City of Batumi, U.S.S.R. The State Georgian Dramatic Theatre. Directors Archil Chlaptishvili and Shadva Inasiridze. Designer, G. Zenteradze.

January 9-March 5. Comédie de L'Ouest, Rennes, France. Toured 55 presentations to various towns in the West of France. Directed by Hubert Gignoux, who also designed the scenery, and played the title role. Paul Bru was Claudius; Denise Bonal, Gertrude; and Roger Guillo, Polonius. Music by Ivan Devries.

January 17-18. Texas State College for Women. Directed by E. Robert Black.

February 15, 16, 23, March 1, 2. Indiana University Theatre, Bloomington, Indiana. Directed by Richard Moody. Hamlet, Robert Wilson; Claudius, Charles Kimbrough; Polonius, Dave Ferguson.

March. RSFSR. Kaluga Oblast. City of Kaluga, U.S.S.R. The Regional Dramatic Theatre. Director, David Lubarsky; designer, E. Mordmilovich; composer, Dmitry Shostakovich. Hamlet, V. Morosov; Ophelia, L. Holm; Claudius, Feofan Maisky.

March. Ukrainian SSR. Lvov Oblast. City of Lvov, U.S.S.R. State Ukrainian Dramatic Theatre, named for M. K. Zankovetskaia. Director, Boris Tiagno; designer, Yuri Stepanchuk. Hamlet, Alexander Gay; Claudius, N. Lysenko; Polonius, Dmitri Dudarev.

March 8-16. University of Maryland Theatre, College Park, Maryland. Directed and designed by James Byrd. Hamlet, Robert Milli; Claudius, Robert Gunther; Polonius, Ronald Plummer.

April. Kirgiz SSR. City of Frunze, The State Russian Dramatic Theatre, named for N. K. Krupskaja. Director, Marc Malamud; designer, A. Zhitomirsky. Hamlet, Viacheslav Kasakov; Claudius, V. Ofizerov; Polonius, A. Kramer.

April. Arenaplayers, Brooklyn, New York. Directed by Frederic DeFeis.

April 22. Molotov Oblast. City of Molotov, U.S.S.R. State Dramatic Theatre. Director, A. Michailov; Régisseur, E. Sorokin; designer, N. Lomonosov; composer, E. Goriachikh. Hamlet, N. Kastrel; Claudius, V. Viktorov; Polonius, Victor Chekmariov and Ilia Ilinsky.

Opened May 7. New Gateway Theatre Club, London, England. Directed by George Wood, decor by Philip Whichelo, Gerald Crestock as Hamlet, Maureen Carty as Ophelia, Charles Turner as Polonius.

May 21. Adelphi College, Long Island, New York. One of the features of the first "Long Island Shakespeare Day". Richard Trousdell as Hamlet. Scenes from an earlier campus production.

June 5, 13, 18-25. Grazer Festival, Opernhaus, Graz, Austria. Translation by Richard Flatter, directed by Ludwig Andersen; stage design, Robert Jähren; costumes, Braitler. Hamlet, Helmuth Janatsch; Claudius, Horst Schlesiona; Gertrude, Emmy Bergmann; Polonius, Hans Dolf.

June 26-28. Company Jean-Louis Barrault. Théâtre Romain, Lyon-Charbonnières, France. M. Barrault in the title role.

July 1-September 7 in repertory. Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Stratford, Ontario, Canada. Directed by Michael Langham. Christopher Plummer as Hamlet, Douglas Campbell as Claudius, Frances Hyland as Ophelia, William Hutt as Polonius. Designed by Desmond Heeley.

"If Laurence Olivier's production of *Hamlet* was 'the story of a man who could not make up his mind,' Michael Langham's production seems to be the story of a man who could not make up his mind how to interpret the part. . . . In a virtuoso performance by Plummer, this *Hamlet* in the earlier scenes is in turn grief-blinded and weak, then dry-eyed and resolute, unmanly then virile; he actually loses his mind, then sanely cautions Horatio and Marcellus that he is going to play mad. By the second half . . . the character emerges as stalwart and noble though perturbed. . . ." *Theatre Arts Magazine*, September 1957.

July 22-27. The Earle Grey Shakespeare Festival, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada. Performed out of doors on an Elizabethan stage.

July-August. Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. Eighth Dubrovnik Summer Festival.

August 3-4. Company Maurice Jacquemont, Paris, France. Jacques Amirian in the title role. Also presented at the Sarlat Festival, an open-air performance in the cathedral square.

Opened August 4. Schiller Theater, Berlin, Germany.

August 14-17. The Playhouse, Eagles Mere, Pennsylvania. Directed and designed by Neal Weaver. *Hamlet*, Jake Dengel; *Gertrude*, Nancy Killmer; *Ophelia*, Janet Saltus.

Opened August 20 in repertory. Mecklenburgisches Staatstheater, Grosses Haus, Schwerin, Germany.

Opened September 9. Theatre in der Josefstadt, Vienna, Austria. The German translation by August Wilhelm Schlegel, directed by Lothar Müthel. Designer, Rolf Christiansen. Oskar Werner as *Hamlet*, Erwin Linder as *Claudius*, Werner Finck as *Polonius*, Lola Müthel as *Gertrude*. Henry Purcell's music.

"With guest director Lothar Müthel and with guest stars in the leading roles, an entirely modern rendering, with a sensitive, nervous interpretation by young Oskar Werner in the title role and Kyra Mladeks as a tormented *Ophelia*."

Opened September 18. The Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by Michael Benthall, decor and costumes by Audrey Cruddas. John Neville as *Hamlet*, Coral Browne as *Gertrude*, Jack Gwillim as *Claudius*, Derek Frances as *Polonius*, Judi Dench as *Ophelia*.

"This is a *Hamlet* with some intellect, but little passion; bursts of self-pity, but no sign of a prophetic soul; lacking poetry and the power to move us. He seems to stand apart from the drama . . . it is difficult to believe he has knowledge of the corruption around him, let alone that he is a victim of it." *The Stage* (London), September 26, 1957.

Summer, 1956. Bela Vista Theatre, São Paulo, Brazil. Presented by the Nydia Licia-Sergio Cardoso company, with Mr. Cardoso directing and playing *Hamlet*, and Miss Licia as *Gertrude*. Carlos Zara as *Claudius*, Emanuele Corinaldi as *Polonius*. Translated by Péricles Eugenio da Silva Ramos.

1956-57 Season. Opera house, Wuppertal, Germany.

1956-57 Season. Sächsische Staatstheater, Staatsschauspiel, Dresden, Germany.

### *Julius Caesar*

January 12-February 12. Augustana Little Theatre, Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Earl Mundt, director; Tom Russell, designer. Dale Hart as *Julius Caesar*; John Beardsley, Mark Antony; Dick Loken, Brutus. The play toured from January 28 through February 12, marking the fifth year in which Shakespeare plays were toured.

January 30-February 24. Théâtre National Populaire, Paris, France. Raymond Hermantier directed and played Mark Antony; André Reybaz as *Cassius*, René Arrien as Brutus.

"The interpretation was said to be too violent and romantic." The adaptation was by Jean-Francis Reille.

February 25-March 9. The Gaiety Theatre, Dublin, Eire. The combined Dublin Gate Theatre productions and Anew McMaster Companies. Production devised and directed by Hilton Edwards, decor and costumes by Michéal MacLiammóir. Mr. Edwards and later Christopher Casson as *Julius Caesar*; Mr. MacLiammóir as Mark Antony, Anew McMaster as Brutus. Titled "*Julius Caesar—A.D. 1957*", the production was set in modern times. A permanent setting was used, with rostrum, ramps and steps, and the curtain lowered only once, to give speed and impact. "The tone of the setting was sombre: the *Caesar* party dressed in black breeches and riding boots with purple shirts and Sam Brown belts in black. . . . The Brutus party wore black breeches with grey shirts. . . . In the battle scenes the soldiers wore steel

helmets . . . and the effects noises were of modern battle with jet planes and bombardment. A large crowd in modern dress was used for the opening triumphal procession . . . and the public oration scenes."

March 11-16. Guildford Theatre, Guildford, England. Directed by Bryan Bailey, designed by Brian Currah. Caesar, Raymond Mason; Brutus, Peter Howell; Antony, Dennis Chinnery.

March 22-24. University Theatre, Valletta, Malta. Directed by Paul Xuereb, who also played Cassius. Ronald Delia as Brutus, Jaime Cremona as Mark Antony, Michael A. Refalo, Julius Caesar. A modern-dress production.

April 6, 10, 13. Phoenix Shakespeare Festival, Phoenix, Arizona. Produced by Phoenix College, directed by John W. Paul. One of three productions sponsored by this civic theatre's Alfred Knight Shakespeare Section, as part of the first Shakespeare Festival in Phoenix. William Withers as Julius Caesar, Kirk O'Higgins as Brutus, Ed Caldwell as Mark Antony.

Opened May 28, in repertory thereafter. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Glen Byam Shaw. Alec Clunes as Brutus, Richard Johnson as Mark Antony, Cyril Luckham as Caesar. Settings and costumes by Motley, music by Antony Hopkins. "Motley's scenery . . . emphasized and symbolized the two uneven halves of the play, being upstanding and tremendous before the interval and flat after it. Glen Byam Shaw's direction was swift and urgent. . . . [Cassius] was posted on an eminence whence he treated the Dictator to a dark, malevolent stare. Brutus . . . had humanity and authority. Alec Clunes presented him as thoughtful, good-humored, scrupulous, quite unpriggish and rather modern." Harold Matthews, *Theatre World* (London), July 1957.

July 3-September 8. One of four productions in Shakespeare Festival presented at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and Toledo Zoo Amphitheatre, Toledo, Ohio. Directed by Ellis Rabb. Patrick Hines as Julius Caesar, Ray MacDonnell as Brutus, William Bassett as Mark Antony.

Season, 1956-57. Dallas Institute of Performing Arts, Dallas, Texas. Directed by Barach Lomet. Caesar, Bernard Geraghty; Marc Antony, Gil Green; Brutus, Byron Tubbs.

Season, 1956-57, in repertory. Deutsches Nationaltheater, Weimar, Germany.

Season, 1956-57. Washburn University, Topeka, Kansas.

### *King Henry IV, Part One*

December 6-8. General Theological Seminary, New York, New York.

February 1-9. Denver University Theatre, Denver, Colorado. Directed by Russell Porter; designer, Robin Lacy. Hal, Dick Graf; Falstaff, Robert Benson; Hotspur, Irvine Smith. Special music by Waldo Williamson.

March 7-9. The Blue Masque, Catawba College, Salisbury, North Carolina. Designed and directed by B. M. Hobgood. A single setting was used, and folk songs of the 15th century provided background music.

April 10-13. University of California at Los Angeles, California. Directed by Walden Boyle. Setting by William Bellin, modeled after the Shakespearian stage. Harry Raybould as Falstaff.

April 25-27. Harpur College, State University of New York, Endicott, New York, in conjunction with the Civic Theatre of Binghamton and the Susquehanna Players of Endicott, New York. Directed by Christian P. Gruber; settings by Mary Demeter; costumes by Elaine Keane. Falstaff was played by Otto Rieth, Welfare Commissioner for the City of Binghamton; Henry IV played by Edgar Bowers, professor of English at Harpur College; and Prince Hal by George Shantz, a worker at the International Business Machines Corporation. The Masonic Temple stage in Binghamton provided both a proscenium stage and, down three steps in front of it, a Greek half-circle orchestra. Within the proscenium a free-standing inner stage was erected. The resulting set permitted both continuous action and some physical scene change.

"For the first time the three leading amateur theatre organizations combined their talent to produce a play which none could have produced separately."

Opened April 30. Loyola University, Chicago, Illinois.

May 1-3. Topeka Civic Theatre, Topeka, Kansas. Part of the second annual Shakespeare Festival of that city. Directed by Donald Lawder, Jr.; set design by Violet McCluskey; costume designs by Barbara McGuigan. Rev. John Widman (a lieutenant commander in the Navy

and a chaplain) as King Henry IV. Tom Sawyer (a student at Kansas University) as Hal, Jack Enroth (staff psychiatrist at the Menninger Foundation) as Falstaff.

July. Company Raoul Planchon, Chateaufauf, France. (*Les Nuits de Bourgogne*).

### *King Henry IV, Part Two*

The Youth Theatre, Toynbee Hall Theatre, London. Directed by Michael Croft.

### *King Henry V*

Opened February 12. Birmingham Repertory Theatre, Birmingham, England. Directed by Douglas Seale, setting by Paul Shelving. Albert Finney as Henry V, Sonia Fraser as Katharine, Geoffrey Blaydon as Pistol. The 21-year-old Mr. Finney played his first leading role as Henry V.

Opened February 12 for four-week run. Manchester Library Theatre, Manchester, England. Directed by David Scase. Setting by Jennifer Wyatt. Eighteen players played the 35 parts. David Mahlowe as Henry V, John Franklin Robbins as Pistol, Anne Mangham as Katharine. The chorus parts were spoken not by a single person but by several players, who stepped out of the scene they had just been acting.

Opened March 29. Sloane School, Chelsea, England. Directed by Guy Boas.

Opened June 19. Oxford University Dramatic Society, Magdalen Grove, Magdalen College, Oxford, England. Directed by Peter Dews.

September 13-24. Parktown Boys School, Parktown, Johannesburg, South Africa. Michael Bird directed and played Henry V, Leonard Davis as Falstaff, Dirk Bos as Pistol, Adam Kuper as Constable of France. The chorus was made up as William Shakespeare. The play included the coronation scene in Henry IV, Part Two, with the rebuking of Falstaff.

### *King Henry VIII*

August 4-28 in repertory. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon.

August 8-September 8, in repertory, Shakespeare under-the-stars Festival, alternating at the Antioch Area Theatre, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and the Toledo Zoo Amphitheatre, Toledo, Ohio. Directed by Allen Fletcher, designed by Oliver Olsen. Pauline Planagan as Katharine, Patrick Hines as Henry, Ellis Rabb as Wolsey.

### *King John*

Opened April 16, thereafter in repertory. Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed by Douglas Seale, scenery and costumes by Audrey Cruddas, music by Christopher Whelen.

"Douglas Seale's direction must be given much credit . . . for John's most memorable scene—the persuading of Hubert. John stood behind his minion and clasped him so that he could not move, whilst with nervous circumlocution he voiced his deep desire for the death of a boy, whom we could watch at the same time, resting out of hearing of John's words. . . . [As Faulconbridge] Alec Clunes, with so much material, exercised restraint. This was an easy and relaxed Bastard, the most natural-seeming personage in the play. . . . The principal feature of the scenery . . . was a dark, squat, battlemented tower over a gateway hung with a portcullis. This, through all the play's moods, always seemed appropriate." Harold Matthews, *Theatre World* (London), July 1957.

July-August. Théâtre de la Guilde. Cluny and Fort de Joux, France.

### *King Lear*

November 14-16. University of Louisville Players, Louisville, Kentucky. Directed and designed by John W. Caldwell. Lear, Patrick Franklin; Cordelia, Sheila Beck; Fool, Wayne Begley. Used a unit setting.

November 30-December 8. The Progress Theatre, Reading, England. Directed by Pierre Edmunds; setting by Alan Stanford; costumes by Pam Stanford. Norman Bishop as Lear, Vera Bishop as Cordelia, Alan Hall as the Fool.

January. RSFSR Kurgansk Oblast, City of Kurgan, U.S.S.R. The Oblast Dramatic Theatre. Director, Lazare Meerson; designer M. Korshunov. P. Masné as Lear, A. Suvorova as Cordelia, V. Sladrovsky as Fool.

January. RSFSR Sverdlovsk Oblast. City of Serov, U.S.S.R. The Chekhov Dramatic Theatre. Director, G. Rokhgendler; designer, B. Perko. Lear, P. Khromovskikh; Cordelia, P. Silaeva; Fool, E. Maksimovich.

March. Tadzhik SSR. City of Satalinabad, U.S.S.R. The Tadzhik State Academic Theatre, named for Lakhuti. Director, Efim Mitelman; régisseur, Kh. Saidakhmetov; designer, Mikhail Muklin; composer, B. Volberg. Lear, M. Kasymov; Cordelia, Kh. Nazarova; Fool, Z. Dustmatov.

March 25-30. Oldham Repertory Theatre Club, Oldham, England. Directed by Harry Lomax; decor by Eric Briers. Frank Middlemass as Lear, June Barry as Cordelia, Brien Chitty as the Fool.

"Something quite miraculous for weekly rep—a competent, satisfying 'King Lear', bearing the stamp of sound production and artistry." *The Stage* (London), April 11, 1957.

March 28-April 22. The National Theatre of Greece, Athens, Greece. Directed by Alexis Minotis, designed by Cl. Clonis. Alexis Minotis as Lear, Jenny Carcsi as Cordelia, Basil Diamantopoulos as the Fool.

May 8-11. Yale University School of Drama, Experimental Theatre, New Haven, Connecticut. Directed by Cary Clasz; designed by Al Schecter. Earle Rankin as Lear, Kenneth James as Gloucester, Thomas Victor as Kent. A student thesis production.

July. Cloister of Abbaye de Brou, France.

July 15, 26. National Theatre, Mannheim, Germany.

July 19-August 30, in repertory. National Shakespeare Festival, San Diego, California. Directed by Allen Fletcher. Don Gunderson as Lear, Anne Farrar as Cordelia, Joel Martin as Fool.

### King Richard II

October 16. Glasgow Citizens' Theatre, Glasgow, Scotland. Directed by Richard Mathews.

Opened October 23. The Old Vic Company, Winter Garden Theatre, New York City. The Old Vic's American tour. Directed by Michael Benthall, decor and costumes by Leslie Hurry. John Neville as Richard, Paul Rogers as John of Gaunt, Charles Gray as Bolingbroke.

"It is the cold, shrewd, sometimes bitter realities of political life that take on the most vivid coloring. . . . In the occasional flashes of brittle, despairing cynicism . . . John Neville's Richard comes most trenchantly alive. . . . Mr. Neville is not, I think, anywhere near so successful with [the] soaring arias. . . ." Walter Kerr, *New York Herald Tribune*.

March 8-9. Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Directed by Jeannette Ringland. Bruce Kellner as Richard II, Irving Churchill as John of Gaunt, Charles Peterson as Bolingbroke.

"A reader's theatre production." Members of the college faculty, from various departments, played roles along with the students.

### King Richard III

January and April. Théâtre National Populaire of France presented scenes from this play and *Julius Caesar*, *Macbeth*, *As You Like It*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Twelfth Night*, as "Scenes from the Theatre of Shakespeare", spoken in English. With Marius Goring, Dillys Hamlett, Avril Elgar and Roger Gage. Betty Growe directed. It was seen in Paris and then toured under the patronage of the TNP to Annecy, Lyon, Lille, Amiens, and Douai.

February 28-March 10. The University of Minnesota Theatre, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Directed by Kenneth L. Graham, settings by Wendell Josal, costumes by Robert D. Moulton, music by Lothar Klein. Richard Halverson as Richard, Shirley Venard May as Queen Margaret, Ray Lammers as the Duke of Buckingham.

April 9-13. The University of Texas, Austin, Texas. Directed by B. Iden Payne, costumes by Lucy Barton.

May. Georgian SSR. City of Tbilisi, U.S.S.R. The State Georgian Dramatic Theatre, named for K. Mardjanishvili. Director, Vasily Kushitashvili; designer, Josif Sumbatashvili; composer, K. Megvinet-Ykhutzesi.

Opened May 29, thereafter in repertory. The Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by Douglas Seale, decor and costumes by Leslie Hurry, music by Alexander Gibson. Robert Helpmann as Richard, Fay Compton as Margaret, Derek Francis as Buckingham.

"Mr. Helpmann prances and smiles, laughs at himself and makes one laugh at him . . . on

the whole, the characterisation is shallow and unpersuasive, and turns many grand or colourful passages into meaningless banter or else sheer tedium." *The Stage* (London).

### *Love's Labour's Lost*

March 11-16. Chatham College, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Produced with the Buskin Club of Washington and Jefferson College. The production conceived and supervised by Arnold Moss, who played Don Armado, Roger Hamilton as Berowne, Alice Gealy as the Princess of France. "Played as a nineteenth-century French piece."

June 28-July 6. Tavistock Repertory Company, London, England. Directed by Eva Holtermann. Ferdinand, Michael Cain; Don Armado, John Smith; Princess of France, Pamela Maxfield. Produced out of doors at Canonbury Tower.

July 5-27. In repertory. Northwestern University drama festival, Evanston, Illinois. William Johnson as Ferdinand, James Whitely as Don Armado, Jaine Kucinski as the Princess of France.

August 13-17. The Steep Shakespeare Players, Ashford Chace Garden Theatre, Petersfield, Hampshire, England. Ferdinand, Anthony Gillingham; Don Armado, Thomas Rosenthal; Princess of France, Bea Marshall. Directed by Geoffrey Crump, setting and costumes by Christopher Cash. Presented out of doors in the garden theatre of Lord Horder's estate.

### *Macbeth*

Opened October 29. The Old Vic Company, Winter Garden Theatre, New York, New York. The Old Vic's American tour. Directed by Michael Benthall, costumes and decor by Audrey Cruddas. Paul Rogers as Macbeth, Coral Browne as Lady Macbeth, John Neville as Macduff. "Paul Rogers is giving an intensely reasoned, firmly and bitterly patterned, utterly clear reading of his conscience-stricken usurper. . . . Yet, like that vivid picture Mr. Benthall has so patiently painted for us, there is a failure of fusion, a refusal to swell into the ocean-roll of a climax. . . . Mr. Rogers is never quite lost in the verse; neither are we." Walter Kerr, *New York Herald Tribune*.

Opened November 7. The County Theatre Company, Stanford Hall Theatre, Nottingham, England. Directed by John Griffin.

November 7, 12, 13, 15, 16. Theatre Unit, Jai Hind College, Bombay, India. Nergis Cowasji as Lady Macbeth, E. Alkazi as Macbeth, Bombi Kapadia as Macduff.

November 10, 22, 24. Théâtre National Populaire, Palais de Chaillot, Paris, France. Translated by Jean Curtis. Setting and costumes, Mario Prassinou. Directed by Jean Vilar. Macbeth, Alaine Cuny; Lady Macbeth, Maria Casares; Macduff, Georges Wilson.

November 16, 17. Bemidji State Teachers College Footlight Guild, Bemidji, Minnesota. 500 high school students attended each performance.

November 22, 23. The Classic Players of Bob Jones University, Greenville, South Carolina. Macbeth, Bob Jones, Jr. (President of the University); Elizabeth Edwards directed and was Lady Macbeth. A rotating unit set provided backgrounds for the scenes, which followed each other in rapid sequence. Except for one intermission midway through the play, all of the scene changes were effected during brief blackouts. The time intervals, which averaged considerably below one minute per change, were bridged by mood music composed by Robert Lair.

November 27-December 16. Margo Jones Theater, Dallas, Texas. Directed by Ramsey Burch. Harry Bergman, Macbeth; Martha Bumpas, Lady Macbeth; John O'Leary, Macduff; Dennis Drew, Banquo. Set design by James Pringle; costumes by Sarah Cabell Massey. Presented on an arena stage which approximates the three-sided Elizabethan stage. Director Burch used a version based largely on that of Edwin Booth, plus the return of several eliminated passages.

January 7-19. Mayde Mack Mimmers, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Presented on an arena stage. Ross Cummings as Macbeth, Connie Wyman as Lady Macbeth, Delbert Spain as Banquo, Bob West as Macduff. "Action burst from six entrances to the arena, and the pace was fast. Scene followed scene without a moment's hesitation. For two hours and 30 minutes, minus the time of two short intermissions, time and place were moved to troubled feudal Scotland. . . . This was Shakespeare in color and depth and style; a good portrayal; a credit to director Mack Scism and all his busy cohorts who contributed." *The Daily Oklahoman*, January 8, 1957.



February 13-17. The Theatre of Western Springs, Illinois. Mary Cattell, Director. Fred Burns, Macbeth; Jean Campbell, Lady Macbeth; Robert H. Moore, Macduff; Dave Gooder, Banquo.

February 21-24, March 1-3. The Ateneo de Manila High School Dramatic Society, Manila, Philippines. Director, Onofre Pagsanghan; staging, Fr. Thomas Steinbugler, S.J. and Severino Estrera; set and costume design, Mr. Pagsanghan. José Avelino, Macbeth; Antonio Bautista, Lady Macbeth; Vicente Tamesis, Banquo.

February. Latvian SSR. City of Riga, U.S.S.R. The State Russian Dramatic Theatre, Director, Sergei Radlov; designer, Y. Fedkistov. Lady Macbeth, Eugenia Krylova.

March 5-9 (twice daily). Marlowe Theatre, Canterbury, England. The Marlowe Players. Director, Clifford Williams; designer, Kenneth Turner; costumes by Rosemary Jaynes. Garfield Morgan as Macbeth, Jean Holness as Lady Macbeth, John Ringham as Macduff.

"The Marlowe Players are a weekly repertory company; this production was seen by over 6,000 schoolchildren from throughout the County of Kent as part of a scheme to introduce children to the live theatre. The company is one of the youngest in the country. The average age of its members is 28."

Opened March 19 (four-week run). Karamu Theatre, Cleveland, Ohio. Director, Benno D. Frank. Musical direction, Helmuth Wolfes. Set design by Leonard Dryansky. Choreography by Christine Buster. Première of lyric drama by Ernest Bloch and Edmond Fleg based on the Shakespeare play. Alternately singing Macbeth, John Dietz and Leonard Parker; Lady Macbeth, Bennie Carson and Victoria Harrison; Macduff, William Jean and Jurgen Keller.

April 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13. University of California. Wheeler Auditorium. Presented by the Committee on Drama, Lectures and Music.

April 4, 8, 11. Phoenix Little Theatre, Phoenix, Arizona. Director, Robert G. Begam. Heralded by the crowning of a Queen Elizabeth I, attended by ladies in waiting and pages, on the theatre green. Pageantry, music, madrigals, dancing by the Theatre's Ballet Corps; singing by members of the Phoenix Civic Opera Association. Director, Eileen Colgrove. Norman Macdonald as Macbeth, Rosalyn Sistrom as Lady Macbeth, Warner Burritt as Duncan, and Jack Denis as Banquo. Costumes by Rose Vesalek Land, setting by Phil F. Auth and Hal Hundley.

May 9, 10, 11. New Fine Arts Theatre, Centre College Players, Centre College, Danville, Kentucky. Director, West T. Hill; designer, Hugh White. Fred Drogula, Macbeth; Joan Ditto, Lady Macbeth; Bob Macdonald, Banquo.

July-August. Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia. The eighth Dubrovnik Summer Festival.

July 23-July 27. San Jose State College, San Jose, California. In repertory with *As You Like It*. Director, James H. Clancy; designer, J. Wendell Johnson; costumes, Berneice Priak. George Priest as Macbeth, Elisabeth Keller as Lady Macbeth, Ivan Paulsen as Banquo.

August 15-September 4. New York Summer Shakespeare Festival. Presented out of doors in Central Park, admission free. Directed by Stuart Vaughan. Roy Poole as Macbeth, Colleen Dewhurst as Lady Macbeth, Robert Geringer as Banquo.

September 3-October 5. Theatre Royal, Stratford, London, England. Directed by Joan Littlewood, designed by John Bury. Glynn Edwards, Macbeth; Eileen Kennally, Lady Macbeth. The play was produced in modern dress. (Producer's note: "In presenting Macbeth in modern dress we are not trying to be clever nor experimental: the fundamental truth of a great work of art needs no decoration to make it acceptable. . . . We try to wipe away the dust of three hundred years, to strip off the 'poetical' interpretations which the nineteenth century sentimentalists put upon these plays and which are still current today.")

Also played during the summer at the Schauspielhaus, Zurich, Switzerland, and the Moscow Arts Theatre, Moscow, Russia.

### Measure for Measure

November 1-3. Millikin University, Decatur, Illinois. Clarence Derwent guest-starred as Duke of Vienna. Produced by Jere C. Mickel, directed by Norma Magnuson. Angelo, Lou Catron; Isabella, Janet McLaughlin. The costumes were designed for the period 1800-1840; the sets after the baroque scene designers.

November 5-9. Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, New York.

Season, 1956-57. Estonian SSR. Tartu Region, City of Tartu, U.S.S.R. "Vainemuine", the State Theatre of Opera, Ballet, Musical Comedy and Drama.

Season, 1956-57. Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria. Directed by Leopold Lindtberg, designed by

Teo Otto, costumes by Elli Rolf. Translation by Wolf Graf Baudissin, music by Hans Totzauer. Angelo, Albin Skoda; Isabella, Annemarie Düringer; Lucio, Fred Liewehr.

### *The Merchant of Venice*

Opened November 26. Landestheater, Innsbruck, Tirol, Austria. Translated by Richard Flatter. Directed by Hans Stöckl; set design, Peter Muhlau; costumes, Ferdinand Madl. Antonio, Klaus Veith; Portia, Agnes Busch; Shylock, Jaromir Borak.

December 3-8. Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas.

Opened December 8. The People's Theatre, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England. Directed by Arthur Kay.

Opened December 11, thereafter in repertory. Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by Michael Bentham; sets and costumes by Loudon Sainthill; music by Gordon Jacob. Robert Helpmann as Shylock, Barbara Jefford as Portia, David Dodimead as Antonio.

"Having decided to make the Jew a compelling villain, Mr. Helpmann has undoubtedly achieved his object. . . . Mr. Helpmann sweeps across the stage like an avenging evil spirit, and when ill luck overtakes him after Jessica absconds, there is only injured pride and no sorrow in his debasement." *Theatre World*, January 1957.

February. Open-Air Theatre, Johannesburg, South Africa. Directed by Cecil Williams, costumes by Louis Jacobson, set design by Len Grossett. Portia, Valerie Philip; Antonio, John Boulter; Shylock, Rory MacDermot.

Opened March 12. Northampton Repertory Theatre, Northampton, England. Directed by Lionel Hamilton.

April 5. College Players, State Teachers College, Kutztown, Pennsylvania. Ruth E. Bonner, director; Josef F. Gutekunst, scene designer; Elizabeth Hurwitz, costume designer. (3 performances in one day for a total audience of 2,000.) Portia, Bernice Shaw; Antonio, George Strattan; Bassanio, Dale Steitz; Shylock, Daniel Whitaker.

April 25-27. Sam Houston State Teachers College, Huntsville, Texas. Director, Charles A. Schmidt; costumes, Rosel Richards. Portia, Jane Bryant; Antonio, John Hare; Bassanio, Jack Tinsley.

June. The Curtain Theatre, Rochdale, England. Directed by Arthur Lord.

June 17-22. Tunbridge Wells Drama Club, an open-air production on the Pantiles in Kent, England.

"The director and designer, Mrs. Joyce Mew, travelled to Italy beforehand, to get details of costumes from old pictures of Venice at the time the play was set. . . . We have an apron stage set under the lime trees, and the charge is only sixpence and one shilling for seats. All costumes are made by members. Except for an interval of 10 minutes, the play follows straight through without a break, scene changes being indicated by shields bearing the arms of Venice or Belmont." Mary Vincent as Portia; David Maitland as Antonio; Roy Douglas as Shylock.

Opened July 10, thereafter in repertory. The American Shakespeare Festival Theatre, Stratford, Connecticut. Directed by Jack Landau, scenery by Rouben Ter-Arutunian, costumes by Modley, music by Virgil Thomson. Morris Carnovsky as Shylock, Katharine Hepburn as Portia, Richard Waring as Antonio.

". . . A sunlit comedy, briefly clouded over by the threat of Shylock, but resolving itself in moonlight and mirth . . . throughout, this mood is one of music and hope, of young love and devotion between friends, of mercy tempering justice, an atmosphere in which evil exists but is bound to be thwarted. Within this framework of comedy, it is proper that Shylock be played as a villain . . . a full-length, subtly executed, excellent portrait." *Theatre Arts Magazine*, September 1957.

### *The Merry Wives of Windsor*

November 29. Cambridge University A.D.C., A.D.C. Theatre, Cambridge, England. Directed by Clive Perry.

March 18-23. Ithaca College Theatre, Ithaca, New York. Directed by Michael Hogan. Scene designer, George R. Hoerner; choreographer, Virgilio Cornes. Falstaff, Howard Ingram; Mrs. Ford, Harriette Millstein; Mrs. Page, Lynn Moree.

April 4-5. Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas. Directed by Earl G. Hoover. Designer,

Donald F. Hermes. Falstaff, Gordon Jump; Mistress Ford, Bobbi Bauman; Mistress Page, Sharon Wagner.

May. The Moscow Mossoviet Dramatic Theatre, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Director, Yuri Zavadsky; régisseur, A. Zubov; designer, Nissou Shifrin; composer, Karen Khachatourian. Alexei Konsovsky "for the theatre" [probably some kind of master of ceremonies.] Falstaff, Constantin Alexeev; Mrs. Ford, Valentina Khodina; Mrs. Page, Natalia Tkacheva.

### *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

September 24-October 6. Perth Repertory Theatre, Perth, Scotland. Director, Edmund Bailey; designer, Henry Bardon; costumes, Anne Carrick. Oberon, David Stewart; Titania, Una McLean; Puck, Edmund Bailey.

November 28-December 4. Columbia University, New York, New York. Louis H. Huber, musical director. *The Dream*, an adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* with the music and masque scenes of Purcell's *The Fairy Queen*.

December 7, 8. University of Rochester, Rochester, New York. The Stagers (an undergraduate extra-curricular theatre organization). Director and designer, Lisa Rauschenbusch. Bottom, John Packard; Titania, Roberta Kirsch; Puck, Donald Olins; Oberon, Dudley Hughes. Cut as little as possible, and had no processions. "Used neither localized nor stylized scenery, and therefore had no waits for scene changes any more than had waits for processions to proceed. Used a permanent, formal, curtain setting with a platform and steps leading up to it. The curtains had eight openings which allowed for a good deal of useful variety in exits and entrances."

December-January. Kasakh SSR. Eastern Kasakh Oblast. City of Ust-Kamenogorsk, U.S.S.R. The Oblast Russian Dramatic Theatre. Director, D. Levin; designer, M. Starodub; music, Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. Titania, V. Vasilieva; Oberon, A. Simorarov; Puck, N. Silina.

January and February. The University Theatre. University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Directed by Frank Whiting, who also played the role of Bottom. The production toured the State of Minnesota, and went abroad in the summer and fall (see below).

Opened May 14. Bristol Old Vic Company, Theatre Royal, Bristol, England. Directed by John Moody.

Opened May 20. Burgschauspieler, Vienna, Austria, tour of the high schools. 24 presentations in Vienna high schools and a tour to the provinces in September. Directed by Eduard Volters, designed by Eugen Bosch. Bottom, Johannes Schauer; Puck, Christl Erber; Titania, Dolores Hubert.

June 26-September 8, in repertory. The second summer season of Shakespeare under-the-stars. Alternating at Toledo Zoo Outdoor Amphitheatre, Toledo, Ohio, and Antioch College campus, Yellow Springs, Ohio. A professional company under the direction of Ellis Rabb. Music composed and conducted by Edwin London; costumes and decor designed by E. Oliver Olsen; choreographer, David Gold. Julian Miller, Puck; Patrick Hines, Bottom; Clayton Corzatte, Oberon.

July 2-3. Burggarten, Graz, Austria. The Graz Festival. Music by Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. Directed by Ludwig Andersen; designed by Wolfram Skalicki; choreography, Rein Esté. Theseus, Heinz Plate; Hippolyta, Hanna Lussnig; Puck, Irene Lang; Bottom, Karl Friedrich.

July 2-4. Théâtre Romain, Lyon-Charbonnières, France.

August 26-September 28. The University of Minnesota Theatre was sent by the U. S. Department of State to tour Brazil, after touring this play for the Defense Department to some 30 Army bases in Germany during July. It was sponsored by the American Educational Theatre Association on both tours. In South America, the play was presented at Belém, at the Teatro da Paz; Recife, Teatro Santa Isabella; Bahia, Teatro do Instituto Normal; Belo Horizonte, Colégio Izabela Hendrix; Rio de Janeiro, Municipal Theatre; São Paulo, Teatro Bela Vista. Frank Whiting directed and played Bottom; Janis Benson as Titania, Philip Benson as Oberon. "This is the best idea in international relations that has come out of the State Department in years", said a United States Information Agency official of this South American tour.

A Czechoslovakian film, with puppets, conceived for the screen by Jiri Trnka. "The puppets' shape approximates that of Greek statues, while the physiognomy corresponds to the character of Shakespeare's heroes. The dramatic conception . . . preserved the main outline of Shakespeare's plot but developed the imaginative element . . . the acting of the puppets takes the

form of dance and mime without any dialogue or commentary, and some scenes are given over entirely to solos."

### *Much Ado About Nothing*

Opened October 23, thereafter in repertory. The Old Vic Theatre, London. Directed by Denis Carey, with costumes and sets by Peter Rice. Keith Michell as Benedick, Barbara Jefford as Beatrice.

"... A down-to-earth version with the humour consistently on the more heavy side, but we liked the delightful Jacobean costumes and sets. . . ." *Theatre World* (London), December 1956.

October 26-November 3. San Jose State College, San Jose, California. Directed by Elizabeth Loeffler, designed by Harrison McCreath. Leslie Robinson, Beatrice; Patrick Garvey, Benedick.

April 5, 9, 12. Phoenix Little Theatre Shakespeare Festival 1957, Phoenix, Arizona. Drama Workshop, Arizona State College at Tempe. Director, Frank Rawley Byers. Basic stage designed by Phil F. Auth. Costume and masks, Rose Veselak Land. Benedick, Rex Castle; Beatrice, Monica McMindes.

Opened August 7, thereafter in repertory. American Shakespeare Festival Theatre and Academy, Stratford, Connecticut. Directed by John Houseman and Jack Landau, settings and costumes by Rouben Ter-Arutunian, music by Virgil Thomson. Set in the American-Spanish southwest about sixty years ago.

"Katharine Hepburn is very much the modern actress. The hard surface of modern wit, the brittle remarks, the sophisticated eyes become her, as do the flowing costumes and the Spanish headresses . . . Alfred Drake . . . plays the part with a lightness of humor. . . . As the Benedick who has been snared into loving . . . he sketches the fatuousness on the wing without laboring it. . . ." Brooks Atkinson, *New York Times*.

1956-57 Season, University of Wyoming Theatre, Laramie, Wyoming.

### *Othello*

October 17-20. Southsea Shakespeare Actors, Southsea, England. K. Edmonds Gateley, direction, scenery and lighting. Iago, K. Edmonds Gateley; Othello, Leonard Russell; Desdemona, Anne Nicolle. The tenth season of Shakespearian productions by this group.

Opened October 22. Leatherhead Repertory Company Ltd., England. Director, Jordan Lawrence.

Opened November 27. Bristol Old Vic Company, Theatre Royal, Bristol, England. Director, John Moody.

November 29, 30, December 1. The Iowa State College Theatre, Ames, Iowa. Director, Burt Drexler. Othello, Daryl L. Polenz; Iago, Jean E. Olson; Desdemona, Patsy Jean Schroeder.

Opened December 3. Theatre Royal, Lincoln, England. Directed by John Hale.

January 21-26. The Arena Theatre Company, Arena Theatre at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England. Directed by John English. Settings by Richard Lake and John English. Alan Foss as Othello, William Thomley as Iago, and Rita Smythe as Desdemona. A modern-dress production.

Opened February 2. Burgtheater, Vienna, Austria. Belgian-German tour February 18-April 2. Directed by Joseph Glücksmann; designed by Fritz Judtman; costumes by Elli Rolf. Ewald Balser as Othello, Käthe Gold as Desdemona, Albin Skoda as Iago. Production and scenery were especially designed so that the work could tour.

February 14-16; 19-23. University Theatre, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa. Director, Harrold C. Schiffer, designer, R. Keith Michael, supervised by A. S. Gillette; costume designer, Elizabeth Hall, supervised by Margaret S. Hall. Othello, James P. Cochran (a Negro Ph.D. student); Desdemona, Marion Michael; Iago, George Toulaitos. "The designs were basically formal in style and were supplemented by two or three suggestive architectural forms . . . adapted for use on the University Theatre's revolving stage, making possible rapid scene shifts by bringing various facets of the setting into position within the proscenium arch."

Opened February 27 for 36 performances. Volkstheater, Vienna, Austria. Director Leon Epp; designer, Gustav Manker; costumes, Maxi Tschunko; music, Robert Leukauf. Othello, Otto Woegerer; Iago, Heinrich Trimbaur; Desdemona, Traute Wassler.

April 12-27. Goodman Memorial Theatre, The Art Institute of Chicago, Illinois. Directed by

David B. Itkin; settings by Jack H. Cornwell; costumes by Leonor Travis. Othello, Don Gunderson; Iago, Thom Koutsoukos; Desdemona, Felicia Jaye and Nancy Eaton.

Opened June 22, thereafter in repertory. The American Shakespeare Festival Theatre, Stratford, Connecticut. Directed by John Houseman. Scenery and costumes by Rouben Ter-Arutunian. Production and lighting by Jean Rosenthal. Music by Virgil Thomson. Othello, Earle Hyman; Iago, Alfred Drake; Desdemona, Jacqueline Brookes. "Drake is in complete command of the role, managing adroitly the quicksilver changes from cynical casualness with Roderigo to the white-hot anger of the soliloquies, from the blunt, honest soldier in Othello's presence to the malicious conniver behind his back. . . . If Drake's Iago is characterized by an expansiveness that makes believable this larger-than-life villain, Hyman's acting of Othello lacks the stature necessary for a Shakespearean hero. He rarely brings out the nobility and grandeur of the character, which lessens the effect of tragedy considerably." *Theatre Arts Magazine*, September, 1957.

June 29-August 25. Friesacher Burgspiele, Kärnten, Austria. An amateur production at Petersberg castle. Arch. Hannes Sandler directed and designed the production.

August 2-26. In repertory. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon.

### *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*

February 6-9. The Southsea Shakespeare Actors, Southsea, England. Directed and designed by K. Edmonds Gatsley. Pericles, Trevor Conway; Marina, Helen Williamson.

August 23, 29. In repertory. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon.

October 10. Théâtre de l'Ambigu, France. French adaptation by Leon Ruth. Director, René Dupuy; scenery and costumes, Jacques Noël. Chorus, René Dupuy; Simonides, Jacques Mandair; Marina, Nelly Borgeaud.

### *Romeo and Juliet*

Opened October 24. The Old Vic Company, Winter Garden Theatre, New York, New York. The Old Vic's American tour. Directed by Robert Helpmann, costumes and decor by Loudon Sainthill, music by Brian Easdale. John Neville as Romeo, Claire Bloom as Juliet, Paul Rogers as Mercutio.

"There is . . . little romantic energy generated between these lovers, forceful as Miss Bloom often is on her own. . . . Robert Helpmann has built his first-act fencing match to a most satisfactory frenzy, there is good fun in a formal game of wits in the public square. . . . [Regarding the company itself], there are any number of assets at hand: utter clarity of speech and story-line, a uniform and welcome dignity, a general production style that is decorative without ever overwhelming the players." Walter Kerr, *New York Herald Tribune*.

October 17. The State Vachtangov Theatre, Moscow, U.S.S.R. Director, Ioif Rapoport; designer, Vadim Ryndin. Juliet, Galina Pashkova and Ludmila Tzelikovskaia; Romeo, Yuri Liubimov and Viacheslav Dugin.

November 21-23. Queen's Drama Guild Production, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada. Directed by William Angus. Romeo, Donald Chadsey; Juliet, Marcelle Fournier; Mercutio, Martin Solomon.

March 27-29. The William and Mary Theatre. College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. Directed by Althea Hunt and Howard Scammon; scenery and lighting designed by Roger Sherman; choreography by Gladys Warren. Romeo, Donald Smith; Juliet, Linda Lavin; Friar Lawrence, Rogers Hamilton.

April 4-6. The University Theatre of the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado, The Players Club. Director, Albert H. Nadeau. Permanent Elizabethan stage designed by J. H. Crouch and A. H. Nadeau. Romeo, William Mooney; Juliet, Dencida Milton.

Opened May 9. The Pasadena Playhouse, Pasadena, California. Directed by Albert McCleery. Margaret O'Brien as Juliet, John Barrymore, Jr., as Romeo, Florence Reed as the Nurse, Gene Raymond as Mercutio. Twenty-one colored banners, eleven feet high and four feet wide provided the basic scenic background, with scene changes made in view of the audience.

May 16. RSFSR Chkalov Oblast. City of Chkalov, U.S.S.R. The Oblast Gorky Dramatic Theatre. Director, Yuri Ioffe; designer, Serafim Alexandrov; choreographer, A. Guletsko. Juliet, Anna Pokidchenko; Romeo, S. Yumatov; Nurse, Maria Yankovskaia.

June. Performed in front of the Château d'Acquigny, near Louviers, France.

June 27-July 15. The New York Summer Shakespeare Festival. Directed by Stuart Vaughan. Bryerly Lee as Juliet, Stephen Joyce as Romeo, Jack Cannon as Mercutio. Presented out of doors, admission free in Central Park, and in the Bronx at Hunter College, in Queens at King Park, in Brooklyn at War Memorial Park, in Richmond at Clove Lake Park, and East River Park, Manhattan.

July 17-21. Manistee Summer Theatre, Ramsdell Opera House, Manistee, Michigan. Produced by Manistee Dramatic Association, Inc. Director, Madge Skelly; designer, Jerome Giddings. Don Garner, Romeo; Natalie Ross, Juliet; Madge Skelly, Nurse.

October 2-5. The Southsea Shakespeare Actors. South Parade Pier Theatre, Southsea, England.

### *The Taming of the Shrew*

October 20. RSFSR Briansk Oblast. City of Briansk, U.S.S.R. The Oblast Dramatic Theatre. Director, Boris Sapegin; designer, I. Grigoriev. Katherine, M. Germatzkaia; Petruchio, A. Sheremetiev.

November 2-17. Indiana University Theatre, Bloomington, Indiana. Directed and designed by William E. Kinzer. Petruchio, Paul Boesing; Katharine, Jeri Suer; Bianca, Judy Hinds and Barbara Bigge.

February. Little Theatre of Alexandria, Alexandria, Virginia. Directed by Orville French.

March 15-May 23, for sixteen performances in repertory. Städtische Bühnen Augsburg, Augsburg, Bayern, Germany. Director, Rolf Roenneke; designer, Toni Steinberger. Ingeborg Engelmann as Katharine, Jürgen Brock as Petruchio, Gerd Mayen as Lucentio.

May 7-25. The Playhouse, Liverpool Repertory Theatre, England. Directed by Willard Stoker; designer, Alan Pirkford. Mona Bruce as Katharine, William Roderick as Petruchio. Produced in the manner of the *Commedia dell'Arte*.

June-August. Plantagenet Productions. Toured a short version to towns and villages in Scotland. Dorothy Rose Gribble acted Katharine and adapted the play. Mhicheil Kennedy played Petruchio.

June 26-July 3. Brigham Young University Arena Theatre, Provo, Utah. Directed and designed by Harold I. Hansen. Flo French as Katharine, Lael J. Woodbury as Petruchio, Brad Powell as Grumio.

July 8-20. The Earle Grey Company Shakespeare Festival, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada. Performed on an open-air Elizabethan stage.

August 2, 3, 9, 10. Idyllwild Arts Foundation, Idyllwild, California. Sixth annual Shakespearian Festival. Directed by Howard M. Banks.

### *The Tempest*

October. David Lewis New Theatre Company, Liverpool, England. Directed by Thomas G. Read.

October 8. Guildford Theatre Company, Guildford, England. Directed by Alan Bridges.

Opened November 13 for four-week run. Manchester Library Theatre, Manchester, England. Directed and designed by David Scase. David Mahlowe as Prospero, John Franklyn Robbins as Ariel, Marah Stohl as Miranda.

November 19-28. Bradford Civic Playhouse, Bradford, England. Directed by Anthony Haigh. Designed by Wheaton Smith. Tom Woodrow as Prospero, Christine Kennedy as Ariel, Thelma Hey as Miranda.

November 29-December 1. Boston University Theatre, Boston, Massachusetts. Directed by Basil Langton.

December 4-6. Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia. Directed by Lloyd J. Lanich. Prospero, Gerald Denninger; Miranda, Cordelia Riegel; Ariel, James Hague.

March 4-9; 11-15. Georgetown College, Georgetown, Kentucky. Directed by Orlin R. Corey; designed by Irene Corey. Robert Canzoneri as Prospero, Shirley Ledford as Miranda, Guin Clifton and Patricia Minton as two Ariels, who divided speeches or spoke in unison, to "help enhance the sense of wonder". In scenes where Prospero did not figure in the action, he appeared above the stage, and "by mimed business" directly intervened with magic whenever required. The play was presented as a contribution to International Theatre Month.

April 5-6, 11-13. Wayne State University Theatre, Detroit, Michigan. Directed by Leonard Leone, designed by Richard D. Spear. Wayne E. Martens as Prospero, Luis Ybarro as Ariel, Clifford Ammon as Caliban. "One of the rare productions of 'The Tempest' performed with the incidental music by Jean Sibelius", played by the Wayne State University Symphony Orchestra and sung by the University Glee Clubs. The complete orchestra and singers were placed backstage behind a scrim. Scenery was designed to create the illusion of depth in the shallow stage area. Members of the University Dance Workshop played the spirits of the island.

April 15-20. Barter Theatre of Virginia, Abingdon, Virginia. Directed and designed by John Edward Friend. Ian Keith as Prospero, William Prince as Ferdinand, Marcie Hubert as Miranda. Choreography by David Lober.

April 23-28. The Barter Theatre production above, presented as a special attraction of the Jamestown Festival, Williamsburg, Virginia, in conjunction with the celebration of the 350th Anniversary of the State of Virginia.

May 6-7. The Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. A reading staged by Arnold Moss, who also played Prospero. Leon Janney as Alonso and Stephano, Patricia Peardon as Miranda, Nancy Coleman as Ariel. There were eight performers in all.

"As Prospero dismissed Caliban (V.i.291 ff.) he stood erect, his limbs, which had been twisted and crippled, straightened, and a look of joy appeared in his face as he cried out 'I'll be wise hereafter and seek for grace.' Trinculo was differentiated from Stephano and used as a critic of sottishness and native bestiality."

June 14. Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine. Directed by A. Raymond Rutan. Frederick C. Wilkins as Prospero, Nancy McKeen, Miranda; Judy Gorbach, Ariel. Presented as the annual commencement play.

Opened June 17. Staatsoper, Vienna, Austria. Translation by A. W. Schlegel. Music by Frank Martin. Directed by Heinz Arnold. Setting and costumes by Georges Wakhewitsch, choreography by Erika Hanka. Prospero, Eberhard Wächter; Miranda, Christa Ludwig; Ferdinand, Anton Dermota; Ariel, Willi Dirl, a dancer; his words were sung by a choir under the stage.

June 24-July 6. The Earle Grey Company Shakespeare Festival, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada. Performed on an open-air Elizabethan stage.

July 22-August 31. In repertory. National Shakespeare Festival, San Diego (Old Globe Theatre), California. Directed by B. Iden Payne. Don Gunderson as Prospero, Anne Farrar as Miranda, Carl Tressler as Ariel.

July-August. Festival of Arts, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. Directed by Douglas Seale. Music by John Brockington. "Staged with a Robinson Crusoe touch."

Opened August 13, thereafter in repertory. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon, England. Directed and designed by Peter Brook, who also composed the music. John Gielgud as Prospero, Alec Clunes as Caliban, Doreen Aris as Miranda. "... The best staging of the play for many years ... magical in atmosphere ... alive and glowing with colours, lights and sounds suggestive of a world somewhere between reality and fantasy. ... Mr. Brook has succeeded well in bringing out the horror and pain as much as the pathos and beauty. ... Always beautifully spoken [John Gielgud's] Prospero, becomes a figure of mystery and beauty in his relation with Ariel, and his blessing of the union of Ferdinand and Miranda takes on a most moving quality of tempered wisdom and controlled resignation." *The Stage* (London).

### *Timon of Athens*

Opened September 5. Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by Michael Benthall; designed by Leslie Hurry. Ralph Richardson as Timon, Dudley Jones as Apemantus, Brian Panter as Alcibiades.

### *Titus Andronicus*

Opened November 27. The New York Shakespeare Festival Theatre, New York, N. Y. Directed by Frederick Rolf, designed by Bernie Joy. Leonard Stone as Titus, Roscoe Browne as Aaron, Colleen Dewhurst as Tamora.

Opened April 23, thereafter in repertory. The Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London. Directed by Walter Hudd. Presented in a shortened version on a double bill with *The Comedy of Errors*. Derek Godfrey as Titus, Keith Michell as Aaron.



Opened May 15 for 10 performances. The Shakespeare Memorial Theatre 1955 production, with direction, decor and music by Peter Brook, with Laurence Olivier as Titus, Vivien Leigh as Lavinia, and Anthony Quayle as Aaron. At the Théâtre des Nations, Paris, France. Then toured to Venice, Belgrade, Zagreb, Vienna, and Warsaw, returned to England and opened at the Stoll Theatre in London July 1 for five weeks.

### *Troilus and Cressida*

December 3-4. University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada. Perry Rosemond as Troilus, Yvonne Moffat as Cressida, Joseph Mauro as Ulysses. Directed by George Brodersen. A feature of the University's Festival of the Arts.

December 26. The Old Vic Company, Winter Garden Theatre, New York, New York. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie, costumes and decor by Frederick Crooke. The Old Vic's American tour. Jeremy Brett as Troilus, Rosemary Harris as Cressida, Paul Rogers as Pandarus. "[Mr. Guthrie] has costumed the Trojans like ceremonial British guards of about the World War I period, and the Greeks like Prussian officers of the same time. . . . He is very funny when he is cartooning the bravura ritual of warriors who regard fighting as the cavalier's duty. . . . But it seems . . . that Mr. Guthrie's assault on tradition is only successful in part. His humor is heartier than Shakespeare's." Brooks Atkinson, *The New York Times*.

### *Twelfth Night*

October 18-19, 26-27. Auburn Players, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama. Directed by Telfair B. Peet. Laurie Lynn Benson as Viola, Bill Mason as Orsino, Mary Anne Gainey as Olivia. Toured to seven cities in Alabama and Georgia through November 30.

October 26-November 10. Speech and Drama Department of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C. Director, Robert Moore; settings, James D. Waring; costumes, Joseph Lewis; music for songs, Russell Woollen. Mary Hartigan, Viola; Robert Conforti, Feste; Dolores Viola, Olivia.

November 8-10, 16-17. St. Olaf College Theatre, Northfield, Minnesota. Directed by Ralph H. Haugen. Gwen Marks, Viola; Mal Bartlett, Orsino; Elaine Pederson, Olivia. A madrigal group presented representative music of the Elizabethan period as part of the action and between the acts.

November 14-15. Midland College Theatre, Fremont, Nebraska. Sir Toby, Bill Gunderson; Viola, Rosalie Keiser; Malvolio, Eberhard Hering.

Opened December 27. Jack Rose Repertory Players, Royal Pavilion, Blackpool, England. Directed by Arthur Leslie.

Opened January 22. The Playhouse, Nottingham, England. Directed by J. Harrison.

January 31-February 2. Stanford University, Stanford, California. Directed by F. Cowles Strickland, sets by William Allison. Viola, Nancy Fowlkes; Sir Toby, Lawrence Strawbridge; Malvolio, Robert Loper.

Opened February 4. Civic Theatre, Chesterfield, England. Directed by G. Maxwell Jackson; scenic designer, Glen Edwards. Frederick Hall as Orsino, Graham Lines as Sir Andrew Aguecheek, John Bryans as Malvolio. A young actress, Penny Stephens, played by the part of Feste.

February 12-16. University of Tulsa Theatre, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Directed by Beaumont Bruetle; designed by Harold W. Barrows; choreographer, John Hurdle. James Freiburger, Malvolio; Corinne Flynn, Viola; Arlen Snyder, Sir Toby. A musical play version, making use of all of Shakespeare's characters and most of his situations and dialogue. The adaptation and lyrics were by Beaumont Bruetle, music by Charles Swier.

February 23. An open-air performance, Barbados, B.W.I., celebrating the first Federation Day of the British West Indies.

March 7-9, 15-16. Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York. Directed by Sherwood Weber. The set, lighting, and choreography were created by students. Admission was free.

March 10-April 18. Comédie de l'Est, Strasbourg, France. Directed by John Blatchley; designed by Abd el Kader Farrah; translated by Theodore Lascaris. Orsino, Jean Brassat; Viola, Michèle Manet; Sir Toby, Jean-Simon Prevost. The production toured towns in the east of France during the above period.

April 3-13. University of Miami Ring Theatre, Coral Gables, Florida. Directed by Delmar E.

Solem, designed by Gordon Bennett. Curtis Knudson as Feste, Winnie Burton Still as Viola, Jim Schwartz as Sir Toby Belch. The playing area included an apron approximately the estimated size of that of the Globe Theatre, and no member of the audience was farther from the center of the playing area than in reconstructions of the Globe. "Two houses, one for Count Orsino and one for Olivia, three benches, and a box tree constituted a setting which permitted localization of entrances and utilized an unlocated playing area . . . there was no break in the flow of the action . . . in a two hour production. . . . This production emphasized the concept of youth and high spirits to clarify the love theme. . . . Sir Toby became young enough to marry Maria and be a companion to Sir Andrew who was, and must be, younger than Olivia . . . Sir Toby became a fitting Master of the Revels . . . while Sir Andrew . . . emerged with an engaging silliness and naiveté. . . . Utilizing the studies of Leslie Monson, this production costumed Feste in motley rather than in the traditional parti-coloured costume of the court jester. This accentuated the homeless, wandering quality of Feste."

April 26-28, May 3-5. Northwestern University Theatre, Evanston, Illinois. Staging and costumes by Paul Reinhardt; setting by Edgar Galli; music by Thomas C. Willis. Jake Dengel as Feste, Brett Harvey as Viola, Jay Bell as Malvolio.

Spring. School production of the Bundeserziehungsanstalt für Mädchen, Vienna, Austria.

May 3-16. Montana State University, Missoula, Montana. Toured to high school auditoriums in eight cities throughout Montana. Directed by Firman H. Brown, Jr.; designed by Clemens M. Peck. Heather McLeod as Viola, Delores Vaage as Olivia, Doug Giebel as Sir Toby Belch. A special set was designed for ease of touring and adaptability to different stages.

Opened May 6 for eighteen performances in the outlying districts of Vienna. The Volkstheater, Vienna, Austria. Directed by Gustav Manker, designed by Maxi Tschunko. Viola, Greta Putz; Malvolio, Ludwig Blaha; Sir Toby, Onkar Wegrostek. Translated by Richard Flatter.

May 9-11, 16-18; July 11-13; August 9-10, 16-17. San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California. Directed by J. Fenton McKenna; designed by George Armstrong. Malvolio, Richard Lee; Sir Toby, Robert Ackerman; Viola, Callie Christensen. Presented on an Elizabethan-type stage to allow for fluidity of action. Gay color was accented in the sets and lighting of the permanent plaster cyclorama.

May 13-14. Beaver College, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania. Directed by Judith Elder; set by Jean Francksen; costumes by Elsie McGarvey. Viola, Janice Eckart; Olivia, Yvonne Zee; Malvolio, Maurice Demar. Staged on a two-level triangular apron stage, "giving an approximation of the intimacy of the Elizabethan forestage". The part of Feste was divided into two roles, the actors delivering the lines antiphonally or in unison. They were costumed as Harlequins, in line with the *Commedia dell'Arte* style of staging.

June-August. A short version, adapted for two performers and linking dialogue by Dorothy Rose Gribble, presented by Plantagenet Productions in towns in Scotland. Miss Gribble as Maria, Mhicheil Kennedy as Feste.

June 23. Beaune, France. Adapted by Jean Anouilh. Original music by Henri Sauguet. With Maria Mauban. July 7 at Abbaye de Brou; July 9 at Toulon.

July 2-September 7, in repertory. Stratford Shakespearean Festival, Stratford, Ontario, Canada. Directed by Tyrone Guthrie; designed by Tanya Moiseiwitch; music by John Cook. Siobhan McKenna as Viola, Christopher Plummer as Sir Andrew Aguecheek, Bruno Gerussi as Feste, Douglas Campbell as Sir Toby.

" . . . Part of the enchantment of the excellent and highly imaginative *Twelfth Night* is due to the moments of stillness when music tinged with sadness pervades the atmosphere. This production . . . happily combines . . . the wild physical farce . . . with melancholy. . . . Feste is now an old man who has run out of jokes. . . . Malvolio . . . is admirably played by Douglas Rain as a pompous, intoning Puritan who is still sympathetic. . . ." *Theatre Arts Magazine*, September 1957.

July 15-September 8 in repertory. Shakespeare under-the-stars Festival, alternating at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, and at the Toledo Zoo Amphitheatre, Toledo, Ohio. Directed by William Ball; costumes and decor by E. Oliver Olsen. Malvolio, Ellis Rabb; Viola, Grace Chapman; Sir Toby, Patrick Hines.

Opened July 20, thereafter in repertory. Kammerspiele, Munich, Germany.

July 27-28. University of Nebraska Theatre, Lincoln, Nebraska. Harry E. Stiver, director and designer. Viola, Beverly Giltner; Malvolio, Donald Montgomery; Feste, Roy Willey. Presented in an open-air amphitheatre seating approximately six thousand people. Settings were simpli-

fied, utilizing the natural landscaping. Cartoon-like wall units on casters were moved by the characters to set the scenes.

Opened September 24. The Bristol Old Vic, Bristol, England. Directed by John Moody, setting by Patrick Robertson, costumes by Rosemary Vercoe. Orsino, Donald Pickering; Viola, Wendy Williams; Sir Toby, David King.

"Effective lightness . . . and gently satirical, lacking the boisterousness usually associated with Sir Toby and his partners in comedy." *The Stage* (London) September 26, 1957.

Season 1956-57. Idaho State College, Pocatello, Idaho. Directed by Vio Mac Powell.

Season 1956-57. Municipal Playhouses of Gelsenkirchen, Germany.

### *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*

Opened September 23. Kammerspiele, Graz, Steiermark, Austria. Translated by Richard Flatter, music by Peter Traunfellner. Directed by Helmut H. Schwarz; setting, Wolfram Skalik; costumes, Lotte Piecka; choreography, Rein Esté. Valentine, Karl Heinz Ullmann; Proteus, Walter Riess; Silvia, Anna Freire. Guest director Helmut H. Schwarz offered a turbulent, burlesque production with modern trimmings. The servants were white-faced clowns, the wood a wild west scene with exploding pistols, the music a modern jazz rhythm.

Opened January 22, thereafter in repertory. The Old Vic Company, Old Vic Theatre, London, England. Directed by Michael Langham; decor and costumes by Tanya Moiseiwitsch; music by Cedric Thorpe Davie. Richard Gale, Valentine; Keith Michell, Proteus; Robert Helpmann, Launce. A production in Regency dress.

July 22-August 9. The New York Summer Shakespeare Festival, New York, N. Y. Directed by Stuart Vaughan. Robert Blackburn, Paul Stevens, and Jerry Stiller played leading roles. Presented out of doors, admission-free.

August 7-27. In repertory. Oregon Shakespearean Festival, Ashland, Oregon.

### *The Winter's Tale*

Opened November 16. Maddermarket Theatre, Norwich, England. Directed by Frank Harwood.

Opened February 20. Landestheater, Linz, Oberösterreich, Austria. Translation by Richard Flatter, music by Michael Hüttenstrasser. Directed by Fritz Peter Buch, settings by Leo Kliegel. Otto David as Leontes, Ingrid Burkhard as Hermione, Hannes Siegl as Autolycus.

## Reviews

*Tragedy: A View of Life.* By HENRY ALONZO MYERS. Cornell University Press, 1956. Pp. viii + 210. \$3.50.

One order of existentialist mind in our time would have man scorn to cry out for justice in a universe found wholly incomprehensible and would have him defiantly assert his existent individuality by cultivating the passionate moment—by “going to extremes” and filling the propitious time with an excess of tragic being. It is ironic that Professor Myers in *Tragedy: A View of Life* should, by making much of the individual extremist in tragedy, remind us of existentialist theory. Myers was so very much not the existentialist. He was at heart an idealist of an older school that could take reason to be not entirely foreign to the general scheme of things. He died in 1955 and his wife has brought together the chapters of this book, forming them out of lectures and essays, several of which have been published before.

Somewhere near the center of Myers' thought is the idea that the tragic hero is inevitably a man who goes to extremes, who suffers for his extremity of action, and who would in truth not wish to escape suffering by being other than he is. His is never “the choice of the sensible man”, for he “prefers drinking the cup of life at a single draught to taking it in the manner of a valetudinarian sipping milk.” There are many who “would gladly exchange the seemingly empty years ahead for the great moments of a Romeo or a Hamlet.” The going to extremes that Professor Myers finds in the hero of a Shakesperian tragedy he also finds in the Ahab of Melville's *Moby Dick*. Ahab is “the extreme chosen to throw light on the mean”, and he does with such success what he is created to do that he is to be viewed as the only tragic figure of nineteenth-century American literature that has true stature.

As he develops his theory of tragic extremism, Myers is so far from offering a picture of universal incomprehensibility that we find him delineating a special order of justice. To the theme of justice he returns again and again, whether he is writing about Greek tragedy, Shakesperian tragedy, or tragedy of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and he says plainly and simply that what he finds important here has been unjustifiably neglected by Aristotle. Perhaps his fullest statement concerning tragic justice is in a chapter on “Aristotle's Study of Tragedy”: the ideal tragic hero's change of fortune satisfies our sense of justice when in the intensity of an extremist's experience we find compensation for its lack of breadth and duration, when we discover a just balance between the depths of such a man's suffering and the heights of his joys, and when we realize that the “change of fortune, universalized, suggests that good and evil, the fundamental modes of experience, imply one another so necessarily that no one may hope to escape from the grief which is the counterpart of his gladness.”

For Myers the most meaningful thing about tragedy is its revelation of justice, and the most meaningful thing about the justice revealed is an inevitable equivalence between good and evil. In a chapter on “*Romeo and Juliet* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: Tragedy and Comedy”, man's experience is pre-

sented as one in which disorder, nonsense, incongruities, and absurdities are met with everywhere. In comedy the response to all this is laughter, and when the comic approach is taken, thinks Myers, the observer is detached and views life chiefly from the outside, focussing his attention mainly on the disorder and incongruities of the surface. (Probably many would want to argue, as would the reviewer certainly, that comedy must somehow not be left in the position of playing its light merely on the surface of being.) In tragedy, we gather, the response is very different, for "life is tragic when we view it from within." Viewing life from within means viewing it from the point of view of the individual, our own point of view or that of someone with whom we can identify ourselves by sympathetic insight. And it is by penetrating human individuality that we find the great principle of tragic justice: for instance, we attain to what Myers thinks is the Shakespearian vision, the perception that each individual man is fated to experience a just balance between good and evil, knowing only as much of joy as he knows of pain—good and evil and joy and pain being poles of the universe—and that the tragic hero knows these poles through extremes of experience but is nevertheless united with all men in a common fate of knowing them. Tragedy is thus "a demonstration of the universal moral law: man gets what he pays for and pays for what he gets."

There is nothing here, Myers insists, of the *lex talionis*, the law of the claw, nothing of justice having to do with the relation between individual and individual, for "tragedy recognizes the impossibility of exacting an eye for an eye, of bringing upon the emotionally undeveloped Edmund and Iago sorrows as great as those of Othello and Lear." Because it is "artistically self-sufficient, never carrying the spectator beyond the action, and because its climax is retrospection, it cannot admit the eternal justice of rewards and punishments represented by Dante." Nor is there here anything of justice having to do with the relation between individual and state. There is only the justice having to do with the relation of the individual to himself, a "perfect self-equality" that makes man's capacity for experiencing good exactly equal to his capacity for experiencing evil.

After accusing Aristotle of neglect, Myers does not shirk his duty. He moves to amend the definition of tragedy. *Catharsis* goes by the board as an undesirable emotional explanation of the tragic effect, and a sense of an order of justice such as has been described takes its place. Aristotle might, then, have said that tragedy "is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete, and of adequate magnitude—in language embellished in different ways in different parts—in the form of action, not of narration—revealing a just relation between good and evil in the life of a representative man."

Thus pity and fear in the tragic context and all structure that they have long been surrounded with must be replaced by a scheme of justice startling in its restricted simplicity. The macrocosm in which there has been a far-circling order turns small enough to be individual man. But here there is by no means the microcosm, for in the single man there is not the old large in little, only a new little. The equivalence, or balance, of good and evil within the individual, that which makes tragedy tragic, has no likeness in the outer universe but only likeness in other individuals, each as restricted as the other. In such likeness lies the whole of universal justice. Myers, though, does not think of this at all as reducing what has before been larger. In a search that must be honored, whatever one's critical views, he finds a true sufficiency of universality in the democratic ideal, in a "tragic sense of the common destiny of men" and in a linking of "the doctrine of human equality to the notion of a common fate." He is a

significant expression of one side of our modernity—like the existentialist of whom he is a reminder and at the same time not a true counterpart. He always rejects with a social faith the nominalism into which his philosophy of the individual constantly leads him.

As one follows the formulation of theory through the book one discovers that a vision of meaning in tragedy has come many times to the author and that if the vision has been much the same at each appearance, it has not suffered in reception because of that, but has only gained in impressiveness for the beholder. There is attraction not only in the beholder's devoted receptiveness but likewise in the variety of his record of what he has seen. The record is in ten chapters drawn from papers with dates ranging from 1935 to 1954. Inevitably the book suffers somewhat because Myers himself did not have its final shaping and could not give extra depth to his theory by reworking matter written at widely spaced times. But certainly it has oneness of spirit, and skill has been given to its putting together.

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WILLARD FARNHAM

*The Second Part of King Henry VI* (New Arden). Edited by ANDREW S. CAIRNCROSS. Harvard University Press, [1957]. Pp. liv + 197. \$4.50.

Textually 2 *Henry VI* is the most important volume yet to appear in the New Arden. For the first time Mr. Cairncross has been able to place our approach to the Folio text on a demonstrably solid basis. He summarizes his textual premises as follows (p. xxi):

[He postulates] (a) the sporadic use in the printing-house of Q<sub>3</sub> (and perhaps Q<sub>2</sub>) as copy for [considerable] parts of F, (b) the rewriting, at the command of the censor, or for other reasons, of about three hundred lines of the original text, after the performances reflected in Q, and (c) a recognition of Shakespeare's debt to Hall rather than Holinshed for his basic material, and of his simultaneous use of various chronicles.

The general principle of quarto copy for various Folio texts is not new, but in applying the principle to as bad a "bad" quarto as the *Contention*, Mr. Cairncross has significantly broadened its application, an extension he had already explored in an article in *Studies in Bibliography* (1956) on a similar use of the bad quarto of *Henry V*.

His suggestion of censorship to explain those passages in the quartos which either present material not found in the Folio or seem to reflect a different original from that now found in the Folio is naturally more debatable. It has the virtue, however, of being the most satisfactory explanation yet presented. In applying it to the passage on Winchester's bastardy found only in the quartos (a passage Mr. Cairncross inserts into his text, II. i. 38-42), I think he fails to allow for the more probable influence of 1 *Henry VI* (III. i. 42) on Q at this point (and again a line or two later; cf. III. i. 126-135). If censorship is responsible, why did not similar censorship overtake the same offense in 1 *Henry VI*? Mr. Cairncross' list of echoes from 1 *Henry VI* in Q (pp. 182-183) is extremely incomplete.

In establishing his view of the relations between Folio and quartos Mr. Cairncross gives considerable space to a discussion of the revision *vs.* mutilation theories. The early stirrings of the revision theory he deals with briefly (p. xiii) in a paragraph which can only be described as extraordinary in its misquotation and inaccuracy. This is followed by an excellent examination of the position of

Johnson, Malone, Alexander, and Wilson. Mr. Cairncross seeks a harmony of Alexander and Wilson. With Alexander, he claims 2 and 3 *Henry VI* as wholly Shakespeare's (denying Wilson's theory of Shakespeare's revision of earlier plays basically by Greene), but he also concedes that the "vpstart Crow" passage does imply a measure of plagiarism on Shakespeare's part. To achieve this compromise, Mr. Cairncross is forced to limit the plagiarism to "occasional phrases", such as Greene's favorite "Abradas, the great Masadonian Pyrate", or filchings from Ovid, Plutarch, the Bible, Virgil, etc., etc. (p. xlv). In spite of the resort to Nashe's preface to *Menaphon*, I do not find this interpretation of Greene's attack very persuasive. Why, one wonders, did Greene bother to raise his voice against Shakespeare on such a score as this? Such "conveyance" was the common and accepted practice (quite apart from the fact that "imitation" was basic in the whole school approach) and it was a practice followed by every dramatist writing in the late '80's and '90's. On the whole Mr. Cairncross's treatment of Professor Wilson's case for Greene strikes me as just a little cavalier and condescending (p. xlv).

In his discussion of sources, Mr. Cairncross takes issue, rightly I think, with Professor Wilson's insistence on Grafton as the principal source for 2 *Henry VI*, pointing out that there is nothing in Grafton which cannot be accounted for by Hall (principally), Holinshed, and Foxe. Foxe here appears for the first time as a direct source for the play, particularly for the miracle of St. Albans episode and the spelling of Hume's name (a spelling found only in the Folio and Foxe). Mr. Cairncross seems continually to imply that "the collocation of the 'commons' with the 'good Duke'", (p. xl) is found only in Foxe; actually, of course, it is found also in Grafton from whom Foxe took the account. So far as the spelling "Hume" *vs.* "Hum" is concerned (Shakespeare seems to have pronounced it "Hum"—see I. ii. 89) one cannot help wondering why Shakespeare chose this one detail but ignored Foxe's form "Iourdeman" or "Iordeman" for Jourdain or his insistence that Roger Bolingbroke's real name was "Roger Onley". However, a later verbal parallel pointed out in the notes (III. i. 130) does suggest that somebody (perhaps Shakespeare) did make use of Foxe. Appendix I contains a long selection from Hall and a short passage from Foxe; unfortunately both are based on nineteenth-century reprints. The Hall selection dutifully repeats the errors of the 1809 edition and adds its own crop; the Foxe passage presents a modernized text which "literally" bristles with errors.

It is fascinating to watch Mr. Cairncross applying his theory of copy-text. Some of his restorations are really excellent, for example, those at I. i. 46-59, I. iii. 210, I. iv. 76, II. i. 25-26, 51, 53, II. ii. 27, III. ii. 402. Others, as is only natural, seem to me more questionable: I. ii. 76, II. i. 38-42, II. iii. 35, III. i. 137, 280, 326, III. ii. 392, IV. i. 32, IV. ix. 41, IV. x. 42, V. i. 5, V. iii. 32. The result is a text potentially closer to Shakespeare's version of 2 *Henry VI* than any text hitherto printed. Unfortunately the text as a whole is marred by a good many careless errors and it is to be hoped that the following may either be corrected, or an emendation recorded, in a second impression: I. i. 212 for "as long" read "so long" (F<sub>1</sub>); I. i. 254 for "fallen" read "fall'n" (F<sub>1</sub> "falne"); I. i. 260 for "pulled" read "pull'd" (F<sub>1</sub>); II. i. 41 for "of" read "to" (Q<sub>1</sub>); II. iii. 7 for "burned" read "burn'd" (F<sub>1</sub> "burnt"); II. iv. 72 for "asked" read "ask'd" (F<sub>1</sub>); III. ii. 133 for "I shall" read "shall I" (F<sub>1</sub>); III. iii. opening s.d. for "SALISBURY, WARWICK" read "SALISBURY AND WARWICK" (F<sub>1</sub>); IV. i. 117 for "'Tis" read "It is" (F<sub>1</sub>); IV. ii. 76 for "scribbled" read "scribb'l'd" (F<sub>1</sub> "scribeld"); IV. vii. 2 for "to the Inns" read "to th' Inns" (F<sub>1</sub> "to 'th Inns" but Q<sub>3</sub> "to the Inns"); IV. vii. 34-35 for "King his crown" read "King, his crown" (F<sub>1</sub>); IV. vii. 98 for "harbouring



deceitful" read "harbouring foul deceitful" (Fr); IV. vii. 125 for "loved" read "lov'd" (Fr); IV. x. 58 for "turned" read "turn'd" (Fr); IV. x. 63 for "his house" read "this house" (Fr); V. i. 83 for "the Queen" read "th' Queen" (Fr); V. iii. 16 for "By the mass" read "by th' mass" (Fr).

For some reason Mr. Cairncross ignores in his textual notes (which are for the most part a great improvement on Hart's) Folio readings in "-ed" for "-d" or *vice versa*, although he carefully records (for the first two-thirds of the text) all changes of forms in "-t" to "-d" (i.e. "graspt" to "grasp'd"). In prose passages he regularly reads "-d", except in one or two cases noted above; here as in other confusions with "-ed" the Old Arden text has influenced the present reading. There are, however, a number of verse lines in which the Folio gives the accented "-ed" form and which metrically can carry the stress. Certainly any change, even in unambiguous cases, from this type of Folio reading ought to be recorded in the textual notes. The following list is limited, except in the last instance, to examples where final stressed "-ed" is metrically possible: I. ii. 78 (a Q "me" has here been inserted for metrical reasons, but F reads "promised" not "promis'd"—the line is thus perfectly regular), I. iii. 60, II. i. 85, III. i. 364, III. iii. 168, 175, IV. i. 11, IV. vii. 12, V. i. 88, 175, V. ii. 12 (here Cairncross and F read "loved" but the metre calls for "lov'd" and Q reads "lou'd").

A final note. In III. ii, following the murder of Duke Humphrey at the beginning of the scene, the Folio version clears the stage at line 13 with "*Exeunt*" and then includes Suffolk among those entering with the King, etc., immediately after. Editors (since Theobald and including Mr. Cairncross) regularly follow the quartos where Suffolk remains on stage to meet the King when he enters. The Folio, however, makes excellent sense, showing Suffolk trying to disarm suspicion by entering as one of the King's party, a maneuver through which he avoids being met on the very scene of the crime. Certainly the Folio version deserves more consideration than it has apparently received.

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*William Poel's Prompt-Book of Fratricide Punished*. Edited by J. ISAACS. London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1956. Pp. xx + 35. Available to members only.

As the last item in a four-fold tribute to William Poel's work and influence, the Society for Theatre Research published in 1956 *William Poel's Prompt-Book of Fratricide Punished*, most ably edited with an admirable introduction by Jack Isaacs of the University of London. Poel's important work and significant influence in the staging of Elizabethan plays has been carefully examined and elucidated in another item in this tribute, Robert Speaight's *William Poel and the Elizabethan Revival*, written at the Society's invitation and published in 1954. In his "Introduction" to the *Prompt-Book of Fratricide Punished*, Mr. Isaacs discusses the importance of prompt-books in the study of theatre history, William Poel's prompt-books, Poel's production and performance of *Fratricide Punished*, the available facts about the original preparation and production of *Der bestrafte Brudermord*, and Poel's treatment of the text. In the editing of the text of the prompt-book Isaacs has carefully distinguished Poel's changes and corrections, indicating what he has added that is not in the German text, and supplying in footnotes from the German those portions which Poel omitted or altered.

As Isaacs says in his "Introduction":

In recent years, the recognition of the importance of a study of prompt-books

as central and generous documents of theatrical history has led to the recovery and preservation of innumerable items of this kind. . . . The vast depositories of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, the New York Public Library, the Harvard Theatre Collection, and in England the steadily growing Enthoven Theatrical Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum still await full scholarly examination. A census of prompt-books would give a valuable stimulus to the systematic study of theatrical production through the centuries.

An annotated and descriptive bibliography of prompt-books of Shakespeare's plays would, in addition to proving the kind of stimulus to scholarship which Isaacs envisions, also serve as a most useful instrument for producers. It would aid in revealing that the art of drama and the art of theatre, though conjoint arts, are by no means identical.

The art of drama in so far as it is a poetic rendering of a vision of life and human nature has a permanency that grows by accretion through the years. Whatever the Elizabethans may have seen in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* on the stage, it was for them largely and chiefly a more or less exciting theatrical piece, winning its acclaim primarily through the effectiveness of its representation. Poel claims:

. . . the tragedy of *Hamlet* is a play of 'Revenge' and not a play about irresolution or about madness, or about philosophy. *Fratricide Punished* when acted enables us to better understand how Shakespeare's play was represented in Shakespeare's time.

For us, unlike Elizabethans, *Hamlet*, encrusted, illuminated, sometimes confused by centuries of stage and critical interpretations, has become a part of our cultural heritage and our way of thinking. It is an instrument for the understanding of life and human nature. Its permanency in history and in the future is assured. Theatrical art, on the other hand, is conditioned by time. By its very nature it must, if it is to succeed, appeal in terms of the contemporary. Its objective is to catch its audience on the level of taste and interests which are their present limitations. Its aim is to engross, to excite, to move, and at climactic moments to lift that audience out of their seats. That a theatrical performance may do more than move emotionally and excite an audience, worthy productions of great plays have proved; but if it does not move an audience emotionally and aesthetically, it will not succeed. As Hugh Hunt says in *The Director in the Theatre*, a director has a fourfold obligation, including his obligation to the author of the text and his obligation to his audience. The latter, except perhaps for a pure antiquarian, becomes the director's primal obligation.

In the selection and presentation of plays a director is, whatever the play he may stage, appealing to the vogue of the moment, to shifting and ephemeral interests, to changing attitudes, and to different levels of audience interests.

Traditions and conventions in theatrical presentation and in acting change, though more slowly, with alterations in audience attitudes and points of view. Even if we knew exactly how Shakespeare's company staged his *Hamlet*, how his actors spoke his language, and even if we had an exact replica of the theatre in which the play was originally staged, we could not recreate Shakespeare's performance of *Hamlet* today. For that purpose we would have to have his audience with all of their conceptions, attitudes, and points of view. Hence today the best directed and staged Shakespeare plays are to a degree adaptations for a modern audience.

Johannes Velten, or some other fellow player-writer, who put together *Der bestrafte Brudermord* from a *Hamlet* play, possibly Kydian, which he inherited

from the "English Comedians", was fashioning a theatre piece for a particular audience of his day which he knew well. This piece, probably performed in Frankfurt in September of 1686, was a typical "Haupt und Staatsaktionen" drama, then and for a number of years after so much in vogue on the German stage. Such pieces were "bloody plays of dirty work in high places intermingled with a thread of burlesque". Their popularity continued for years after Professor Johann Christoph Gottsched attempted to reform and purify German drama on neo-classical models. *Der bestrafte Brudermord* has become the most famous of these old pieces, not because it is the best, but because it is remotely connected with one of the great plays of all time. As drama the German piece would go completely unregarded but for its association. It is little better and no worse than the average script done for popular entertainment on American television today. Valueless as it is as drama, it is nevertheless not without theatrical values.

The main story line, Hamlet's revenge, moves expeditiously, even at break-neck speed, along its course. Interspersed within this main story is a series of farcical scenes, characters, and devices that could have been very effective with the play's original audience. The first scene with the Ghost is turned almost entirely into farce, with the Ghost playing tricks on the Sentry. Corambus (Polonius) is made a complete old fool. There is a comic scene of Jens the Clodhopper, who comes to Court to pay his taxes and is made sport of by Phantasmo, the Courtier-clown, introduced purely for its farcical value. A sequence of comic and bawdy scenes, which Poel pruned to some extent in his version, occurs between the mad Ophelia and Phantasmo, whom she mistakes as her lover. Poel heightened, and rightly so, a number of the comic touches. He made the Queen's undressing scene a kind of comic striptease, with the Queen throwing pieces of clothing as she disrobed from behind the bed-curtain to the waiting maid. In the Hamlet-Ophelia scene he has Hamlet chase Ophelia around the room. His most astute device, from the standpoint of a modern audience, was to make Phantasmo, the clown, into a dancing Harlequin, and Jens the Clodhopper into a Pantaloon, thereby introducing a Harlequinade of dancing into the piece.

Thornton Shirley Graves and others have maintained that this execrable play has little importance in the interpretation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Any interpretative parallels drawn from it must remain indirect and conjectural. Perhaps the liberal use of farce in *Der bestrafte Brudermord* may serve, however, to indicate that there is considerably more comedy in *Hamlet* than is allowed in modern stage interpretations. Poel's enthusiasm for the old German piece, an antiquarian attitude, was motivated by his life-long love of *Hamlet* and Shakespeare. His production of the play at the Oxford Playhouse on 4 August 1924 and the repetition at the New Oxford Theatre in London on 11 October 1924, along with the special matinee of *Fratricide Punished* given by the Old Vic in 1952, were likewise largely antiquarian in motivation and interest. With Poel's and the Old Vic's best efforts in production, the audiences nevertheless seemingly found the old German piece quaintly and somewhat absurdly amusing, even ridiculous. Is it doubtful if a modern audience with its *Hamlet* heritage could react otherwise to this seventeenth-century German stage concoction. Nevertheless, for the student and the historian Jack Isaacs in ably editing Poel's prompt-book and the Society for Theatre Research in publishing it have done a service that will long be appreciated.

A play on the stage is a combination of tonal and visual elements. The most important of the tonal elements appears in the speaking of the lines, an

element that to a slight degree only can be indicated in a prompt-book or director's copy. In his copy Poel has given some indication of the stress and emphasis he wished to be placed on words and Isaacs has faithfully indicated these by the use of italics. The whole range and nuance of diction, however elaborately worked out by director and actors, cannot be indicated in the prompt script short of a musical score. In addition to Poel's "tunes" in the rendering of diction, for which he was well known, he employed in this production other tonal effects, including drums, trumpets, oboe music, and flutes. The pantomimic scene of the Player King and Queen is accompanied throughout with oboe music, and flute music accompanies Ophelia's mad dance in the flower-giving scene. The visual elements which Poel employed can be and are more fully indicated in words and diagrams. His costuming, to begin, is conglomerate in range and style. Prince Hamlet, Corambus, Ophelia, her brother Leonhardus, and Francisco, a soldier, were in Elizabethan dress. The King was "richly dressed as an oriental wearing a crown" and the Queen "wore an orange Charles dress, wig fair, coronet, and much jewelry." The Sentinels as soldiers were in "Cromwell dress" but when they doubled as Bandetti to accompany Hamlet ostensibly to England they were fantastically accoutred in the garb of "Greek Bandetti". Phantasmo and Jens were, as has been noted, in the costume of Harlequin and Pantaloon. Just why Poel employed this assortment of dress is not clear from the script.

He staged the play on a platform stage but did not attempt a replica of an Elizabethan type. At the rear of his stage, center, was a "tableau stage", roughly resembling the Elizabethan inner stage. On either side of this were curtains with openings masking the rear. Approximately across the center of his stage was a traverse curtain; thus he could use half the stage depth or full depth, as he chose. This edition reproduces Poel's stage plan for the end of Act I and beginning of Act II and the stage plan for the Play-scene, in each of which the groupings of characters are shown. There is no indication that Poel employed platforms or elevations in his staging; hence his groupings of characters, in so far as given, appear to be rather conventional. As an additional spectacular element he employed a procession at the assembly of the Court for the Play-scene. His rather full stage directions indicate that he worked out with considerable care the pantomimic action, stage movement, and gestures of the actors. Apparently he did not have elaborate lighting equipment for his production. The front part of the stage was lighted with amber light. For certain scenes, notably the Ghost scene and the scene of the King at prayer, the amber light was turned off and blue light employed. Blue light was also utilized for the Queen's bedroom scene and for the Play-scene. As in the stage groupings, the lighting, perhaps hampered by lack of physical facilities, shows no great degree of imagination. It is interesting to speculate upon the production that Poel might have given this old German piece if he had allowed his imagination free rein, unhampered by his antiquarian bent, and had stylized the whole along lines that he employed in the interpretation of the role of Jens and Phantasmo and in the Harlequinade between Phantasmo as Harlequin and Ophelia as Columbine. On the other hand, he perhaps realized that the dull, flat, unimaginative dialogue of the piece would not sustain a high degree of stylization.

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*King Richard II* (New Arden). Edited by PETER URE. Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. [lxxxiii + 207]. \$3.85.

The lot of the editor of Shakespeare has never been an easy one, but divergent critical trends during the last quarter of a century have combined with the accumulation of new data to make it more complicated and difficult than ever before. At his one hand are the conservatives, among whom this reviewer hopes to be counted, who believe that the thing to do is to adhere as closely as possible to an actual "good" text, where there is one, and that further historical investigation is likely to reveal these good texts as correct in many passages where emendation is still thought necessary. On the editor's other hand are the bibliographers, who believe that a sufficiently minute tracing of the text from author through printing house may reveal which text ought to be followed, or serve as a guide to the extent and nature of permissible emendation. Above him are the "new critics", concerned principally with the imagery and symbolism of any text with which he may present them. And immediately behind him are a number of theorists who have sought some basis other than bibliography--paleography, for example--to lend additional plausibility to what in the eighteenth century was more or less capricious emendation.

Mr. Peter Ure, editor of the fourth edition of *King Richard II* in the Arden Shakespeare, revised and reset in 1956, is least concerned with the new critics, though he would probably admit, as most students do, that their analyses have at times a remarkably penetrating and stimulating quality. The camps of the historical critics and of the bibliographers are of course neither mutually exclusive nor necessarily hostile, and Mr. Ure has a foot in both. In both directions he has benefited by the work and theories of a group of associates keenly devoted to the investigation of similar problems in other plays. Among these are the Advisory Editor of the Arden series, Dr. Harold F. Brooks, Dr. A. S. Cairncross, and Mr. J. C. Maxwell. It may be remarked in passing that such an association is in my opinion almost indispensable to the production of first-rate editorial work, and Mr. Ure is to be congratulated on being so situated.

The opening section of Mr. Ure's introduction, that on "The Text", shows him as a commendably cautious member of the group mentioned above who seek a new and systematic basis for emendation. His basis is a theory of memorial contamination in the hitherto supposed impeccable or nearly impeccable Q1 text of *Richard II*, by a scribe working on Shakespeare's autograph—a theory suggested by Cairncross and to be independently developed by Brooks in a forthcoming article. It is, of course, difficult to see how memorial mistakes could affect a scribe. Brook's theory, which at first glance is tempting, is that the bookholder was the scribe. It would be comforting, however, to have this idea confirmed by even a scrap of external evidence of the sort that Feuillerat in *The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays* seems to have been tracing as to Ralph Crane. Let it be said at once, however, that no hypothesis in its formative stages quite warrants the omission which Ure has permitted himself of certain extra-metrical phrases from the text. The tentativeness of the theory is well illustrated by Ure's own words (pp. xvii-xviii): "In such a play as *Richard II*, as in *Richard III*, disturbance of metre is often a sign that something has gone wrong with the text, since there is good reason to believe that Shakespeare was generally content at this period to write fairly regular verse." As against this it should be remembered that Middleton Murry in his *Shakespeare* (1936, p. 142) considers that *Richard II* is full of verse experiments, and demonstrates rather fully that it is. Many editors and critics since Murry have been attracted to this idea. In any case, the words which Ure omits on the ground that they represent

memorial contamination on the part of the scribe, either anticipatory or recollective, are present in the unusually good Q1 text. We do not *know* how they got there. The reader should have them—reduced to extra-metrical status if the editor so decides, and explained away in whatever fashion he can. What the theory does, or should do, is to open up a practically limitless line of new inquiry.

The student who may wish to examine some of these omissions for himself should consult Ure's text at I. i. 204 or V. iii. 40-45. If he has leisure to consider them all, he may find some of them attractive, as for instance the omission of *gentle* in V. ii. 28 on the ground that it was an anticipation of the *gentle* in line 31 just below, though this could have been an eye-skip rather than a memorial anticipation.

On the other hand, in certain passages where meter is not in question, Ure follows Q1 more exactly than many recent editors do, and often with ingenious justification. An example is his printing of "Evermore *thank's* the exchequer of the poor" (II. iii. 65), where practically all recent texts read "*thanks*, . . .", the line being taken as an ejaculation. It would have been interesting to attempt justification of Q1's "My *water's* on the earth and not on him" (III. iii. 60) also. But enough has been said to show that Ure has brought a fresh mind, new material, and new theories to the textual problems.

The same is true of the other aspects of the play which Ure singles out for discussion. As might be expected from his article on "Shakespeare's Play and the French Sources of Holinshed" (*New Q*, cxviii, Oct., 1953, pp. 426-429), he has a properly skeptical mind about the multiplicity of sources for *Richard II*, and especially about *Traïson*, for reasons set forth in his article. (Yet he does quote *Traïson* in a note on I. iii. 43, and he does, as he says on p. xxxi of his Introduction, have a high regard for "unmistakable verbal echoes".) Selected passages from Holinshed, Daniel's *Civil Wars*, Eliot's *Ortho-Epia Gallica*, and Sylvester's *DuBartas* are reprinted in the Appendices, but Ure's treatment of the sources is far more comprehensive, detailed, and valuable than his limitations of space allow him to show at large. A note at the beginning of each scene sets forth a comparison with the sources of that scene in a manner very useful for the general reader. These notes, of course, refer chiefly to the main source, Holinshed. The case for Froissart as a source is dismissed in the Introduction as "not overwhelming", and as to *Woodstock*, "It is clear that there is a relation of some kind . . . the number and nature of the verbal echoes makes that as indisputable as such things ever can be. But that Shakespeare borrowed from *Woodstock*, rather than the other way about, is remarkably difficult to prove." Of Daniel's *Civil Wars* Ure writes, "it is simpler and easier to believe that Shakespeare was the borrower. . . . But it is not much more than a guess." About Créton, Hall, and of course *Traïson* Ure's skepticism is high. He is apparently, however, also doubtful about rejecting them entirely, since he adduces new parallels, not only with Daniel, as hinted above, but also with Créton. He adds considerable new material on the relation between *Richard II* and *The Mirror for Magistrates*, an area which was in great need of further investigation. On balance it may be said that Ure has cast doubt on the multiplicity of sources, on the twin grounds of Shakespeare's inventive powers and the discovery of new parallels which tend to show that some of the verbal echoes on which previous critics have relied were Elizabethan commonplaces. The troublesome question of Dover Wilson's "old play" as source is left *sub judice*, but with a clear statement of the arguments against it.

In the sections of his Introduction on "The Garden Scene" and "The Poli-



tical Allegory" Ure has made a similar and even more impressive contribution. He is particularly original and thorough on the garden scene, placing it in detail within its Renaissance context, yet temperately concluding that "There is not much reason to suppose that Shakespeare was conscious of this tradition", and giving full recognition to the poet's organization of the basic metaphors of weeding, pruning, and tilling. Here and elsewhere, Ure's suggestion of parallels from a wide reading of works which Shakespeare may have known is not only a valuable corrective to a too-ready acceptance of "sources", but also an important aid to the understanding of the play as a whole. Examples are the excellent discussion of the Elizabethan legend of John of Gaunt (p. xl n.), the reminder at IV. i. 108 of the fable origin of *plume-pluck'd*, and new parallels for "a god on earth" (V. iii. 134), "brooch" (V. v. 66), and Bolingbroke's remorse (V. vi. 34 ff.). Other valuable parallels are presented between *Richard II* and 1, 2, 3 *Henry VI*, and *The True Tragedy of Richard the Third*. Ure also points out a somewhat ambiguous sentence in Holinshed, not hitherto stressed as part of the source material for *Richard II*, which may have been read by Shakespeare so as to suggest Bolingbroke's remorse.

The last section of the Introduction, "King Richard's Tragedy", is less satisfactory. It is well to reaffirm Coleridge's view of the play as centered upon "a history of the human mind" in Richard himself. The description of the abdication scene as Richard's "knocking awry" of Bolingbroke's carefully staged spectacle is excellent, as is the note on the literary connotations of the mirror. But we cannot agree that "In expressiveness Bolingbroke contrasts with Richard . . . his flatness and obscurity become attributes of his character." The editor is here surely bewitched, as many before him have been, by Bolingbroke's political role of "silent king" at the abdication. Bolingbroke's part in the play as a whole is second only to Richard's in length, and anyone who recalls his passionate rejection of the consolations of philosophy in I. iii. 294 ff. will find something more than the formal language of the politician and patriot. Moreover, to have Bolingbroke express himself in his role of righteous usurper during the abdication would have impaired the drama of the scene. 1 *Henry IV* was still to come, and even in that play Henry hardly emerges as the "new man" of the Counter-Renaissance, a concept which Shakespeare in 1595 could hardly have arrived at. To the working dramatist as to later historians, Bolingbroke became king "nobody knew how or wherefore", least of all the audience in the Elizabethan theatre. Shakespeare's attitude towards the larger aspect of the political action seems to be that of the presenter of a historical impasse. And so, indeed, Ure leaves the matter, after discussing, but not strongly deciding, whether Richard's suffering attains the high status of tragedy or is merely pathetic.

Ure's footnotes, as is inevitable in an edition for general use, leave out a great deal. He has, for example, consulted only three of the four known copies of Q1, though the omitted one, that at Petworth Castle, is unique in that it lacks passages present in the others, and thus may show that Shakespeare—or someone—took the trouble to break up long speeches for more effective delivery by the actors. The interpretation of certain words repeated in the play in different senses—*model*, for instance, and *deposed* (III. ii. 153, 158)—is given a new and interesting twist; the choice of *young* over *yond* (III. iv. 29) is very probably right; and so is the explanation of *one* or *both* (V. i. 67). The rendering of the intricate clock metaphor (V. v. 50 ff.) is as coherent and plausible as any I have read. On the other hand, it is unnecessary to quote Abbott §272 on *The which* (III. iii. 45). Pope's *While* for *Which* (V. iii. 10) is unnecessary, as also is Brook's conjecture in V. iii. 20. "Associated" seems weak for "consorted" (V.



iii. 136, vi. 15). Moreover, Ure has not taken into account—so far as his notes show—such new work as Sisson's *New Readings*; otherwise he might have been inclined to adopt *prince and just* (III. iii. 119). He quotes Abbott on points of grammar, but not Franz. At III. ii. 168 he might have commented on the suggested deliberateness of the threefold meaning of *humour'd thus*, as symptomatic of the experimentation with language which several recent commentators have found in the play. At V. i. 63 he might have considered the construction of *know* as "know how", and thereby allowed the quarto punctuation to stand. He gives up on V. v. 39-40, though Watkins' parallel with the *Faerie Queene* (*Shakespeare and Spenser*, 1950, p. 286) is somewhat helpful. Ure's point (IV. i. 83-84) that since Aumerle still had one glove, Shakespeare must have begun to think of the gage as a hood seems convincing until we reread the passage and note that Aumerle has thrown down one glove at line 25 and the other at line 49, though few editors save Irving have inserted a stage direction to this effect at either place. Finally among Ure's minor shortcomings, it is dangerous for any editor of *Richard II* not to know E. K. Chambers' ground-breaking Falcon edition (1891). For example, the "mistake" in IV. i. 14-17—if it be a mistake, for Bagot could be mistaken or lying—was pointed out by Chambers two decades before Craig re-discovered it.

The day has long passed, if it ever existed, or waits beyond the foreseeable future, if it ever comes, when the editor of a play of Shakespeare may hope that his text will be acceptable in every detail to even a part of the critical community, and that his notes will contain or take into account all that is known or needs to be known about the play. Mr. Ure has done better than well in advancing us toward that distant goal: he has dived into the treacherous waters of textual emendation and come up with a pearl or two; and in the idle desert of historical investigation he has found hopeful deposits of valuable ore.

University of Pennsylvania

MATTHEW W. BLACK

*Shakespeare's Early Contemporaries, The Background of the Nashe-Harvey Polemic and Love's Labour's Lost*. By w. SCHRICKX. Antwerp: de Nederlandsche Boek-handel, 1956. Pp. viii + 291. 250 Belg. fr.

*Shakespeare's Early Contemporaries* is a book of 175 pages besides pages devoted to Bibliography and an Index. Beginning with chapter one, Allegory and the Transmission of Mythology, the book works its way to chapter nine, *Love's Labour's Lost* Restudied, its real goal, an argument for an original date of 1592 or 1593 with concession of possible later revision and additions. This opinion was expressed by H. B. Charlton as early as 1918. Other opinions with later dates have been expressed since 1918. Dr. Schrickx provides additional material to support the date of 1592 or 1593 but maintains the attitude of scholarly discussion and avoids personal argument against another scholar who holds a different view. He simply ignores the different view but takes occasion to speak well of details in the work of a scholar with whose theory he disagrees.

Any one who ventures into the wilderness of the Nashe-Harvey quarrel and its possible relationships soon finds himself involved in a multitude of entanglements caused by the various allusions, allegorical references, seeming parallelisms, insinuations, implications and all other kinds of indirect evidence known to language, all of which require interpretation. Therein lies the cause of the war, sometimes merry, sometimes not, waged over the date of *Love's Labour's Lost* for the last fifty years. The embattled interpreters still clash in the nocturnal shadows of the darkling plain.

The fourth chapter deals with the works of Abraham Fraunce, Robert Greene, and Thomas Nashe. The various connections here made between the works of these men and Shakespeare's plays reveal the purpose of the book as a whole, an early date for *Love's Labour's Lost* and *As You Like It*. For instance, Dr. Schrickx uses the carving of a sweetheart's name on a tree in Greene's *Orlando Furioso* as indication that Orlando's carving of Rosalind's name on a tree in *As You Like It* was copied from Greene's play promptly after production. The skeptical reader may wonder why Shakespeare of Stratford in the neighborhood of a great forest waited to see Greene's play to learn how to carve names on trees. An American may likewise wonder at what stage in his career Daniel Boone read Greene's *Orlando Furioso*.

Chapter V is devoted to the career of Gabriel Harvey. Chapter VI deals with the activities of Thomas Nashe. Chapter VII is concerned with Nashe, Greene, and the Harvey brothers as involved in their controversies and repeats many of the details in earlier chapters but shows their relation to the quarrel. Chapter VIII reverts to mythology. Chapter IX, *Love's Labour's Lost* re-studied, is devoted to justifying the earlier date, and a following chapter deals with possible later revision. The method used is to date the play promptly after the first production of a play or first publication of a book or pamphlet containing something reflected in Shakespeare's play. By this token, the date of *Twelfth Night* should be put at 1581, the date when Barnabe Riche's *Farewell to the Militarie Profession* was published. This possibility Dr. Schrickx has overlooked.

On page 92, in discussing the association of Nashe with Cerberus, Dr. Schrickx mentions Dekker's *News From Hell*, published in 1606, and Dekker's address to Nashe. He fails to mention that *News From Hell* carries in the text a subtitle, *The Devil's Answer to Piers Penniless*, which in Grosart's edition is printed as the running-title on every page. He also quotes from the address to Nashe on page 103 through the phrase "Aconite to thy enemies" which he wishes to use. He ignores the words following the semicolon after *enemies*: "Thou that madest the Doctor a flat Dunce, and beat'st him at two tall weapons, Poetrie and Oratorie." The subtitle indicates that the printer and perhaps the author expected it to have some sales-appeal and that Nashe expected the reading public to recognize the allusion in "madest the Doctor a flat dunce". Both details indicate that as late as 1606 the reading public still recalled the details of the Nashe-Harvey quarrel. Dr. Schrickx either failed to see this significance or ignored it.

On page 259 Dr. Schrickx refers to a chapter in a book by another author, a chapter in which are collected typical words and phrases in the Nashe-Harvey quarrel which are paralleled in *Love's Labour's Lost*, and states that echoes from the third of Harvey's letters outnumber all others and concludes that they fix the date as October-November, 1592. Dr. Schrickx, however, overlooked Appendix A on pages 91-112 in the same book. This appendix lists all the noted echoes of the quarrel in *Love's Labour's Lost* in the order of occurrence in the play. Actual count shows that echoes of Harvey's *Four Letters*, which included the Third Letter, number 34, but that echoes of *Have With You to Saffron Walden* of 1596 number 68. The application of the very principle used by Dr. Schrickx would move the date down to 1596.

The Bibliography given in the book indicates that Dr. Schrickx has read widely. In the case of *Love's Labour's Lost* he encountered theories different from his own, but they seem to have made little impression on him, for he ends with apparently the same theory he held at the beginning. He should, therefore,

not be surprised if some of his readers finish his book as he finished his reading and each still holds his original opinion.

Doctor Schrickx is to be congratulated and thanked for bringing together such a mass of recondite material and making it available to investigators less erudite than he.

Clemson College

RUPERT TAYLOR

*Shakespeare's Appian*. Edited by ERNEST SCHANZER. Liverpool University Press, 1956. Pp. [xxviii] + 101. 6s.

In 1578 Henrie Bynneman printed an English translation of Appian entitled *An Auncient Historie and exquisite Chronicle of the Romanes warres, both Civile and Foren*. There is no modern edition of this Tudor book. Sections 135-154 of Bk. II were reprinted (without comment) in the *New Shakespeare Society's Transactions*, 1875-6. There has been little discussion of Appian's possible influence on Shakespeare; MacCallum, in *Shakespeare's Roman Plays* (1910), devotes several pages to the topic (Appendices C and D). Mr. Ernest Schanzer is convinced that Shakespeare knew the 1578 Appian and that he drew on it for both *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. In *Shakespeare's Appian* (No. 13 in the small inexpensive, paper-back English Reprints Series), Mr. Schanzer discusses concisely the 1578 Appian and its influence on Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, and reprints (from the British Museum copy) those portions of the translation that he believes relevant: The Preface of the Authour, Bk. II (Sections 106-154); Bk. III (Sections 33-38); Bk. IV (Sections 110-114, 127-138); Bk. V (Sections 18-26, 41-44, 67-74, 133-145). He includes also reproductions of the title-page and Bynneman's dedicatory epistle (both of particular interest). The marginal glosses are printed as footnotes, necessary perhaps for economy, but reducing the significant emphasis which they give in the original.

The Introduction sets forth clearly and modestly Mr. Schanzer's views. He conjectures convincingly that the translator, W. B., was William Barker, well qualified for the painstaking task of collating five versions of the Roman History in four different languages. He believes that in *Julius Caesar* Appian's influence is seen chiefly in the portrayal of Antony. "For all Antony's most characteristic qualities in this play, his consummate histrionic powers, his great skill in maneuvering, the mixture of emotionalism with Machiavellism, of loyalty and devotion with ruthlessness and treachery, Shakespeare could have received no hint from Plutarch." Although there is similarity in details he finds the kinship with Appian in manner rather than matter. This is sound and illuminating. The mingling in Appian of admiration for Brutus and Cassius with abhorrence for the assassination, he finds similar to mixed feelings in *Julius Caesar*. (The "divided attitude" Mr. Schanzer ably discussed more at length in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Summer, 1955.) Although both attitudes are there, to me it seems that in Appian the theme of just punishment for murder has much the greater weight and general emphasis, as indicated, in addition to much else, by the opening of both Bks. III and IV (not here reprinted). Although Mr. Schanzer is right in pointing to the Bynneman interpretation of Octavius' triumph as divine providence, yet Appian in his Preface does extol the happy and beloved Augustus who brought the Commonwealth "to unitie and the rule of one".

The indebtedness in *Antony and Cleopatra*, which he finds less extensive than in *Julius Caesar* (contrary to MacCallum), centers on Lucius Antonius

and Sextus Pompeius. As to Pompey he supports MacCallum's view with an additional telling parallel. Apart from the interest of the details we should recognize that perhaps the importance Shakespeare gives to Pompey in his play, much greater than in Plutarch, may well stem from the generally large part he plays in Appian. As to Antony's brother and wife, Mr. Schanzer demonstrates that Lucius' republican motives and Fulvia's purpose to draw Antony back from Egypt—neither in Plutarch—are important in Appian. And he points out that Aenobarbus, always called by that name, is prominent in Appian. Mr. Schanzer overlooks the somewhat divided picture of Antony, for in Bk. V Antony in Egypt readily accepts the explanations of Pompey's ambassador—"as a plaine man and nothing suspitious". And there is the emphatic marginal gloss: "Antonie a plaine man." And we might wish that the volume included certain brief passages of Appian which in essential conceptions reinforce Plutarch. The opening of Bk. V reads: "After the death of Brutus and Cassius Octavian went into Italie, and Antonie into Egypt, where Cleopatra meeting with him, overcame him at the first sight. The which love brought them to destruction and Egypt to utter ruin." Or again: "Now leaving his wonted diligence, he did all things as Cleopatra would have him, without respect of God or mannes lawe." (Folger Library copy 713.3)

That Shakespeare knew and made use of the 1578 Appian seems beyond reasonable doubt. This is helpful, not only for details, but more importantly for a better understanding of Shakespeare's controlling dramatic themes in two plays about which there is considerable disagreement.

University of North Carolina

CLIFFORD P. LYONS

*The Life of Robert Southwell: Poet and Martyr.* By CHRISTOPHER DEVLIN. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1956. Pp. [x] + 368. \$5.00.

Robert Southwell, subject of this biography, was (as, I suppose, every schoolboy knows) an English Jesuit who risked his life in returning to England under Elizabeth I to carry out his priestly duties, to bring the sacraments to the hunted Roman Catholics; he was captured, he was tortured, he died for his faith. Beyond being a man loveable for his general character and admirable for his saintliness and courage, he must be rated high among the poets of the Elizabethan age—and his *Burning Babe* in particular is a poem of outstanding beauty. None of these things concerns me; I am to interest myself, in a review for *Shakespeare Quarterly*, only in those matters which connect Robert Southwell with William Shakespeare. Those are my precise terms of reference.

There are two sections of the book to which I must attend. In Chapter 18, "Master W. S." and in Appendix C, "Equivocation", Fr. Devlin offers matters which must interest the student of Shakespeare. The Equivocation section, though a mere couple of pages, is authoritative and it must be unreservedly commended. Fr. Devlin lucidly explains what equivocation (about which there was enough discussion in Shakespeare's time to allow it to come as a topical reference in *Macbeth* and possibly also in *All's Well* and *Hamlet*) really means and really meant to Fr. Henry Garnet, who made it "news". In the W. S. chapter, the author tries to connect Southwell with Shakespeare, to suggest that the two men were known to one another, and even that "his louing Cosin" who is addressed in a prose letter which precedes Southwell's *S. Peter's Complaint* was William Shakespeare. Here, in my opinion, Fr. Devlin fails totally to make anything like a case. And I am in a fix about the reviewing of this book.

Let me say (cards on table) that I, by persuasion a high Anglican, cannot swallow much of the Tudor history that is offered us by present-day Roman Catholic historians. I do not object to their arguing of points, nor to their holding of views which differ from my own. I do resent their habit of (it seems to me) cheating by setting before the reader, without warning, as fact, what is no more than assumption. When Fr. Devlin writes (p. 211) of Elizabeth,

Alarmed by the secret growth of Presbyterianism, especially among the gentry, she had discarded Burghley's policy of favouring 'the preciser sort', and was putting all her weight behind the Established Church in order to stamp it with the seal of her own balanced agnosticism and popular appeal,

I'd not object if he had argued that Elizabeth could reasonably be accused of agnosticism: I do object to the tossing of the theory at one as though it were a generally accepted fact of history. Fr. Devlin writes (p. 213) of two men who were executed,

Over their heads was put a placard: 'For Treason and aiding foreign enemies', though this lie had less appeal than it had in 1588.

If he had tried to prove that this was a lie, I could not have wished to grumble. If I correctly interpret Fr. Devlin (p. 214) as letting the reader assume that the religion of members of the Church of England in the sixteenth century consisted in worship of the Tudor State, this too is surely a doctrine which must not be thrown at the reader without an attempt at proof.

Such matters inevitably put me out of sympathy with Fr. Devlin. There are other things which seem to me to exemplify Philip Guedalla's epigram, that "Any stigma is good enough to beat a dogma". A statement like "The Calvinists had long since mastered, if they did not actually originate, the technique of mob-instigation" is so patently absurd (if demagoguery was a sixteenth-century invention, someone ought, for instance, to have put Aristophanes straight) that one does not worry about it. But why must Fr. Devlin call Marlowe's anti-catholic play a pot-boiler (p. 33)? Why must the anti-catholic Anthony Munday be smeared with the title of "the actor and hack-dramatist" and why must it be said that he "flounced up to the cart" (p. 54)? I am shocked when I read (p. 355): "... in the year of Shakespeare's death (and 'he dyed a papist' in a district served by Jesuits) there was no such deterrent"; the well-informed reader will understand that by his use of the marks of quotation Fr. Devlin means to say that there was a late-seventeenth-century story of no particular authority which says of Shakespeare that "he died a Papist". But will not the less specialist reader think that the anecdote is to be taken as fact and that the fact is attested by the *ipsissima verba* of a reliable witness?

I have written too much on this topic, because I must make it clear that anyone is entitled to object that in reviewing one chapter and one appendix of this book I am allowing myself to be swayed by prejudices aroused in me by other parts of the book—parts with which I ought to be having no dealings. I hope that I do not need to say that I myself am convinced that I have considered the two relevant sections objectively and without prejudice. But, as I said, I wish to lay the cards on the table.

Southwell's *St. Peter's Complaint* was, it seems, first printed in 1595 (no earlier edition is extant and I am sure that none ever did exist). Three pieces of preliminary matter precede the verse in the book. There are two verse addresses to the reader and a prose letter, "The Author to his louing Cosin". (It is, I think, inaccurate to call these pieces "three dedications"; it is certainly incorrect

to call the prose letter "the third dedication", for it stands first in the two 1595 editions that I have examined and in the 1616 foreign-printed edition. These are minor matters, irrelevant to Fr. Devlin's argument.) The prose letter is, in all known editions published before the St. Omer edition of 1616, addressed (with immaterial differences of spelling) "The Author to his louing Cousin"; in the St. Omer edition, the letter is headed, "To my worthy good cosen Maister W. S."

Fr. Devlin does not (and it is a pity) quote the prose letter in its entirety. It seems never to have been accurately reprinted from the first edition and I quote it here from the copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library (thanking the Trustees of that library for permission to do so):

Poets by abusing their talent, & making the follies and faynings of loue, the customarie subiect of their base endeours, haue so discredited this facultie, that a Poet, a louer, and a lyar, are by many reckoned but three words of one signification. But the vanitie of men, cannot counterpoise the authority of God, who deliuering many parts of scripture in verse, and by his Apostle willing vs to exercise our deuotion in Himnes & spirituall Sonnets, warranteth the Arte to be good, and the vse allowable. And therefore not onely among the Heathen, whose Gods were chiefelie canonized by their Poets, and their Paynim Diuinitie Oracled in verse: But euen in the old & New Testament it hath bene vsed by men of greatest Pietie, in matters of most deuotion. Christ himselfe by making a Himne, the conclusion of his last Supper, and the Prologue to the first Pageant of his Passion, gaue his Spouse a methode to immitate, as in the office of the Church it appeareth, and to all men a patterne to know the true vse of this measured and footed stile. But the deuill as he affecteth Deitie, and seeketh to haue all the complements of Diuine honour applied to his seruice, so hath hee among the rest possessed also most Poets with his idle fantasies. For in lieu of solempne and deuout matter, to which in dutie they owe their abilities, they now busie themselves in expressing such Passions, as onely serue for testimonies to how vnworthy affections they haue wedded their wils. And because the best course to let them see the error of their workes, is to weaue a new webbe in their owne loome; I haue heere laid a few course threads together, to inuite some skillfuller wits to goe forward in the same, or to begin some finer peece, wherein it may be seene how well verse and vertue sute together. Blame me not (good Cosen) though I send you a blame-worthy present, in which the most that commend it, is the good will of the writer, neither Arte nor inuention, giuing it any credite. If in me this be a fault, you cannot be faultlesse that did importune mee to commit it, and therefore you must beare part of the pennance, when it shall please sharpe censurers to impose it. In the meane time, with many good wishes I send you these few ditties, add you the tunes, and let the Meane, I pray you, be still a part in all your Musick.

What is Fr. Devlin playing at when he writes, "The content of the letter tells us nothing about W. S., except that he was a devotee of poetry and perhaps the stage"? I can see exactly nothing at all to suggest that the "louing Cousin" was a devotee of the stage. The letter strongly suggests to me that he was *not* an author; if anyone wished to argue that he was a musician, I should remain sceptical but not outraged. Whence Fr. Devlin derives the idea that it is a letter to an "actual person in that literary world which he wished to convert", I know not. And I do not find myself persuaded by Fr. Devlin's later suggestion that Shakespeare's *Lucrece* must have been influenced by Southwell's work.

Fr. Devlin can find no apposite W. S. among Southwell's cousins-german and he suggests that "the word 'cousin' must be taken in its looser sense". He provides a genealogical table which shows that Shakespeare and Edward Arden



were both great-great-grandsons of Walter Arden of Parkhall and that Edward Arden's wife, Mary Throckmorton, was great-grand-daughter of Nicholas, first Lord Vaux, the grandfather of Anne Vaux who married Southwell's great-uncle. The cousinship, even in its looser sense, is remote enough; and I cannot see why the St. Omer edition, published in the year of Shakespeare's death and more than 20 years after the death of Southwell, should be regarded as having any particular authority. The address to the cousin is not, in this edition, printed from an independent manuscript; it is a verbatim reprint from an earlier printed edition.

This is, alas, not the end of my cavillings. The extracts on pages 258 and 259 are incorrectly quoted: for *Wrath's lenity* read (if we must have the poem quoted in modernized form) *Wrath's lenitive* and for *light to the blind* read *light of the blind*. For *Thursdon* (p. 262, note 2) read *Thurston*. The initials of the editor of Allen's letters are (p. 342) wrongly given. The "unpublished" poem on page 16 is, as stated on page 340, printed by Fr. J. H. Macdonald. For *Conyers Reade* (p. 69 and elsewhere) read *Conyers Read*. For *Illustris* (p. 342) read *Illustribus*. The man called on page 150 "Robert Kett" and on page 364 "John Kett" was Francis Kett.

I am most unhappy about this book. I have occupied more space than I deserve in naggingly finding fault with Fr. Devlin's work. I must therefore make myself seem ludicrous when I say that I enjoyed the book and found it of great value. It contains much original research (some of it rescued from Fr. Devlin's writings in *The Month*, a periodical not easily come by in the United States). It concerns the life of a superb man whom one cannot but love and admire. The author was tempted to tie his subject to William Shakespeare—and he is, for a certainty, not the first to be assailed by that particular temptation. I regret that he could not push it firmly behind him.

King's College, London

JOHN CROW

## SHORT NOTICES

*Renaissance Papers*, 1955. Edited by ALLAN H. GILBERT. Charleston: University of South Carolina Duplicating Office for the University of South Carolina and Duke University, [1956]. Pp. [88].

Two essays among *Renaissance Papers*, a collection of papers given at the Renaissance Meeting of the Southeast in 1955, will have special interest for students of Shakespeare.

In his discussion "The Gods and God in *King Lear*" Alwin Thaler replies to T. M. Parrott's case (*Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV, 427 ff.) for the reading "gods' spies" in *Lear* (V. iii. 17, Kittredge, *Complete Works*) in favor of the singular genitive "God's spies". In light of Parrott's belief that "The omniscient God of Christian theology needs no 'spies'" and that we are not in the presence of "God in the essentially heathen play of *King Lear*", Thaler is especially concerned to show that Parrott ignores "an essential element . . . the fact that in some high moments . . . the spiritual frame of reference turns from the gods to God." And then the discussion turns to the larger question of "whether *Lear* is essentially heathen in the end", which Thaler answers negatively.

The second essay, by Henry L. Snuggs, "The Act-Division of *Much Ado*



*About Nothing*", after showing that the "structure of events" in the basic action of the play is the structure of the events in Bandello, assumes that Shakespeare "clearly did not design his play . . . by five acts" and suggests that both the story and play have two acts, not five. Yet although the writer mentions *The Sources of "Much Ado About Nothing"* (1950), by Charles T. Prouty, insofar as this essay uses the structural link between *Much Ado* and its sources the main idea is perhaps not fully examined in light of Prouty's useful discussion.

A closer and fuller account should be taken also of act-divisions in general in the Folio and in particular in the F text of *Much Ado*. And Snuggs follows the theory of "a copy of the Quarto used as a prompt-book and later used for Folio copy," which is modified by the new light of Sir Walter Greg's discussion of the text of the play in *The Shakespeare First Folio* (1955):

The reasons that make it inconceivable that it was the prompt-book that served as a copy for Q make it equally impossible that a copy of Q should ever have been used as a prompt-book without far more correction than F indicates. . . . We may safely assume that it was with a manuscript prompt-book that a copy of Q was compared before being handed to the printer . . . (pp. 280-281).

Wayne State University

GLENN H. BLAYNEY

*Leicester: Patron of Letters.* By ELEANOR ROSENBERG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. xx + 395. \$5.25.

In this fine study Miss Rosenberg throws much light on the workings of Elizabethan patronage. As a frame of reference, the author in her first chapter, "The Nature of Elizabethan Literary Patronage", shows Queen Elizabeth exploiting both the old notion of *noblesse oblige*, which was to develop into the Legend of Eliza significant as a patriotic device, and the use of patronage to influence policy. In both of these she operated indirectly: noblemen who received her largess seemingly were expected to use some of it "for her pleasure and benefit and for the welfare of the realm" (p. 11). This being so, the importance of considering the patronal activities of the nobleman whom Miss Rosenberg calls the paragon of Elizabethan Maecenases becomes manifest.

These activities clearly emerge from the subsequent chapters, which deal chronologically with Leicester's various roles as a patron. After a chapter on his early years as a patron, the author turns to the historians, whom she finds working with their patron in support of political and religious views which they found mutually useful; to his role as a patron of academic learning, itself related to the broad program to mould public opinion; and to the translators, who, "as very successful popularizers of the learning and morality which it was official policy to encourage", offered special targets for attack and hence needed protection badly (p. 182). The next two chapters, "Puritans and Their Works" and "Anti-Catholic Propaganda", are significant for many reasons; here can be mentioned only the conclusion that the way in which Leicester and his group handled the Puritan writers "is one of the triumphs of the Elizabethan patronage system, and a key to the working of Elizabeth's monarchy—theoretically absolute but actually dependent upon public opinion and national unity" (p. 277). The remaining chapters are on the final decade of Leicester's career as a patron and the "neglected writers" (Harvey, Spenser, and Florio).

An impressive appendix of ninety-four works dedicated to Leicester ar-

ranged chronologically, an extensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources, and a full index complete this very solid study of a notable Elizabethan patron.

University of Alabama

I. WILLIS RUSSELL

*Sixteenth Century English Prose* (The Harper English Literature Series). Edited by Karl J. Holzknacht. New York: Harper Bros., 1954. Pp. [xx] + 616 \$6.00. *The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance: An Anthology of Tudor Prose, 1481-1555*. Edited by ELIZABETH NUGENT and introduced by DOUGLAS BUSH, ELOISE L. PAFORT, W. GORDON ZEEVELD, GERTRAUDE ANNAN, W. E. CAMPBELL, F. S. BOAS, and H. S. BENNETT. Cambridge University Press, 1956. Pp. xix + 703. \$7.50.

Both of these anthologies are designed to illustrate the thought and culture of the period, but that of the late Professor Holzknacht extends from Caxton through Hooker with the account of the Bible rounded off by the King James Version and has a more literary norm for selection. Bacon is wisely left for the next volume in the series. Among the sixty headings, in a general chronological arrangement, are such welcome items as the *Homilies*, the *Book of Common Prayer*, Thomas Wilson, and Richard Mulcaster. Such breadth is attained at the expense of longer selections so that as a text book it would require additional reading in the major authors. The editing seems a little hasty: "one having care of souls" is hardly an adequate definition of "soul priest" (p. 43, n. 49); two, not one, volumes of the facsimile edition of the *English Works* of More have appeared (p. 47); the bibliography of witchcraft (p. 438) should include West, *The Invisible World* (1939), in spite of its dramatic orientation. To call Bk. II of the *Utopia* "More's bored reaction" to the conditions of his time is singularly infelicitous. On the whole it is a well selected volume.

Miss Nugent's anthology is not designed for the conventional survey course in Tudor prose, but under each of its classifications it gives an excellent introduction and a representative group of selections to illustrate this often neglected earlier period of Tudor culture. Under the humanists Professor Bush includes the statutes of both Christ's College and St. Paul' School as well as selections from *The Praise of Folly* and *The Governor*. Miss Pafort has selections from the Tudor grammars; Professor Zeeveld from the broader field of political and social documents; Miss Annan from the medical treatises; Prof. Campbell from the religious works; and this volume concludes with sections on the chronicles and tales and romances. For the intelligent reader it is an excellent introduction to the period, and for the more specialized student, who will undoubtedly wish to substitute here and there some favorite selections of his own, it contains a welcome selection of rare and important material well organized and lucidly presented.

The Catholic University of America

KERRY NEILL

*Shakespeare's Magic Circle*. By A. J. EVANS. Westport, Connecticut: Associated Booksellers, 1956. Pp. [160]. \$3.50.

The latest effort to deny authorship of the Shakespeare plays and poems to "Shakspere, the Stratford actor", attributes all these works, with assistance of other writers in the conspiracy, to William Stanley, sixth Earl of Derby.

Evans is not the first doughty champion of Stanley's claim. George C. Taylor gave to this journal in 1954 a chatty informative review of Dr. A. W. Titherley's ponderous volume, *Shakespeare's Identity*, which expounds a similar thesis, as do several less pretentious books of recent vintage. Though Evans gives full credit to Titherley, who "has read the draft", he explains, "and made many valuable suggestions and corrections", he does not accept all Titherley's conclusions. The chief variation between these two skeptics of the orthodox creed is that Evans attaches considerable importance to a supposed group of aristocratic scholars, who, he imagines, usually gathered in the home of Lady Pembroke to "assist in the revision of the plays of Shakespeare and to increase their richness".

This circle, he adds, included Oxford, Derby's father-in-law, Bacon, Rutland, Essex, Raleigh, Pembroke, and others. Edmund Spenser must have known the secret. "The combined wisdom of a group of outstanding intelligent aristocrats, who met frequently, had ample time on their hands, whose greatest relaxation in life was pursuit of the Muses, who themselves provided an adequate audience and the severest critics, led by one master mind, formed a group—a magic circle, without which the divine works of Shakespeare could not have come to their full glory." The "master mind" was, of course, the Earl of Derby.

To prove this theory Evans first lays down the qualifications he asserts necessary to find in the author of the works published under the pseudonym of "William Shake-speare". The secret writer "was an aristocrat—it is self-evident" from the vivid pictures of "kings, queens, dukes, and Court life" exhibited in the plays, and from the familiar tone displayed in the dedications to Southampton in *Venus and Lucrece*. Then he must have possessed an astounding English vocabulary, had traveled extensively abroad, had "strong Lancastrian leanings", and was gifted with intimate knowledge of law, music, drama, horses, ships, and flowers. One or another of these stipulations leads to rejection, not only of "Shakspeare", but also of Bacon, Oxford, and Rutland as candidates. Marlowe's candidacy, it appears, came too late for consideration. But Stanley fulfills all qualifications enumerated, and also answers to the name Will of Sonnet 136, and the initials "W. S." signed to certain early poems.

The familiar charges leveled by the "anti-Stratfordians" against "Shakspeare the actor", are repeated with emphasis—that he was of an illiterate family, grew up as "an ignorant rustic", in an obscure village, became a professional actor, a calling whose actual status at the time was "extremely low", and left no writing behind him except six signatures. Of the six, one is "practically unreadable", two are badly written, two are "semi-literate", and the last was evidently "not written by Shakspeare at all, but by a clerk." On the contrary, "the 'D' handwriting in the MSS. play *Sir Thomas More* . . . has now been proved by Titherley to be the hand of William Stanley."

The book under review is less weighty in several senses of the word than that of Titherley, and more readable despite a repetitious style and an argument not easy to follow. The author knows the Shakespeare biographies of Lee and of Chambers, though he does not accept basic assertions of either. Of recent studies by Adams, Baldwin, Whitaker, or any living authority on the Elizabethan drama, he shows no acquaintance. Consistently he refuses to credit well attested evidence contrary to his general theory, dismissing the results as "utterly unbelievable", "quite impossible", "equally unsatisfactory", or "a fantastic improbability". Yet he is sure that Ben Jonson in his epigram on a "poor Poet-ape" whom he does not name, was truthfully depicting the actor, while in his

affectionate tribute to Shakespeare in the 1623 Folio, he was deliberately lying. Heminge and Condell being actors could not have composed their Preface to the same volume, but merely signed their names to it. Thus in its construction of the aristocratic "magic circle" the book has given to airy nothing a local habitation and a name.

*The University of Texas*

ROBERT ADGER LAW

*An Exhibit of Shakespeare Books from the Collection of Mr. Sidney Fisher of Montreal.* Montreal: The Halycon Press, 1957. Pp. xiv.

The earlier portion of the catalogue of this exhibit appeared last year, and was reviewed in the 1957 Winter issue of the *Shakespeare Quarterly*. Exhibits of this character serve many purposes; one of the least obvious contributions, however, is the revelation of lacunae. This may have been the case with the present exhibit, for it would appear that Mr. Fisher was encouraged to acquire a number of additional books relating to Shakespeare or to the sources utilized by him. To the section on "Source Books" the present catalogue adds fourteen new titles and eleven "Allusion Books". In the former category there are included Sir Thomas Elyot's *The Boke Named the Governour* (London, 1557), John Gerarde's *The Herball or Generall Historie of Plantes* (London, 1596—is this date correct or should it read 1597?), two of Philemon Holland's translations, the Livy of 1600 and the Pliny of 1601. The entry for William Camden's *Anglica, Normannica* (London, 1603) presents something of a puzzle, for no such edition appears to be recorded elsewhere. Later works are represented by the 1609 edition of Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, the third edition of Montaigne's *Essayes* in the translation of John Florio (1632), and an interesting copy of John Manwood's *The Lawes of the Forrest* (London, 1598) with a contemporary note of purchase and the price paid—4 shillings and sixpence. The books with allusions to Shakespeare are all later, commencing with Andrew Favine's *The Theater of Honour and Knighthood*, printed by William Jaggard during the same year he and others published the First Folio. The latest is John Milton's *Works* of 1697. Of especial interest is a copy of Gerard Langbaine's *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691) in which the author appraises Shakespeare in the following terms: "I esteem his Plays beyond any that have ever been published in our Language."

*Library of Congress*

FREDERICK R. GOFF

*The Problem of John Ford.* By H. J. OLIVER. Melbourne University Press, 1955. Pp. [vii] + 146. \$4.50.

H. J. Oliver's study strikes the reader both by its brevity and its precision—which is a quality as well as a weakness. I for one believe that a hundred pages are quite sufficient to bring out the essential qualities of Ford's drama. Yet such limitations become definitely too narrow when the critic's purpose is to deal with biographical and chronological data, authorship and collaboration, language, technique, and the aesthetic value of the work. In this respect, Mr. Oliver's enterprise is not entirely successful to my mind. Had he confined himself to an appreciation of Ford's drama within the drama of his time, he could have expressed his opinion in a more penetrating and convincing manner, and he would have thus given a full evidence of his competence, his keen judgment, and his integrity as a critic.

Such as it is then, Mr. Oliver's book was disappointing to me for various reasons. First, because I think (as I have said above) that too much brevity is sometimes incompatible with a comprehensive subject; second, because I am still ignorant of what constitutes *The Problem of John Ford*, which I assume to be of primary importance since it is the very title of the book. Mr. Oliver has not succeeded either in formulating or solving the problem. Judging from his repeated and vigorous attacks against a number of critics (especially Victorian) who condemned Ford in the name of Ethics, I surmise that the problem he refers to is one of Ethics. If it be so, I agree with him that there is no such problem and that Ford is primarily concerned with searching the human soul rather than with solving problems. Indeed Ford writes plays because he is interested in the working of the mind and in the expression of feelings, especially of intense inward suffering. In his analysis of Ford's characters, Mr. Oliver does not seem to have paid sufficient attention perhaps to these psychological considerations, or to have shown that Burton's influence on Ford was truly capital and determined the very conception of his "characters".

I will not dwell long on the fact that Mr. Oliver shows a tendency to minimize the extent of Ford's contribution in the plays written in collaboration, especially *The Witch of Edmonton* and *The Spanish Gipsy*. This matter deserves more attention than has been devoted by Mr. Oliver. To say, for instance, that Middleton was a chameleon-like author does not explain in the least that the character of Clara (*Spanish Gipsy*), who has so many "sisters" among Ford's heroines, and is unique in Middleton's drama, was Middleton's creation.

More serious, to my mind, is Mr. Oliver's opinion that *'Tis Pity* is Ford's most mature and remarkable play. That it was, and still is perhaps, the most popular and the most efficient drama on the stage is unquestionable, but this does not prove at all that it is the most mature or even the most representative of Ford's plays. Some fundamental aspects of Ford's drama—his use of a more and more abstract language and his extreme reserve in the description of emotions, for instance—should be regarded as a sign of the maturity of Ford's work. In this respect *The Broken Heart* is the more mature of the two, and many of Ford's admirers will still continue to consider it as the finest example of Ford's artistry. To be sure, Mr. Oliver is quite aware of the consummate skill of Ford the artist, and of the pure quality of his poetry. If I disagree with him on minor points, I certainly join with him in his praise when he says: "Of tragic poetry at this level not many even of the Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline dramatists were capable. . . ."

As a conclusion I would say that, if Mr. Oliver's book contains no outstanding revelation on Ford, it is none the less a good book and it will prove a good guide to the student. It may even induce a few of us to reconsider and perhaps to clarify our opinion on Ford's work. And that, in itself, is no small benefit.

Paris

R. DAVRIL

*Beaumont and Fletcher: A Critical Study.* By WILLIAM W. APPLETON. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. (published in the U.S.A. by Essential Books, Inc., Fair Lawn, N. J.). 1956. Pp. [132]. \$2.00.

This study of the Beaumont and Fletcher corpus and its fortunes down to the present day aims to present, in brief and compendious form, a synthesis of critical opinion concerning the work of John Fletcher and his various collabora-

tors and to recommend as its basic critical suggestion the need for reassessing the value for the stage of the present day of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, which, the author thinks, might offer a wider basis of appeal for the present generation than is commonly realized:

Though not overlooked by critics in recent years, the two dramatists have suffered the greater humiliation of neglect by readers and producers. Their limited reading public may seem understandable enough. The clash between love, honour and Stuart doctrine has little immediacy for us. Yet Beaumont and Fletcher's world was also the world of Donne, with which we have found so many affinities. Granted that Beaumont and Fletcher lack the poetic capacity to illuminate the dilemma of man in a changing society as intensely as did the great Dean of St. Paul's, they still have much to offer us. Their fondness for sensation and shock, their emphasis on sex, their energy, brilliance and wit, even their coarseness, all recommend them to the modern temper. Their dexterity in form and language also recommends itself to a generation nurtured on the New Criticism. (P. 118)

Though the kind of audience here envisioned may seem to consist chiefly of undergraduates more or less sophisticated rather than of such numbers as a producer would find commercially attractive, the desire expressed to see some of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays in stage performance has, from a literary point of view, a certain piety.

In the critical analyses of separate plays, the relation of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays to Shakespeare's comes in for a good deal of consideration. The author finds that the collaborators borrowed freely from Shakespeare plot situations, traits of dramatic character and other elements of dramatic technique; like other recent commentators on the Beaumont and Fletcher plays, he is inclined to discount the suggestion that the innovations mainly fostered on the Jacobean stage by Beaumont and Fletcher produced any significant effect upon Shakespeare's practice in his latest plays. The last two chapters of the book trace the course of the Beaumont and Fletcher plays on the Restoration stage, the gradual subsidence of their vogue after 1688, and the varying estimates of the playwrights among later generations of critics, as the reputation of Shakespeare increasingly dominates and all but eclipses the short-lived popularity of his younger rivals. Mr. Appleton's critical treatment throughout is lucid, if somewhat too compressed and summary. His book, however, constitutes a convenient review of the present state of Beaumont and Fletcher studies.

*University of Toronto*

HAROLD S. WILSON



## Queries and Notes

### POLONIUS IN THE ROUND

ELKIN CALHOUN WILSON

The world has long laughed at Polonius as a figure of high comedy, yet harmoniously a part of its most fascinating tragedy. And long ago Dr. Johnson put the comic point of him in four words—"dotage encroaching upon wisdom."<sup>1</sup> That dotage repeatedly amuses us in his fondness for lecturing and giving advice, however sound, to his meandering young; in his losing the line of his thought in converse with Reynaldo—and over-elaborating it in speech with his king and queen; in his swallowing all of Hamlet's "mad" talk (if, perhaps, with an intent to humor his prince); and in his tenacious pursuit of his *idée fixe* that spurned love lies behind Hamlet's seeming madness. In all such behavior he stimulates acutely our sense of the truly comic.

But so to behold the comic stature of Polonius should not be to miss his measure as a figure in a playhouse tragedy that involves various individuals disastrously. He is not a comic appendage to that tragedy; he is an organic part of it as well as its most deliciously comic character. As everybody knows, his accidental death by Hamlet's dagger plunging for Claudius is the crisis of the play. Can we appreciate the rounded role of Polonius in a uniquely complicated drama and yet dismiss him as no more than "in his first scene as in his last 'a foolish prating knave,'" who "comes in as he goes off, a wretched, rash, intruding fool, mistaken for his better"?<sup>2</sup>

Polonius has a minor tragic dimension as well as a major comic; our eyes catch a more embracing view of him than Hamlet's possibly can. Apart from the flatness of Polonius read as no more than a doddering old fool, is the loss to the rich orchestration of the tragedy if we miss some of his notes in it by ignoring the varied comments on him that round him out into a complex creature, caught erring in a tangled world he never made and contributing to the fine mesh of ironic contrasts essential in all great tragic drama.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in *Hamlet*, Furness Variorum Edition (1877), I, 136.

<sup>2</sup> Josephine Waters Bennett, "Characterization in Polonius' Advice to Laertes", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV (1953), 6, 9. Professor Bennett holds that the precepts to Laertes echoed in the son's ears (and amusingly in the ears of the Globe audience) as a "tedious brief discourse" reminiscent of stock counsel in the oration of Isocrates, *Ad Demonicum*, familiar to Elizabethans as schoolboys. But see Mr. C. K. Hunter's telling reply in *SQ*, VIII (1957), 501-506. She does show how misguided is the reading of the character of Polonius that would make him a caricature of Lord Burleigh. It is her one-dimensional view of Polonius that provokes my dissent: "Shakespeare does not dignify Polonius in any way. After his disastrous prohibitions to Ophelia, we see him next sending a servant to spy on Laertes. . . . Next he comes to the false conclusion that Hamlet is mad for love of his daughter. . . . His garrulity comes out strongly in the reading of Hamlet's love-letter, his vanity in the scene with the players, his lack of either dignity or integrity in his willingness to hide behind an arras, not once but twice, to spy on an intimate tête-à-tête [*sic*]. He is no elder statesman, but the butt of any wit. Follow that lord—and look you mock him not," Hamlet admonishes the players. Even in death Shakespeare allows him no dignity. He is stabbed like a rat and lugged off the stage without ceremony. . . . Nor does it follow that, because his children loved him, therefore he must have been worthy of their devotion" (p. 8). In the words with which Ophelia answers her lecturing brother, one may ask, "No more but so?"



Perhaps the crux of the matter is evoked by the assertion that "Shakespeare does not dignify Polonius in any way." But what of his stature in the second scene of the play for the unprejudiced audience? The throne defers to his wishes for his son:

The head is not more native to the heart,  
The hand more instrumental to the mouth,  
Than is the throne of Denmark to thy father.

His prohibitions to Ophelia are indeed disastrous, timed as they are; yet they are made by a loving father solicitous for the well being of his daughter. He does stoop to conquer in sending a servant to "spy" on Laertes; but he is, even so, a circumspect parent concerned about the right development of a son who, later, proves putty in villainous hands. Polonius' "false conclusion" about Hamlet's madness is more in key with a dramatist's intent to multiply comic-irony than the mark of a fool. His garrulity and vanity are indeed very comically illustrative of his dotage—actuality slipping through his fingers as he gives us "words, words, words". But spying twice behind an arras, though it certainly does not dignify Polonius, is yet the move of a man sincerely concerned by his lights to help his king, of whose villainous conduct he of course has no faintest suspicion (as commentators seem to forget), to cure seemingly dangerous madness in his prince.<sup>2</sup> His place at court as the righthand counselor of its sovereign does appear to an unbiased audience that of a respected elder statesman—no more inept and absurd than some such dignitaries in our own days. Claudius and Gertrude always pay Polonius due respect, if tolerantly aware of the "dotage encroaching upon wisdom". Gertrude remembers a "good old man". Hamlet's admonition to the players not to mock Polonius can as well point up Hamlet as respectful of some dignity in him in spite of much dotage as underscore Polonius as the butt of any wit. And his death without dignity is far more a part of a web of tragic irony than it is deliberate degradation of him because he is no more than "a wretched, rash, intruding fool, mistaken for his better". Those words express Hamlet when he is furious with frustration because his dagger has missed its mark—hardly Hamlet's reasoned judgment on Polonius the complete man. And, if it does not follow that because his children loved him, Polonius must therefore have been worthy of their devotion, does it follow that he was unworthy of it although they did love him? The father's death precipitates madness in one child and headlong vengeance in the other.

A rounded view of Polonius recognizes in him a preeminently comic figure, but one drawn with enough dignity to fix him firmly in the tragic involvement that breeds his ironic death and draw at least a bit of our feeling of the pity of it all. Portrayals have too often made a mere caricature of him. Critical dismissal of him as a fool and knave pushes him into the realm of the satiric in which he surely does not belong. His end is not that of a satiric butt, scorned and derided. Hamlet's hot words over his body are hardly the sum of the

<sup>2</sup> For Professor Lily B. Campbell Polonius is little more than "the faithful ears and prompt reporter of a tyrant", of a murderer and an usurper ("Polonius: The Tyrant's Ears", *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, D. C., 1948), p. 301). She, too, denies Polonius enough dignity to preserve his comic and ironic impact that must hinge on presented contrasts between actualities and appearances.

matter for the spectator of the tragedy entire. If no dignity or wisdom in Polonius is made evident in the play for dotage to encroach upon, what becomes of his comic aspect that must turn upon a blunt (and evident) contrast between shifting animal fact and encrusting social form and convention? Dr. Johnson's words are just. They keep Polonius at once in the realm of high comedy and within the involution of tragic ironies that make the fabric of *Hamlet*.

New York University

# A NOTE ON THE FUNCTION OF POLONIUS' ADVICE

O. B. DAVIS

I certainly agree with Professor Bennett's defense against the charge of being a bit hard on Polonius.<sup>1</sup> Beyond the matter of the consistency of Polonius' character as "a pompous, tiresome, and foolish old wind bag", however, it occurs to me that the advice presents concretely, if comically, one of the major forces in the tragic dilemma of *Hamlet*.

I find the advice to Laertes not only consistent with the character of Polonius, but with that of his family and, indeed, with that of the Denmark which Hamlet confronts. The advice is advice for a young man on the make. More generally, it is a series of aphorisms on the science of getting on in the world. This is, as it happens, largely a matter of putting up the right appearance and of being careful not to fall from public esteem. The actions of Claudius are perfectly in accord with this good advice, and if Hamlet heeded his mother's entreaty and looked like a friend on Denmark he too would be acting entirely in its spirit. The speech directs conformity to society regardless of truth, compassion, or moral indignation.

Ophelia and Laertes, pleasant ordinary young people, never question their father's words. Both make practical aphorisms themselves justifying the actions with which they are confidently and disastrously adhering to the proprieties of their world. Laertes is directed first against Claudius and then against Hamlet by an awareness of the proper attitude towards the injuries done him. He rants of honor and revenge in the style of the first player. Only when he sees his sister mad and at the news of her death does he briefly stop playing the part expected of bereaved son and brother.

This type of posturing is anathema to Hamlet. He turns on himself bitterly for what he thinks is a tendency towards it in his "rogue and peasant slave" speech at the end of Act II. His leap after Laertes into Ophelia's grave is because "the bravery of his grief" put Hamlet into a towering passion. From the beginning Hamlet is revolted by the mere trappings and suits of woe, but the trappings and the suits are the dominant realities and motives of ordinary life at Elsinore.

Moments of truth come to Gertrude twice during the play, but she too customarily dresses her actions in justifications which link her to the status quo.

The mighty opposites, Claudius and Hamlet, live above this world of ap-

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare Quarterly*, VII (1956), 275-276.

pearances. Hamlet, of course, chooses not to conform and prosper in the disjointed time. Claudius, the wicked man, swings a cliché with the best. His first speech from the throne (I.ii) is a masterpiece of popular justification, but it is nonsense and he knows it. He lives in a world where actions may either be hidden or justified by a facile motto, and he exploits this fact to the end. There is a sort of good natured contempt in his dealing with Polonius, but Polonius is his chamberlain, his creature, and the representative of the world he rules. This world is the unweeded garden that Hamlet will not accept, and its code of ethics is set forth in the advice of Polonius to Laertes.

*Kent School*

### COLEVILLE OF THE DALE

PETER G. PHIALAS

One of the passages in 2 *Henry IV* stubbornly resisting explication has been Falstaff's speech at IV.iii.1-10. To Falstaff's request to identify himself, the captive Coleville replies: "I am a Knight, sir, and my name is Coleville of the Dale." Upon which Falstaff comments:

Well, then, Coleville is your name, a Knight your degree, and your place the Dale. Coleville shall still be your name, a traitor your degree, and the dungeon your place—a place deep enough. So shall you be still Coleville of the Dale.

The last line—what must surely be a punning conclusion—seems to fall quite flat. A long time ago Tyrwhitt voiced the general dissatisfaction and proposed an unnecessary emendation. "But where [he asked] is the wit or logic of this conclusion? I am almost persuaded that we ought to read thus.

Coleville shall still be your name, a traitor your degree, and the dungeon your place, a Dale deep enough.

He may then justly infer, 'So shall you still be Coleville of the Dale.' Less complimentary to Falstaff's wit is Dr. Johnson's explanation. "The sense of *dale*", he says, "is included in *deep*; a *dale* is a deep place; a *dungeon* is a deep place: he that is in a *dungeon* may be therefore said to be in a *dale*."

The only explication of the passage which approaches sense is made by Professor Dover Wilson in his edition of the play (New Cambridge Shakespeare, 1953), although unfortunately he accepts Tyrwhitt's emendation. "The jest hitherto unexplained", he writes, "turns on 'dale' = 'pit', and in his glossary he cites N.E.D. "dale" 2, "dell" 1; *Piers Plowman*, Prol., 15, and *The Spanish Tragedy*, III. xi. 21; IV. iii. 6. Although this explanation is an improvement on earlier ones, it is nevertheless inadequate since it greatly limits what must surely be a larger meaning and a richer jest. Furthermore, neither *dungeon* nor *dale* in the context stands for "pit". Certainly Falstaff equates the two terms, but their intended meaning is allusive, not literal. The jest turns upon a double pun, one on this allusive meaning of the two words, and another on a dependent homonymic quibble in *dale*. *Dale* and *dungeon*, both separately and

more strongly in conjunction, stand for "hell", and this meaning contributes to the second pun in the line: "So shall you be still Coleville of the Dale [de'il]", that is, Coleville of the devil.

The dissyllabic *devil* may easily contract to its monosyllabic form in verse wherever the meter demands it. And among its many forms in Tudor literature "de'el", "dele", and "del" were common; and these compare with the Scottish form *deil*. In Shakespeare this monosyllabic form appears as *deale* twice in *Hamlet*, II. ii. 627 (Q2, Q3).<sup>1</sup> It is, of course impossible to say precisely how Coleville should pronounce *dale*, but presumably his northern pronunciation would be approximated by Falstaff's sounding of *de'il*. Admittedly, this is a matter of conjecture, difficult of direct proof. And since, as suggested above, the homonymic pun is based on the meaning of *dungeon* and *dale*, support for the *dale-de'il* quibble must be contextual. Fortunately, there is available literary evidence which, I believe, proves beyond doubt that Falstaff was thinking of hell and the devil when he promised to put Coleville in a dungeon.

The word *dungeon* appears very rarely in Shakespeare, but on two occasions it is closely associated with hell. In *Love's Labour's Lost* the King says that black is

the badge of hell

The hue of dungeons, and the school of night. (IV. iii. 254-255)

And again in *Richard III*:

*Anne*. And thou unfit for any place but hell.

*Rich*. Yes, one place else, if you will hear me name it.

*Anne*. Some dungeon. (I. ii. 109-111)

In these passages the two terms merely suggest each other. But they are found in closer relationship in literary tradition and no doubt in the popular mind. In the *Fall of Lucifer*, the initial piece of the Chester Plays, God identifies hell with a dungeon:

The worlde, that is both voyde and vayne,  
I forme in the formacion,  
With a dongion of darknesse,  
Which never shall have ending.<sup>2</sup>

In the Northumbrian poem *The Pricke of Conscience* by Richard Rolle de Hampole, the identification is more explicit:

Parfor þus says þe haly man Iobe.  
*Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio.*  
"In helle," he says, "es na raunceon."  
For na helpe may be in þat dungeon,  
Pat es to say, in the lawest helle,  
Whar þe dampned saules sal ay duelle.<sup>3</sup>

There can be no doubt, then, that *dungeon* and *hell* suggest each other and that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *dele* [evil], *Hamlet*, I. iv. 36 (Q2, Q3).

<sup>2</sup> *The Chester Plays*, ed. T. Wright, The Shakespeare Society, I, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *The Philological Society's Early English Volume*, ed. Richard Morris (London, 1863), p. 77, ll. 2832-37. Milton's Beelzebub calls hell "our dungeon" in the infernal council, *Paradise Lost*, II. 317.

they are often identified. But *dale* also is frequently associated with hell, and this is true in the very passages cited by Professor Wilson from *The Spanish Tragedy*.

Down by the dale that flows with purple gore  
Standeth a fiery tower; there sits a judge  
Upon a seat of steel and molten brass  
And 'twixt his teeth he holds a fire-brand  
That leads unto the lake where hell doth stand.

(III. xii. 7-11)

It will conduct you to despair and death—  
Whose rocky cliffs when you have once beheld,  
Within a hugy dale of lasting night. . . .

(III. xii. 66-68)

In both passages *dale* stands for more than "pit" and it is, at least geographically, related most closely with hell: hell is in a "hugy dale of lasting night." The dungeon-dale-hell relationship is quite clear. But if further proof were needed, it could be found in two passages from *Piers Plowman*, only the first of which is cited (but not quoted) by Professor Wilson.<sup>4</sup> In the first the poet merely records the presence in his prospect of a dungeon in the dale and briefly suggests its meaning:

A depe dale binethe • a dongeon þere-Inne,  
With depe dyches & derke • and dredful of sight.<sup>5</sup>

In the second passage the Lovely Lady describes the dungeon in the dale in unmistakable terms:

Panne I frained hir faire • for hym þat hir made,  
"That dongeoun in þe dale • þat dredful is of siste,  
What may be to mene • ma-dame, I sow biseche?"  
"Þat is þe castel of care • who so cometh þerinne  
May banne þat he borne was • to body or to soule.  
Perinne wonieth a wiste • þat wronge is yhote,  
Fader of falshed • and founded it hym-selue.  
Adam and Eue • he egged to ille. . . ."<sup>6</sup>

The dungeon in the dale is hell, the abode of Satan, and that is where Falstaff would consign Coleville, who, like Satan, is a rebel and a traitor. Then would he indeed be Coleville of the dale-de'il.

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<sup>4</sup> He cites merely "depe dale".

<sup>5</sup> Prol., ll. 15-16 (A, B texts).

<sup>6</sup> Passus I, ll. 58-65 (A, B texts).

## Notes and Comments

### BACK NUMBERS

It would be very satisfying to think that every member of the Shakespeare Association of America reads every number of *Shakespeare Quarterly* from cover to cover, treasures it until the completion of the volume, and then has the publication bound in full levant morocco to adorn the shelves of this and future generations. In sober fact, we realize that, like ourselves, readers are busy people, who must pick and choose, reading this article, that note, the other review and passing by, however reluctantly, the things that are not of immediate interest.

And if their bookshelves are like those in most modern homes, a run of periodicals fills space that is needed for items of current reading. (Let us confess it, some of our most treasured journals have been taken out of the house and given to libraries because there simply wasn't any space for another item.) If this be your predicament—or policy—the Shakespeare Association of America appeals to you for assistance.

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If you have back numbers of *Shakespeare Quarterly*, the Association implores you to send them to the Treasurer, Mr. John F. Fleming, 322 East 57th Street, New York City, so that he may transmit them to the places where they are needed. Every day he receives requests for back numbers. Copies of Volume VIII, Number 1, Winter 1957, are most in request.

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### INDEX TO VOLUME VIII

The Index to Volume VIII will be published along with the Spring number of *SQ*.

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### ILLUSTRATIONS

The Frontispiece, a Prospectus of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's lectures on Shakespeare and Milton in 1811-1812, is reproduced from the copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library. It appears to be unnoticed in T. J. Wise's *Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (1913) and in T. M. Raysor's *Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism* (1930). The invitation to the third annual Birthday dinner of the Shakespearian Club of Stratford-upon-Avon reproduced on page 30 is likewise from the Folger Library copy. Are invitations to the first or second dinner extant?

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The arms of Augustine Vincent (?1584-1626), Windsor herald, stamped on the vellum covers of the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of Martin Billingsley's *The Pen's Excellencie* [1618]. They appear also on the front cover of the copy of the Shakespeare First Folio presented to Vincent by William Inge, 1621.

# The Fall of Othello

JOHN ARTHOS



T first sight the construction of *Othello* appears to follow some such economy as that of *Macbeth*—the high pitched intensity at the very beginning and even more pointedly the asking of question upon question about the protagonist—What is he up to now? And how is he carrying it off?

What a full fortune does the thick-lips owe,  
If he can carry't thus! (I. i. 66-67)

From the beginning all the directions lead us to wonder what he is made of, and what goes on in him. There is immediately the trial in which before the highest in Venice he must show what he is, and all leads to the great confession—

My parts, my title, and my perfect soul  
Shall manifest me rightly. (I. ii. 31-32)

His distinction is his magnanimity, and its wholeness:

Is this the noble Moor whom our full Senate  
Call all in all sufficient? . . .

. . . He is much chang'd. (IV. i. 275-276, 279)

And when Othello comes into the foreground alone, or when in the words that take us into his mind as if we were there and there were nothing else indeed than these thoughts that come to him—

"It is the cause" (V. ii. 1)—

then more than ever we understand how the subordination of the action is directed towards concentrating our attention upon the thought and sight of a man alone in his own mind—"It is the cause, my soul. . ."

It is such a direction of our attention that defines the final effects of the play, so that we shall be less moved by the conflicts of war and politics than by the conflict of love and honor in the most noble and royal of men. It is this direction of our attention, I think, that justifies Granville-Barker's criticism of *Othello* when he says that "the play's essential action lies in the processes of thought and feeling by which the characters are moved and the story is forwarded. And the deeper the springs of these the less do time, place and circumstance affect them."<sup>1</sup>

The contrivances of the plot are also of such a nature as to make this internal matter "the essential action" of the play, and this one can also estimate rather well through a comparison with *Macbeth*, where the change in the mind of the leading figure is also central to the tragedy.

<sup>1</sup> *Prefaces to Shakespeare: Fourth Series, Othello* (London, 1947), p. 37.

After the first murder Macbeth's others follow, sometimes without his consulting his wife. The course of violence is now apparently his own where first he needed her urging. And yet there is something not truly free in this apparent independence of his, there is nothing original and of his own conception. All is unimaginative (and as such, unlike him), perfunctory, even stupid—the murder of Banquo and Lady Macduff, and, stupidest of all, the murder of Macduff's children. What this was was only the following of a course his wife's persuasion first helped him to, and these were none of them acts conceived in any way freshly to meet new dangers. Doing them on his own he is nevertheless less his own man than ever before, the only deed he knows he learned from his wife, and what he learned from her was not the conception of murder, but the trick of action, the commission of the deed. And having acted once, he kept repeating, as if by rote, in an effort to be free, only to become more a slave than ever, and less the master of himself.

His deeds become gratuitous horrors. What Shakespeare has done is to show what a fool a man is to think he is free to use evil as he wishes to, and in this play all is subordinate to the transformation of Macbeth himself, from the great and noble captain to the shadow of himself. Even the witches, for all our acceptance of their reality, even Lady Macbeth, only lead us to think more and more about Macbeth and what he has done. Shakespeare finally gives him only the world within himself to live in, and we also in the end take it for the whole, and even for the equivalent of the Christian universe. But the point remains a point about an individual in any world, that that man is deluded who thinks he is free even in his own mind to choose evil and to remain himself.

In *Macbeth* it is the crimes themselves that are the central action of the play, but in *Othello*, for all the workings upon the Moor that may compare with the influences upon Macbeth, the tragedy has reached its climax, one might almost say its completion, long before the tragic deed. Macbeth, too, had committed the crime in his mind before he stabbed the body of the King, but for the audience of that play the crime was not complete until the deed was held up to our most horrified attention. The killing of Desdemona has no such relation to the logic of *Othello*, I think, because the crime or the deed that most calls forth the tragic sense in this play is not the killing of a life but the violation of a love, the violation of Othello's love and his humanity. Long before he strangled Desdemona Othello had ceased to be himself, the "all-sufficient". The killing was hardly more necessary to his downfall than the murder of Lady Macduff to Macbeth's destruction, hardly more than the punctuation to the tragedy.

Othello falls finally through some coincidence of a failure in himself and the wonderful persistence of Iago's improvisations. In a way Iago is the ape of Othello, Othello who can so freely offer his "perfect soul" as a gauge. So Iago trusts his own capacity for perfection, his cultivation of the will divorced from the affections of nature. And for him the idea of the mastery of the will—"virtue, a fig"—is not the idea of mastery over the affections, but of the atrophy and death of the affections, their excision even. It is through their absence that the will is free to follow any interest the self in simple wickedness proposes. Jealousy in him, from the defeats of sex or ambition, and however rankling, is yet apart from the cultivation of the affectionless will.

Edmund and Gloucester, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern and Laertes, Octavius

and Enobarbus and Pompey, all act following their own lights in ways that are also the ways followed by Lear and Hamlet and Antony, pursuing their paths something short of the limit. They are as it were taken up finally in the great tragic courses of the protagonists. Iago's course is different from theirs, his goes to the limit as much as Othello's, for both of them are practising the ways of perfection. Iago contributes to our awe of Othello, by forming his course in the directly opposite way. Moulton's comment is the telling one, that the soliloquies, not of Othello but of Iago, are "the author's own index to the gathering fulness of the development."<sup>2</sup> Iago acts as one freed from the affections of nature, and Othello means to.

And even if the plot is thought to be controlled by Iago, events follow each other nevertheless from most doubtful necessities. It is not merely that chance and coincidence serve Iago better than he hoped, but none of the key matters bears any significance for what concerns us in the play about Othello's love and the purity of his soul. In *Hamlet* every event, perhaps, has some necessary relevance to what is happening to Hamlet. Here there is almost nothing of this apart from the nature of the contrast Iago himself opposes. Roderigo's quarrels and his misfortunes, Cassio's suit and downfall, Emilia's troubles, these might have been matters involving a dozen strangers for all their consequence in telling us about Othello. Under some circumstances the stories of rivalry within the ranks for promotion, intrigues about fellow officers' wives, particular venalities, might be expected to lead us away from the plot into some general attention to the life of soldiers in a time of war. But in this play the conglomeration of life is not after all for its own sake but for another kind of reflection of the life within Othello, a picture of the chaos of ordinary life that would enfold him if, having once known love, it should ever leave him.

Ulrici pointed out of Henry VI, perhaps with some excess, that he "does nothing; he merely suffers, entreats and prays; but all that happens, falls back upon his own head, and his very inactivity is the main cause of all the events and occurrences."<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere, as Shakespeare presented stories in which men were moved in various ways towards crime and folly, there are the most remarkable and wonderful revelations of the state of strength and purity and beauty in the nature of mankind out of which the occasion and principle of evil take a beginning. Which is to say, I think, that the state of the soul before the deed was from the beginning part of the action of tragedy for Shakespeare, and in *Othello* it may be that it is within such matters that the whole tragedy is comprehended. Othello fell into chaos before the murder was done.

In thinking of the downfall of Othello one is drawn to consider certain matters concerning the role of honor in this play, and also to contemplate something that is in a certain sense prior to that, the idea of the integrity of the self. This idea seems to have been constant with Shakespeare, and it was expressed at the very beginning of his work, in Adonis's ultimate argument: "Before I know myself, seek not to know me" (line 525). The idea has a quasi-philosophical expression in *Lucrece*:

<sup>2</sup> Richard G. Moulton, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1893), p. 240.

<sup>3</sup> Hermann Ulrici, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Art*, trans. L. Dora Schmitz (London, 1876), II, 262.

Such hazard now must doting Tarquin make,  
 Pawning his honour to obtain his lust;  
 And for himself himself he must forsake:  
 Then where is truth, if there be no self-trust? (lines 155-158)

In *Richard II* the same notion is allied to the Socratic idea of a man's *daimon*:

Yet again, methinks,  
 Some unborn sorrow, ripe in fortune's womb,  
 Is coming towards me, and my inward soul  
 With nothing trembles. (II. ii. 9-12)

In *Henry IV, Part 1*, I think it is the same idea that is exploited in a reference to the essence of knighthood when Prince Hal says, "I have a truant been to chivalry" (V.i.94). Antony's acknowledgement of his mistakes uses but other terms for this idea:

Read not my blemishes in the world's report.  
 I have not kept my square; but that's to come  
 Shall all be done by th' rule. (II. iii. 5-7)

Coriolanus is possessed by the idea and the conviction that belongs to it:

I will not do't,  
 Lest I surcease to honour mine own truth  
 And by my body's action teach my mind  
 A most inherent baseness. (III. ii. 120-123)

The idea of the self as the test of truth and chivalry involves such profound commitments that it is inevitable not only that it should be extended into the complexities of characterization, but that it should also provide an essential qualification for Shakespeare's conception of drama itself. These observations come most naturally, I suppose, when we fix our attention upon the chivalric qualities of such a figure as Othello, Wyndham Lewis' theories were at one place illustrated by a comparison of Othello and Don Quixote, and he spoke of Othello as "the ideal human galleon, twenty storeys high, with his head in the clouds, that the little can vanquish";<sup>4</sup> another Don Quixote who, after some catastrophe or other, could say, "The wound that phantom gave me!" (p. 215). This view of things reinforces Macaulay's way of appealing to common sense, when he suggested how the story itself of Othello might appear to the Italians for whom Machiavelli wrote:

Othello murders his wife; he gives orders for the murder of his lieutenant; he ends by murdering himself. Yet he never loses the esteem and affection of Northern readers. His intrepid and ardent spirit redeems every thing. . . . Iago, on the contrary, is the object of universal loathing. Many are inclined to suspect that Shakespeare has been seduced into an exaggeration unusual with him, and has drawn a monster who has no archetype in human nature. Now we suspect that an Italian audience in the fifteenth century would have felt very differently. Othello would have inspired nothing but detestation and contempt. The folly with which he trusts the friendly professions of a man whose promotion he had obstructed, the credulity with which he takes unsupported assertions, and trivial circumstances, for un-

<sup>4</sup> *The Lion and the Fox* (London, 1927), p. 189.



answerable proofs, the violence with which he silences the exculpation till the exculpation can only aggravate his misery, would have excited the abhorrence and disgust of the spectators. The conduct of Iago they would assuredly have condemned; but they would have condemned it as we condemn that of his victim. Something of interest and respect would have mingled with their disapprobation. The readiness of the traitor's wit, the clearness of his judgment, the skill with which he penetrates the dispositions of others and conceals his own, would have insured to him a certain portion of their esteem.<sup>5</sup>

But Shakespeare is not mocking chivalry or honor or phantasy. He is himself committed to the idea of the integrity of the self, and whatever we may think is involved in the fall of Othello no cause will ever be given us to question this even when we see honor turn against the self, in violence, and against the truth of the self, in distrusting love. It is true, I think, that the idea of the self and the idea of honor as one sees them in Shakespeare and in chivalry generally are both dependent upon mysticism,<sup>6</sup> but whatever the foundation of these ideas, for Shakespeare the idea of the integrity of the self involves the notion of the adequacy of the self as the judge of truth, even absolute truth. The plays again and again make clear the fatality of delusion, of course, and the cult of honor, in Othello as in Don Quixote, often proposes for adoration delusion instead of truth, but the authority of the touchstone remains.

When Othello asks Iago to be careful of what he says, he speaks of an authority to be observed in an individual's truth that in itself evidently comprehends honor:

And, for I know thou'rt full of love and honesty,  
And weigh'st thy words before thou giv'st them breath,  
Therefore these stops of thine fright me the more;  
For such things in a false disloyal knave  
Are tricks of custom; but in a man that's just  
They're close dilations, working from the heart  
That passion cannot rule. (III. iii. 118-124)

The idea that being true to oneself is the basis of honor is part of Othello's demand that Venice requite him in the terms that he deserves:

If you do find me foul in her report,  
The trust, the office I do hold of you,  
Not only take away, but let your sentence  
Even fall upon my life. (I. iii. 117-120)

The cult of honor which in its fullest flourishing is the wholeness of his life and his career is dependent on this prior integrity:

O, now, for ever  
Farewell the tranquil mind! farewell content!

<sup>5</sup> "Machiavelli", in *Critical, Historical, and Miscellaneous Essays* (New York, 1860), I, 286-287. Mr. Edward M. Wilson makes much the same point in viewing *Othello* against the background of Spanish literature, and goes on: "Honour made a convenient means of dramatising the difference between appearance and reality" ("*Othello*", a Tragedy of Honour", *The Listener*, XLVII [1952], 927).

<sup>6</sup> "... L'influence de l'Eglise devient si dominante qu'on a pu appeler la chevalerie un sacrement" (Joseph Calmette, *Le Moyen Age* [Paris, 1948], p. 286).



Farewell the plumed troops and the big wars  
 That make ambition virtue! O, farewell!  
 Farewell the neighing steed and the shrill trump,  
 The spirit-stirring drum, th' ear-piercing fife,  
 The royal banner, and all quality,  
 Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war!  
 And, O you mortal engines, whose rude throats  
 Th' immortal Jove's dread clamours counterfeit,  
 Farewell! Othello's occupation's gone! (III. iii. 347-357)

There is egotism here, too, and a selfishness that makes Othello's love less pure than Desdemona's, but allowing Professor G. R. Elliott much in his including many of these matters in the word *pride*,<sup>7</sup> one ought, I think, to give the idea of honor a particular emphasis if only because Shakespeare makes such emphatic use of the term itself. The faults of honor are, of course, the faults of pride in part, and also the faults of "dreaming"<sup>8</sup> or phantasy. It is nonetheless necessary to keep in mind the distinctions between pride and honor and those between honor and truth to oneself since it is the value of honor that is particularly questioned by the failure of Othello's love, and there is no questioning of the idea of the integrity of the self.

Certain remarks of De Vigny upon the nature of honor in soldiers help our understanding of the character of Othello and Iago and Cassio (and part of the substance of this analysis was used by De Vigny in his commentary on *Othello*). And in emphasizing the chivalric and sacramental in the traditional military character he incidentally helps explain some of the occasion for the religious language in the play.

Une vitalité indéfinissable anime cette vertu bizarre, orgueilleuse, qui se tient debout au milieu de tous nos vices, s'accordant même avec eux au point de s'accroître de leur énergie.—Tandis que toutes les vertus semblent descendre du ciel pour nous donner la main et nous élever, celle-ci paraît venir de nous-mêmes et tendre à monter jusqu'au ciel.—C'est une vertu tout humaine que l'on peut croire née de la terre, sans palme céleste après la mort; c'est la vertu de la vie.

Telle qu'elle est, son culte, interprété de manières diverses, est toujours incontesté. C'est une religion mâle, sans symbole et sans images, sans dogme et sans cérémonies, dont les lois ne sont écrites nulle part;—et comment se fait-il que tous les hommes aient le sentiment de sa sérieuse puissance? . . . L'homme, au nom d'Honneur, sent remuer quelque chose en lui qui est comme une part de lui-même, et cette secousse réveille toutes les forces de son orgueil et de son énergie primitive. Une fermeté invincible le soutient contre tous et contre lui-même à cette pensée de veiller sur ce tabernacle pur, qui est dans sa poitrine comme un second cœur où siègerait un dieu. . . .

L'Honneur, c'est la conscience, mais la conscience exaltée.—C'est le respect de soi-même et de la beauté de sa vie porté jusqu'à la plus pure élévation et jusqu'à la passion la plus ardente. Je ne vois, il est vrai, nulle

<sup>7</sup> "The chief cause of Othello's downfall is not his jealousy but the fact that he conceals it from all concerned—except his evil other self, Iago—by reason of his pride. That is the main point of this story; but also the whole pattern of the play turns on pride." (*Flaming Minister, A Study of Othello* [Durham, N. C., 1953], p. xxvii.)

<sup>8</sup> In *The Lion and the Fox* (p. 223) Lewis uses this term to signify the state of mind of chivalry.

unité dans son principe . . . mais je ne vois pas qu'on ait été plus précis dans la définition de Dieu.<sup>9</sup>

What is particularly interesting here, it seems to me, is the special emphasis upon the soldier's sense of dedication to something within himself, and to the solitariness of the cult. Here, as with Othello, there is the alliance or even the identification of the self with truth, the incontestable truth, which must be enforced by one who, when put to it, would not know how to say what the truth is he enforces. In De Vigny as in Othello the cult of honor supports the sense of the beauty of life, in the most elevated way. But the very structure of such a "religion" is inadequate to the force of life in Othello, and it fails him as it would fail anyone when in defending honor by punishment and vengeance he falls into hate: "I am abus'd; and my relief / Must be to loathe her" (III. iii. 267-268). Hatred as much as love deprives the cult of honor of its center in the self, and its sufficiency.

Perhaps one can never say what a man hopes to do by killing although it seems that violence is always directed against ideas, and in murder it is directed against the idea of a person. For Othello the need for violence, apart from the activities of war, is most inextinguishably aroused when he is moved to destroy whatever involves the violation of oaths. He must break Cassio on the doubt of his fidelity, and he must break Desdemona. The confusions of jealousy and lust contribute to the cruelty of his treatment of Desdemona, but the impetus is originally soldierly and sacramental.

Like to the Pontic sea,  
Whose icy current and compulsive course  
Ne'er [feels] retiring ebb, but keeps due on  
To the Propontic and the Hellespont,  
Even so my bloody thoughts, with violent pace,  
Shall ne'er look back, ne'er ebb to humble love,  
Till that a capable and wide revenge  
Swallow them up. Now, by yond marble heaven,  
In the due reverence of a sacred vow  
I here engage my words. . . .  
Damn her, lewd minx! O, damn her! damn her! (III. iii. 453-462, 475)

The oath, the sacrifice, and, then, worst of all, the curse,<sup>10</sup> brought out by the pain of the betrayal and by the confusion of passion.

It seems that once he had punished Cassio and removed such a cause of weakness and disintegration from the army he could carry on his own dedication unimpaired. The sacrifice to honor in such a case—and the ties that bind Othello and Cassio are not to be lightly broken—is somehow satisfactory. The sacrifice of Desdemona was something else. Having loved her as he did, Othello discovered that she was not to be displaced from his "soul" by whatever efforts towards integrity and purity the cult of honor prescribes.

It is no longer his, he discovers, the wholeness of soul and heart that would allow him to go on as he had, unwed, self-sufficient, glorious. His nature had

<sup>9</sup> *Servitude et Grandeur Militaires*, ed. A. Bouvet (Paris, 1948), pp. 265-266.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Paul N. Siegel, "The Damnation of Othello", *PMLA*, LXVIII (1953), 1068-1078, for relevant discussions of this matter.

grown in loving her, had become a more majestic and miraculous self, he had come into quite another life. He is no longer merely the soldier given to his profession and to Venice but he is now also someone inextricably part of Desdemona's life:

My soul hath her content so absolute  
That not another comfort like to this  
Succeeds in unknown fate. (II. i. 193-195)

If he loses her he cannot be as he once was:

But I do love thee! and when I love thee not,  
Chaos is come again. (III. iii. 91-92)

And if he destroys his "joy", even in the cause of honor, he will now be destroying himself.

The fountain from the which my current runs  
Or else dries up. (IV. ii. 59-60)

And finally the terrible question will form: "But why should honour outlive honesty?" (V. ii. 245) Why should honor survive when the simplest faithfulness is gone? When joy is gone?

Honor had for Othello the force of absolute authority, and I think we must suppose that the pain of dishonor was felt comparably, an absolute pain, if one might use those words. And the pain of the loss of love was worse. As a kind of pain it quite overcame him, partly in the way of epilepsy and partly in his raging, and so it was that such paroxysms together with *le vertige sensuel* and the stupidity of a man trusting appearances all worked together to sweep him into the final stupidity of logic. And into the usual military error, and the error demanded, I guess, by honor itself when it has an absolute force, to cut off the "cause" of the pain.

But the "cause" as it happens is not merely another human being, and not merely a dispensable part of a military organization. Desdemona dead, if she can no longer be unfaithful neither can she be faithful any more, and Othello's new life and his joy are lost with her forever. Having admitted and spoiled love, instead of order, hierarchy, obedience, faithfulness, Othello's original equilibrium, there is now only chaos. The new life gone, he and honor are no longer a measure of the truth. Only the meaningless swirl of life is left, the very "gulfs of liquid fire" (V. ii. 280), the observance of honor in a world without love and without truth.

It appears that Othello's integrity depended on something other than honor and that he was indeed abused. His fall came with the spoiling of his love, the suspicions that undermined his happiness and sapped his sufficiency, for it was his love that brought the richest fulfillment of his self. When he retreated to the idea of himself as someone who was a stranger to Desdemona, obeying honor and disavowing love, he made still another mistake, taking the word of a liar. This was a foolish fault and it dishonored him, but the other was ruinous beyond that, the spoiling of the capacity of the soul to grow in the love of another.

The play is showing us the mistake of supposing the ends of the self and of honor are worth pursuing apart from love. In *Le Chevalier à la Charette* Lance-

lot accepted degradation as not too high a price to pay for the return of love, and a historian of chivalric literature comments on this as bearing a significance that is central to the history of romantic sentiment: "Là où il y a amour, il n'y a point d'avilissement."<sup>11</sup>

When Adonis said, "Before I know myself, seek not to know me" (line 525) he implied that when the time should come he would be fit for love; now he is not. Then he would be a man. The "self", in short, for him as for Othello, is a growing thing, and I think that Shakespeare means that the knowledge of the self is also a growing thing, not at all an abstraction. Life moves towards ripeness for Adonis as for others, and in many ways, through the sport of hunting, through suffering, through love, and there are even times when it is necessary to deny love to support the maturing of nature.

Othello has been enlarged by love, and then he proved not quite equal to its demands. Honor and the asceticism of the military character, the beauty of the life, the ardency and beauty of its spirit, its purity, all these excellences became the scapegoats of his failure.

*Othello* never opposes love and honor in the manner developed a few years later on the European stage. The theme is here but the debate is not formulated, and the contrivance of the plot is directed to quite another interest finally, to the presentation of an individual ultimately alone in his mind. In the terms of Kenneth Burke, it is conceived in presenting an image of absolute solitude. Commenting on Othello's attitude towards Desdemona, he said:

In ownership as thus conceived, our play is saying in effect, there is also forever lurking the sinister invitation to an ultimate lie, an illusion carried to the edge of metaphysical madness, as private ownership, thus projected into realms for which there are no unquestionably attested securities, is seen to imply also, profoundly, ultimately, estrangement; hence, we may in glimpses peer over the abyss into the regions of pure abstract loneliness. . . . And, as projected absolutely, all culminated in a last despairing act of total loneliness.<sup>12</sup>

That the revelation of such a state was the conclusion of the play may also be inferred from the way Shakespeare managed the time of the play's action—in a certain respect a duration of days, in another, as if almost no time passed. How important it is that we should hardly feel the passing of time in *Othello*, after the voyage to Cyprus, is made obvious by comparing Cinthio, and in observing what Shakespeare excluded from his original, the aftermath:

Ere long the Moor, whom Disdemona loved more than her own life, began to feel such sorrow at her loss that he went wandering about as one bereft of reason, searching in every part of the house. And reflecting in his thoughts that the Ensign had been the cause that he had lost, with Disdemona, all joy in life, he conceived so deep a hatred to that wicked man he could not bear to set eyes on him, and had it not been for his fear of the inviolable justice of the Signoria of Venice, he would have slain him openly.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Gustav Cohen, *Histoire de la Chevalerie en France au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1949), p. 87.

<sup>12</sup> "Othello, An Essay to Illustrate a Method", *Hudson Review*, IV (1951), 199-200.

<sup>13</sup> Translated by John Edward Taylor in the Variorum edition of *Othello*, p. 387.

For Shakespeare's Othello there was no such dimension to his life. For one reason, as Granville-Barker said, "If Othello's ruin is not accomplished without pause or delay, it can hardly be accomplished at all" (p. 35). This not only means that Iago's plotting could not succeed indefinitely, but it also means that Othello's view of things might change, and if some other idea should for a moment overcome the sense of dishonor in Othello, the whole meaning of the play would be affected.

The sense of the passing of time would radically alter the play not only from the particular circumstances of the plot but because in dramas where love and honor come into conflict our interest moves past the conflict to the issue. Our interest does not rest with the sight of an individual quite alone with himself in his struggles, but turns towards other persons and his relation to them. What we finally are absorbed in in the best of the plays where love and honor seem irreconcilably opposed are their claims to be reconciled. And our interest in the issue depends upon the play's exploitation of the sense of enough time passing to make the issue seem valid.

Such, I think, is one of the important lessons of the *Cid*. Everywhere there is the opposition of purities—Chimène's love for Don Rodrigue and for her father and his honor; Don Rodrigue's passion, more generous finally than Othello's; the love and nobility of the Infante; and the interplay among them all. The complexity of the conflicts, the confusion of obligations is incredibly magnified by the creation of the sense of time. The conviction of the play depends on the sense that all is being acted in the current of time—not as in some fixed frame, and not merely for the characters in the play, but also as if each moment that the play takes is being used by the audience for its own life and for the moment next to come. And each scene is as it is not only because it follows from what has gone before, but because time has meanwhile passed for the audience. I think this is because Corneille, however absorbed in generosity and states of mind, is more concerned with deeds, the deeds that only satisfy the doer because he has done them. And in the *Cid* the deeds do solve something, or so we are persuaded to think, because we, too, have felt the passing of time as part of the play and recognize time's work. With the passage of time the marriage will be acceptable to Chimène. Formally, or as in argument, this would be hard to believe; for Don Rodrigue's insult to the father is, if honor has any standing, irreparable. But for the audience the marriage is also acceptable, experiencing with Chimène the truth that time serves those whose love is unimpaired and just, and works to absolve the horrible events the world and their own obligations have forced on them. It is, in short, the means of grace. What is necessary is that love shall establish its hegemony in all, and in this way. Péguy explains:

Les cornéliens ne se blessent jamais, même et surtout quand ils se tuent; leur honneur alors est précisément de ne point se blesser, en un sens de ne point se faire de mal. . . . C'est l'idée cornélienne même, on pourrait dire le système cornélien, le grand honneur cornélien. . . . Corneille ne travaille jamais que dans le domaine de la grâce.<sup>14</sup>

The regeneration of Lear is analogous to these changes in Corneille's characters, although I do not think we are meant to believe that the renewal of

<sup>14</sup> "Victor-Marie, comte Hugo", *Cahiers de la Quinzaine*, Series 12, no. 1 (1910), pp. 178 and 170.

Lear's strength and spirit after Cordelia's return is a manifestation of grace, and I think it is enough to accept it as a revealing of the resources of humanity in themselves. But it is clear that the return of Lear to himself and to a state of peace is communicated to the audience by virtue of the sense that has been achieved of the passing of time, the living through something that would make this possible, the sense of time and the sense of growth. It is similarly only our conviction that in the passing of time Chimène will come to forgive the Cid, that her love will prevail within her, that allows us to accept seriously the thought of the happy ending. In *Othello* our awe is confined by the sense of the timelessness of the action.

Before he met Desdemona Othello had achieved a wonderful equilibrium to the very culmination of his career, but even this balance, this self-sufficiency was enriched by the joy Desdemona brought him. In his union with her Othello felt none of the constriction of one who is owned and on the contrary seemed to know a limitless freedom hitherto unimaginable—"O my soul's joy!" (II. i. 186). The quality of this love that can be spoken of as joy, certainly independent of any of the Christian meanings of that word and yet sharing the idea of the absolute absence of care, is emphasized throughout the play by the constant use of the word *soul*. Even Iago, calling Othello uxorious, takes up the word:

His soul is so enfetter'd to her love,  
That she may make, unmake, do what she list,  
Even as her appetite shall play the god  
With his weak function. (II. iii. 351-354)

The Senators had given the clue:

Othello, speak,  
Did you by indirect and forced courses  
Subdue and poison this young maid's affections?  
Or came it by request and such fair question  
As soul to soul affordeth? (I. iii. 110-114)

The beauty of the love, Othello's "barbaric innocence",<sup>15</sup> and Desdemona's pureness, all presented to us in the language of heaven, saints, souls, and after a while in words about hell and damnation, make it clear that the struggle in Othello's mind was between loyalties each of which claimed absolute power, the love of "souls" (if one takes that not as a passionless thing, but simply as love at its most generous), and honor.

Folly and jealousy and lust corrupt his love as ambition never corrupts his other obligations, but it is not the vices finally that lead him to think of killing Desdemona even though he loathes her, but honor, and even though passion replaces the calculation of Cinthio's Moor—"On leaving the room, the Moor fell to meditating how he should put his wife to death."<sup>16</sup> Lust and jealousy are part of the reality someone more like Don Quixote might never have recognized, but Othello for all his innocence was never that far out of touch with things. He paid one of his debts to reality in striking Desdemona and cursing her, but in killing her he passed beyond jealousy and passion in order to lose sight of her

<sup>15</sup> Edward Dowden, *Shakespeare, A Critical Study of His Mind and Art* (New York, n.d.), p. 216.

<sup>16</sup> Taylor's translation, p. 384.



as herself—"It is the *cause*. . . ." One might say that the tragic action of *Othello* was the murder in Othello's mind, the substitution of the cause for the person, the displacement of love by the *idea* of the superior sanctity of honor.

But there is no debate and the characters do not take sides.

There were times when Othello thought that the misery that overcame him was the pain of dishonor alone, but when he was preparing to kill himself he made another sacramental gesture something like the ceremonial he developed in killing Desdemona, only this time the religious suggestions were more bitter—

And say besides, that in Aleppo once,  
Where a malignant and a turban'd Turk  
Beat a Venetian and traduc'd the state,  
I took by th' throat the circumcised dog,  
And smote him—thus. (V.ii.352-356)

Which is to say, for one thing, that this time the vengeance is as empty as a bad joke. It is not the pain of dishonor that has brought him to this imitation of a deed of vengeance and religion but the loss of love, the loss of joy, dying in the kiss of a corpse his distrust had brought to this.

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## Lasso's Music for Shakespeare's "Samingo"

FREDERICK W. STERNFELD



IN 1570 the publishing house of Le Roy and Ballard offered in Paris a collection entitled *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus, contenant plusieurs chansons* . . . containing, in fact, some of Lasso's most popular songs. A number of these had been published earlier, but it was the *Mellange* of 1570 (and the subsequent editions of 1576 and 1586, by the same publisher) that enjoyed a singularly wide distribution both in continental Europe and England. In the collection we meet such perennial favorites as "Susanne un jour", "Mon coeur se recommande a vous", "Bon jour, mon coeur", and, of primary importance to this article, "Un jour vis un foulon", which found its way into Shakespeare's 2 *Henry IV* under the title "Samingo", a contraction of "Sir Mingo" or "Mounsier Mingo".

In accordance with the custom of the time the work was published in part-books, of which a handsome set, bound in five volumes, survives in the British Museum. The Museum holds, in addition, parts of the second and third editions.

I. In tracing the course of Silence's song we meet, first of all, its treble part in the *Mellange* of 1570, f. 4<sup>v</sup>. This treble part forms the basis of the music example at the end of this article; the text runs as follows:

Un jour vis un foulon qui fouloit,  
Et en foulant mon fron regardoit.  
Je luy dy: gentil foulon,  
Qui foule, foule, foule,  
Ne regarde plus mon fron,  
Mais foule, foule, foule.

An accurate translation of this animated nonsense is somewhat hazardous, and, in fact, a good deal of the mirth and of the punning defies translation of any sort. The recurrent "fouler", in its various forms, could be applied either to cloth which is pressed in a fulling-mill or to grapes in a wine-press; a "foulon" might work at either of these occupations. The following approximation may be helpful:

One day I saw a fuller, who was fulling. In doing so he looked at me. I said to him: "Gentle fuller, who art fulling, look at me no longer, but press on."

It is also likely that the term "foule", repeated twenty-four times in the musical text, has its bawdy overtones, which make for a *double entendre*. The musical example at the end of this article, derived from the British Museum copy of the

*Mellange* of 1570, has been collated with Sandberger's edition of the chanson in Lasso's *Works*.<sup>1</sup>

Of the five different texts accompanying our music example, the first line comprises Lasso's original text as it appeared in the *Mellange* of 1570. Chief among its characteristics, that must have been responsible for the popularity of this chanson (as well as that of the collection as a whole), is the author's abounding sense of humor. The great Lasso was by no means above having his little joke, as his surviving correspondence shows. To his princely employer he once wrote: "Abandonné, loin du né, de maison, de buisson, de jardin au matin, de tous fruit, non pas cuit, et de fleurs et d'odeurs . . ." and, on another occasion, inserted curious Latin rhymes in a French sentence: "... à votre Excellence mihi scribere. Après manger oportet bibere. . . ." A similar fondness for frequent inner rhymes and a spirit of gaiety equally pervade the texts of his chansons. The reiteration of the same tones for the two syllables in "fou-le" enhances the playfulness of the text. Another characteristic of the music is its decided homophony; the melody is in the treble, and the three lower parts merely lend harmonic support. It was easy to perform these chansons, not in four parts, as they were published, but by singing the treble and playing the remaining parts on the lute or cittern or harpsichord as accompaniment. One of the dedicatory poems, printed with the 1570 edition of the *Mellange*, and addressed to a solo singer, makes clear that the Parisian publishing house of Le Roy and Ballard was well aware of this popular feature.<sup>2</sup>

II. In the same year, 1570, there appeared in London a reprint of some of the chansons under the title *Recueil du Mellange de Lassus, contenant plusieurs chansons*. . . . It was published by Thomas Vautrollier, a Huguenot refugee, who settled in London and ran a printing office in the Blackfriars. (How appropriate that the first English printing of Lasso's chansons should be done in the very neighborhood where, only a decade after Silence sang "Samingo", Shakespeare's company was to acquire a theatre.) Vautrollier's *Recueil du Mellange* was published in five part-books of which two survive, namely, the "superius" in the Folger Shakespeare Library and the "quinta pars" in the Bodleian Library.<sup>3</sup> The work is of considerable interest to this study for several reasons. First of all, the partial reprinting of the *Mellange* in the same year as its original publication across the channel testifies to the currency and popularity of Lasso's chansons in England. The dependence of Vautrollier's *Recueil du Mellange* on the *Mellange* of Le Roy and Ballard is apparent from the title itself, the songs chosen, and the graphic design of the title page. The last of these items is a modification of the title page of the Parisian *Mellange* and one that Vautrollier used again five years later when he issued his next publication of music at Blackfriars, the *Cantiones* of Byrd and Tallis.

<sup>1</sup> Orlando di Lasso, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Haberl and Sandberger (Leipzig, 1894 ff.), XII, 39 f. (hereafter referred to as "Lasso").

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lasso, v. XII, p. X. f.; Ch. van den Borren, *Lassus*, 3d ed., Paris: 1930, pp. 25 and 206; W. Barclay Squire, *Catalogue of Printed Music . . . 1487-1800 . . . in the British Museum*, 2 vols., London: 1912, II, 17; G. Thibault and F. Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard (1551-1598)* (Paris, 1955), pp. 139 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *Short Title Catalogue*, London: 1926; and W. W. Bishop, *American Copies of "Short Title Catalogue" Books*, 2nd ed., Ann Arbor (Mich.): 1950; both s.v. No. 15266.

Vautrollier provides us with the second of the five texts, given with Lasso's music below:

Un jour vis un foulon qui fouloit,  
Et en foulant *mon nom* demandoit.  
Je luy dy: *mon compaignon*,  
Qui foule, foule, foule,  
*Ne demandes plus mon nom*,  
Mais foule, foule, foule.

In this quotation italics have been used to indicate typographically the few changes which Vautrollier made in the text. In the London version the "foulon" does not look at the lady, but asks for her name; and she addresses him not as "foulon" but as "compaignon". These changes, in themselves, are almost negligible, but the very slight increase in politeness is indicative of the general treatment Lasso's French texts frequently experienced when subjected to Huguenot editing.

With French Calvinism grimly opposed to frivolity, the frank *joie de vivre* of Lasso seemed downright lascivious. On the other hand, the musical excellence of the tunes was such that they clamored to be sung. In true humanist tradition, Vautrollier did not change any of the pagan Latin texts in the *Mellange*, such as Dido's lament from the *Aeneid*, or Horace's praise of country life, or "Alma Venus". The use of a classical tongue apparently relieved the opprobrium of sensualness. Indeed, several of the Latin pieces from the *Mellange* were published by Lasso's sons as motets in what was primarily a liturgical collection. But many of the pieces in the vernacular, which comprised the majority of the songs in the Paris *Mellange*, were subjected to a vigorous textual pruning. Ronsard's "Rend moy mon coeur" became "Rend moy, Seigneur"; Marot's "Mon coeur se recommande à vous" was changed to "Mon coeur se rend à toy, Seigneur", etc. Sometimes Marot's translations of the Psalms (a favorite of the Huguenots) were used as a substitute text, as in "Pourquoy font bruit", a new text to Lasso's "Las, me faut il" from the *Mellange*. The popularity of the original songs was such that the London version almost deliberately deceived the reader, for many of the songs have the same first line and the table of contents printed in the volume gives little indication of the drastic spiritual adjustment that the chansons had suffered, to say nothing of poetic injury. But, apart from its obvious bearing on Lasso's English popularity, Vautrollier's collection was of great importance for the spreading of Lasso's tunes, as will be seen from the discussions of sources (III), (IV), and (V).

Another point of interest centers on a former owner of the surviving copies of the *Recueil du Mellange*: both the Folger copy of the "superius" and the Bodleian copy of the "quinta pars" were owned by Thomas Hamond, who also had in his possession at one time the collection of manuscript part-books described under (9). (This latter collection contains the English version of Lasso's "Un jour.") Hamond purchased the Vautrollier publication in 1635 and owned it until 1652, to judge from his inscriptions in the Folger and Bodleian copies. It is of passing interest that Thomas Hamond, "of Hawkdon in the Countie of Suffolk" as he inscribed himself, also owned a copy of the

*Cantiones* (now in the Bodleian) published by Vautrollier in 1575, and mentioned above.<sup>3a</sup>

A final point to be made in this all-too-brief discussion is bibliographical. Perhaps it is because so little survives of Vautrollier's *Recueil du Mellange* that it has been largely ignored in the annals of British printing. Its historical importance here is that it constitutes one of the earliest examples of *secular* music printed in England. When R. R. Steele published his *Earliest English Music Printing* in 1903 he listed in the main bibliography the works he had himself seen and added—most helpfully—a supplementary bibliography of “ghosts”, that is, a compilation of books known to have existed but not as yet located. The traditional view is that between the *Twenty Songs* of 1530 listed by Steele as No. 11 and Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* of 1588 (No. 112) very little secular music was published in England, with the exception of Whythorne's *Songs* of 1571, listed as No. 58. But, clearly, the volumes of *French* secular music printed in England before 1588 (based on the publications of Leroy and Ballard in Paris) are not to be ignored. Of Le Roy's instruction book for the lute<sup>4</sup> one version, printed in London in 1568 (Ghost No. 20), contained many dances and other secular music, and a revised version (No. 63) which appeared in London in 1574 contained about a dozen of Lasso's chansons, arranged as instrumental music. As noted below, two chansons by Lasso also appeared in the *Musica Transalpina*. In this historical perspective the role of Vautrollier's *Recueil du Mellange* (listed by Steele as Ghost No. 24) becomes clear. Containing some 40 compositions by Lasso it is not only the most compendious English printing of Lasso, but also a distinguished early collection of secular music. For whereas the Huguenot publisher did purify some of the French texts, a sizeable number remained wholly secular, such as “Quand me souvient” and “Toutes les nuits”.<sup>5</sup>

III. The next Huguenot edition of Lasso's chansons appeared in Lyons in 1574, edited by “G.E.P.” and entitled *La fleur de chanson*. It is of lesser interest for this study since it does not contain “Un jour”, but needs to be mentioned as it is one of the steps in the propagation of Lasso's tunes by means of these Protestant collections. Certainly, two of the tunes, “Susanne” and “Le rossignol”, from Vautrollier's London edition re-appear here<sup>6</sup> and were to be published again in London later, as will be seen in the discussion under VI.

IV. In the next year, 1575, a collection of Lasso's chansons was published in the very citadel of the Huguenot faith, La Rochelle. Needless to say, the texts were adapted to Calvinist taste, in this instance by one J. Pasquier. The first volume of the collection, which contained the chansons for four parts, was entitled *Mellange d'Orlando de Lassus, contenant plusieurs chansons à quatre parties. Desquelle la lettre profane a esté changée en spirituelle*. (A second

<sup>3a</sup> See M. C. Crum, “A Seventeenth-century Collection of Music belonging to Thomas Hamond, a Suffolk Landowner”, *The Bodleian Library Record*, VI, 373-386.

<sup>4</sup> The French original edition is no longer extant, cf. Thibault and Lesure, p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> In addition to Steele's work, the following is a selected bibliography on Vautrollier:

Edward Arber, *Transcript of the Stationers' Registers*, 5 vols., 1875-1894, I, 440; R. B. McKerrow, *Dictionary of Printers*, 1910; McKerrow, *Printers' . . . Devices*, 1913; McKerrow & Ferguson, *Title-page Borders*, 1932; C. Humphreys & W. C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the British Isles*, 1954.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Lasso, v. XII, pp. vii and xxiv.

volume of chansons for five and eight parts followed in 1576.) It is of interest that many of the songs in Pasquier's publications have the same "reformed" texts as those in the London volume of 1570 and fortunate for Shakespearian studies that the La Rochelle publication has been more completely preserved than Vautrollier's publication. Of the chansons for four parts a complete set is in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, and a copy of the contra-tenor part is at the British Museum. Pasquier's adaptation of "Un jour" runs as follows:

Un jour vis un Neron, qui souloit  
Son cœur felon de sang dont bruloit.  
Je di lors: De ce hault ciel,  
Qui roule, roule, roule,  
Le Seigneur voit son honneur  
Qu'on foule, foule, foule.

Translating "Neron" as tyrant, the stanza may be paraphrased as: "I saw a tyrant one day who satiated his cruel and burning heart with blood. I told him: 'From the high, rotating heaven God sees his honor trampled upon'." As in most of Pasquier's adaptations (and in a good many of those in the earlier London volume) the first words were retained so that a music lover, searching the table of contents for the well-known "Un jour vis un foulon" would, in all likelihood, seize upon "Un jour vis un Neron". To read these words without the music causes them to appear so contrived as to make no sense whatever. But as a substitute text for Lasso's original, the song has the virtue of preserving similar sounds ("felon" for "foulon", etc.) and the important advantage of preserving the rhyme on "foule" and the repetitions of that word at the end. (Cf. the third line of text in the accompanying music example.) This latter device dominates the second half of the chanson, so that about one-third of the total (measures 42-56) remains practically unchanged. This raises the question (also to be considered in connection with Shakespeare) as to the essential features of Lasso's music that were preserved by Pasquier. Certainly its jocular spirit. Beyond that, is one guilty of an anachronism in surmising that those who purchased Pasquier's *Mellange d'Orlande de Lassus* and sang "Un jour vis un Neron" were bound to have some notion of the secular atmosphere of the original? But in order to enjoy Lasso's tunefulness and humor they were obliged to suffer a text that was awkward, to say the least, and, in the changed portions, poorly fitted to the melody. Music historians concerned with this matter have not failed to chastise Pasquier and his fellow reformers.<sup>7</sup> In fairness, however, one should heed Sandberger's reminder that Lasso, later in life, himself consented to similar pious adjustments of his original texts in a German edition. In the dedication of one of the works of his old age he speaks touchingly of the secular chansons he had composed "in the spring of my life, the ardor of my youth . . . gay and lovable"; but now, at the sunset of his career and engulfed by a new religious fervor, he devoted himself to more substantial religious compositions. Still, the gay and lovable tunes of Lasso's youth were very much in demand in Calvinist circles and among other tunes printed in Pasquier's collection were "Susanne un jour" and "Le rossignol".

V. The next Huguenot adaptation of Lasso's chanson, providing still an-

<sup>7</sup> Lasso, v. XII, p. xxix; van den Borren, p. 37.

other text for "Un jour" was the *Thresor de musique d'Orlande de Lasso*, published in 1576, probably in Paris and by an anonymous editor, perhaps Simon Goulart de Senlis.<sup>8</sup> The collection again proved extremely popular, a second edition appeared in 1582, and a third in 1593. The treble part of the song in the first edition (f. 3<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>) and the contra-tenor in the third edition (p. 45), both in the British Museum, are the sources of the fourth line of text in the accompanying music example. The text runs as follows:

On ne peut le fol amour souler,  
 En l'acollant on se fait brusler.  
 Garde jamais toucher ce fol Archer,  
 Qui coule, coule, coule  
 Dans les os, et de la chair  
 Se soule, soule, soule.

An English prose rendering might read: "One cannot satisfy mad love; in embracing it one is set afire. Beware of that mad archer who enters into the very bones and satiates himself with flesh." This is admittedly no masterpiece but a considerable improvement over Pasquier, from whom, in all probability, the first rhyme derives (*souloit-bruloit, souler-bruler*). For one thing, the poem of the *Thrésor* deals with love, and even though it cautions listeners and readers against that wanton and cruel archer, at least the atmosphere of the revised chanson is not wholly alien to the music's intent. In the preface to this edition the editor realized how appropriate is Lasso's music for the original texts ("Orlande l'avoit approprié la lettre en quoi il est excellent . . . pardessus tous les musiciens . . ."). He also implies that he was well acquainted with the earlier Huguenot collections of London and La Rochelle (" . . . musique d'Orlande accommodée a une lettre spirituelle [La Rochelle] . . . avec les livres qui ont esté imprimez en Angleterre [Vautrollier]"). Certainly, if one grants the need for removing the profanity of the originals, the *Thrésor* seems the lesser evil among the major Calvinist efforts. The similarity of the repertoire in sources II, IV, and V, all derived from I, is notable. Lasso's Protestant editors chose good tunes, however poor their sense of the poetic may have been.

VI. In 1588 there appeared in London the first volume of *Musica Transalpina*, edited by Nicholas Yonge. This famous book, the point of departure for the glories of the English madrigal, contained compositions by Palestrina, Marenzio, Monte, and Lasso. Though Lasso wrote more Italian madrigals than French chansons, his London reputation as a composer of secular compositions in the vernacular obviously rested on his chansons. It is significant for his English reputation that this volume of *Musica Transalpina*, which was primarily a collection of Italian madrigals—or of English madrigals derived from Italian models—should represent Lasso solely by two French chansons. There were the aforementioned (and ever-popular) "Susanne un jour" and "Le rossignol", and both songs also appear in our sources I, II, III, IV, and V. After the middle of the century Le Roy and Ballard began publishing—and did so in increasing numbers—various chansons by Lasso who at this time was gradually supplanting the older Arcadelt as the leading composer of French chansons in Europe. When Le Roy published the comprehensive and impressive collection of the *Mellange* in 1570, Lasso's international fame in the field of the chanson

<sup>8</sup> Cf. van den Borren, p. 37 f.; also the same author's shorter *Lassus* (Brussels, 1943), p. 58.



was established and his importance publicly acknowledged in the various dedicatory poems prefacing the collection. Lasso was, perhaps, fortunate in that he and Le Roy, apart from their business association, were on cordial personal terms; on his visit to Paris in 1571 Lasso stayed at the home of his publisher. It must also be realized that the homophonic character of the chanson, closer to an accompanied solo song than a many-voiced madrigal, had greater affinity to the secular English tradition up to 1588 than the Italian madrigal, and to the secular style of England's leading composer, William Byrd. This is one of the reasons why Shakespeare's plays contain ayres but no madrigals, and a tune by Lasso rather than one by Palestrina or Marenzio. Finally, the *Musica Transalpina* helps to put the popularity of "Un jour" in perspective. Popular it certainly was, appearing in I, II, IV, and V, as well as in VIII and IX below. Nevertheless, the song was not so universally known as such European favorites as "Susanne un jour", which is represented in all sources up to and including VI. Perhaps the bibliography of the various collections of Leroy and Ballard is a good indication of the general circulation of Lasso's chanson-tunes, even though it does not include Huguenot or English reprints: as against ten statements of "Susanne un jour" and "Le rossignol", "Un jour" appears seven times.<sup>9</sup>

VII. From 1592 to 1604 several Elizabethan playwrights quote fragments of the English version of Lasso's "Un jour" as it is preserved in mss. VIII and IX, below. The concluding phrase seems to have been the best known part of the song and became, in fact, a popular refrain, as the following excerpts show. It will be noted that all of these five excerpts rhyme on "ight":

Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour* (ed. Simpson, III, 578):

[2nd cup]: . . . then, by the light. [Omitting the asides of

[2nd cup]: Nay, do me right . . . Cordatus and Mitis]

Chapman, *All Fools* (ed. Parrott, II, 155f.)

. . . by this light, Sir Knight,

You shall do right!

Marston, *Antonio and Mellida* (ed. Harvey-Wood, I, 55)

Do me right,

And dub me knight

Balurdo.

Shakespeare, *2 Henry IV*, V. iii. 67 (Folio 1623, Histories, p. 98)

Do me right,

And dub me knight,

Samingo.

Nashe, *Summer's Last Will* (ed. McKerrow, III, 264)

Mounsier Mingo for quaffing doth surpass,

In cup, in can, or glass.

God Bacchus, do me right,

And dub me knight

Domingo.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. F. Lesure-G. Thibault, s.v. "Bon jour mon coeur" (12 entries), "Susanne" (10), "Le rossignol" (10), "Un jour" (7).

For the influence of Lasso on Byrd and Farnaby, cf. J. Westrup's article in *Musique et Poésie au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1954), pp. 129-138.

For Lasso's position as the leading composer in succession to Arcadelt, cf. K. Levy's article in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1949, ff.), II, 1071.

For a list of various substitute texts to Lasso's chanson tunes, cf. Lasso, XVI, xix-xxiii.



VIII. The National Library of Scotland holds a 17th century manuscript (Adv. Ms. 5.2.14) that is in three sections, the first of which records the melody (treble) part of a collection of English songs, without accompaniment. One of these songs is the English version of Lasso's "Un jour", the text being substantially the same as in IX below.<sup>10</sup> The Edinburgh ms. has recently been discussed in Mr. Cutts's article, as described in XX below.

IX. The Bodleian Library is fortunate in possessing not only the first publication in England of Lasso's chansons (in the original French) but also a 17th century manuscript containing the alto, tenor and bass parts of Lasso's "Un jour", with an English text (Ms. Mus. f. 17-19).<sup>11</sup> The song is called "Mounsier Mingo". It is given in full and is reproduced as the fifth line of text in the music example at the end of this article. Unfortunately, the treble part-book of the Bodleian set is missing. This deficiency can be remedied by recourse to any of the three printed sources noted in I, IV, or V, or to the melody as preserved in VIII. Nashe's use of the song, as noted in VII, is almost identical with the Bodleian ms. Allowing for variants in the final proper noun, i.e., Balurdo, Domingo, Samingo, the concluding lines of the manuscript correspond closely with the excerpts of Marston and Shakespeare given under VII.

The song in the Bodleian part-books is attributed to Lasso both in the table of contents and in the piece itself. These part-books were owned by Thomas Hamond, who also owned Vautrollier's edition of Lasso, described under II. We know, therefore, that Hamond knew Lasso's chanson in French as well as in English.<sup>12</sup> Hamond's set as preserved actually consists of four volumes, as there is also the "quinta pars" (Ms. Mus. f. 16) which, however, is irrelevant here, inasmuch as "Un jour", a four-part chanson, would have no place therein.

With reference to the text accompanying the music example, there appears to be one verbal variant in the three part-books. In bassus and tenor (bars 38-41) we have "for he calls with cup and can" while the relevant phrase in the altus reads "for he calls with pot and can". Other variants are restricted to the spelling: "seller" or "siller" for "cellar" and "Mounsier" for "Monsieur". (The Edinburgh ms. has "Monser" instead of "Mounsier".) The music itself in all three parts appears to have been carefully copied.

At this point it may well be asked what aspects of "Un jour vis un foulon" survive in "Mounsier Mingo for quaffing doth pass", its English version. Certainly, the original text of I fits the tune best, as would be expected. Still, "Mounsier Mingo" does vocalize comfortably, if not superbly. There is one feature of Lasso's original text and of the two substitute Huguenot texts which the English version does not retain and that is the unrelieved repetition of the two syllables "fou-le" in I and IV and "sou-le" in V. The English text, on the other hand, produces an effect of playfulness by a variety of short rhymes, such as "And spare not, I care not", but it clearly renounces the cumulative impact which the almost excessive repetition in the French chanson produces in its

<sup>10</sup> In his supplement to McKerrow's *Nashe*, discussed under IX, Professor F. P. Wilson remarks of the text of the Edinburgh manuscript that "here the words are in Scots, suited to the tongue of a Scotch toper." Sometimes the manuscript is known as the "Leyden ms." Cf. H. M. Willsher's article on "Scottish Mss" in *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, 5th ed. (1954), p. 676.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Summary Catalogue of Western Mss. in the Bodleian Library*, IV (Oxford, 1897), 32, s.v. Nos. 16834-37.

<sup>12</sup> See note 3a for Miss Margaret Crum's article on the Hamond Collection in the Bodleian Library.

concluding portion. The main virtue of the English version is that it preserves two qualities of the original text, its *joie de vivre* and its humor. In fact, on both of these counts it is a distinct improvement over the two Huguenot texts, IV and V, since the pious sentiments of IV are contrived only with the utmost artificiality and the humor in V is certainly subdued. The subject matter of "Mounsier Mingo" and of the original text is, in each case, not only secular, it is downright jocular, the one apostrophizing the God Bacchus, the other an amorous piece in the true French manner. The vitality and universality of Lasso's music speaks through both texts: we sing with gusto, and we smile with the music and the words.<sup>13</sup>

X. In 1874 the tenth volume of Maldeghem's *Trésor Musical* appeared in Brussels, containing (pp. 30-31) a modern reprint of the music of "Un jour" with a text that is a variant of V. Actually, only two words were changed: in the first line "méchant désir" is substituted for "le fol amour".<sup>14</sup> Maldeghem's edition, together with those of Expert and Sandberger, XI and XIV respectively, are the most conveniently available reprints of Lasso's music.

XI. In 1895 M. Henri Expert initiated his important collection, *Les Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance Française* with a reprint of the four-part chansons from Lasso's *Mellange*, originally published by Leroy and Ballard. Expert's edition therefore has the original text of "Un jour" (pp. 72-75) and the particular advantage for students of Shakespeare that it gives the music in four parts, as well as in a reduction for piano.

XII. In 1895 G. E. P. Arkwright contributed a short piece to *Notes and Queries* (16 March, 1895, p. 203), in which he communicated his discovery, namely that "in the Bodleian Library there is a set of MS. music books containing the song from which Master Silence's snatch is taken. It is a four-part song with music by Orlando di Lasso." Arkwright expresses the hope that someone will identify the song among Lasso's works.

XIII. In 1902 (*The Musical Times*, XLIII, 100 f.) J. F. R. Stainer fulfilled Arkwright's expectation in a short article to which all subsequent scholarship is indebted. Stainer is the first scholar to state that the music of "Mounsieur Mingo" IX is identical with that of "Un jour" I.

XIV. In 1904 there appeared in Leipzig<sup>15</sup> the twelfth volume of Lasso's *Sämtliche Werke*. This volume, edited by A. Sandberger, reprints "Un jour" on pp. 39-40. This is the standard modern edition of Lasso, which reprints most of his chansons (Vols. XII, XIV, XVI). In his commentary Sandberger mentions 2 *Henry IV* and Stainer's article (Cf. XIII). Of this edition twenty-one volumes were edited by Haberl and Sandberger between 1894 and 1927. In

<sup>13</sup> Professor F. P. Wilson, Oxford, has kindly shown me his forthcoming "Supplement" to McKerrow's edition of the *Works* of Thomas Nashe. He adduces many literary parallels to "Mingo", "Samingo", and "Domingo", and suggests various possible meanings of "Mingo" which support the jocular sense of the term. Professor Wilson also points out that at Bristol in 1577-78 the Earl of Leicester's players enacted a play entitled "Myngo". Hence, the song may have been in existence on the English stage less than a decade after the music was printed in London.

<sup>14</sup> For a thorough discussion of Maldeghem's collection of 29 volumes, cf. Gustave Reese, "Maldeghem and his buried Treasure: A Bibliographical Study" in *Notes of the Music Library Association*, VI (1948-49), 75-117 (particularly p. 106, s.v. No. 386).

<sup>15</sup> Undated; cf., however, *Verzeichnis der . . . Musikalien* (vols. 1-77, Leipzig, 1853-1929), LIII, 102.

1956 publication of the voluminous undertaking was resumed by the German publishing house of Bärenreiter.

XV. In 1906 there appeared the second volume of the 2nd edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (ed. Fuller Maitland, 5 vols., London, 1904-1910). It contained an extended article on Lasso by J. R. Sterndale-Bennett which refers (p. 641) to Stainer's article of 1902 and the musical identity of Lasso's "Un jour" and "Mounsier Mingo" in *2 Henry IV*. Subsequent editions of *Grove's Dictionary* continued to dispense the information given in Sterndale-Bennett's article, of which the 3rd ed., ed. Colles (5 vols., 1927), III, 101; and the 5th ed., ed. Blom (9 vols., 1954), V, 65, should be mentioned.

XVI. In 1918 Eleanor Brougham published *Corn from Olde Fields. An Anthology of English Poems*. . . Miss Brougham prints the entire text of "Mounsier Mingo" from the Bodleian ms., IX, on pp. 279-280. She comments: "This is an English translation of a song by Orlando di Lasso." Actually, it would be better to speak of a new song, rather than a translation, as has been pointed out in IX above.

XVII. In 1940 there appeared the *New Variorum* volume on *2 Henry IV*, ed. M. A. Shaaber. The publications of Arkwright and Brougham, VIII and XI, are there summarized (p. 424) and reference is made to the Bodleian ms. and to Orlando di Lasso.

XVIII. In 1954 Gustave Reese's *Music of the Renaissance* appeared and mentioned Lasso's "Un jour" (p. 393) and its connection with Shakespeare, referring also to Stainer's article.

XIX. Recently there appeared an article by Joseph Kerman, "An Elizabethan Edition of Lassus" in *Acta Musicologica*, XXVII (Basel, 1955), 71-76. Although Mr. Kerman is not concerned with the variants of "Un jour" or its use in Elizabethan drama, his general discussion of Vautrollier's *Recueil du Mellange* is the best yet to be offered. Among matters covered by Mr. Kerman (and not contained in the present study) are Vautrollier's dedication to the Earl of Arundel, a great patron of music; the roles of Thomas Vautrollier and Thomas East in the annals of music printing in England; and the influence of Lasso on Morley. One minor correction should be noted: the "quinta pars" of Vautrollier's publication is not "a single part in the Cambridge University Library" (Kerman p. 71), but part of the Thomas Hamond Collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

XX. The latest publication on the subject appeared in 1956 in *Shakespeare Quarterly* (VII, 385-392), where John P. Cutts discusses "The Original Music of a Song in *2 Henry IV*". Mr. Cutts is the first scholar to note that the treble part of "Mounsier Mingo" survives in the Edinburgh ms.<sup>16</sup> (summarized in VIII). He also corrects some details of bibliographical description. However, Mr. Cutts questions whether the music of "Mounsier Mingo" is actually by Lasso. He writes (p. 390): "Miss Brougham stated categorically that the song represented an English translation of a song by Orlando di Lasso, but did not substantiate this. I have examined the Bodleian copy [FN 20: *Magnum opus*

<sup>16</sup> In Mr. Cutts's transcription of the Edinburgh ms. a correction should be noted. On the phrase "For he calls with cup and can" (bars 38-41 of our music example) Mr. Cutts gives the note "c" for the word "and" instead of "b flat". A perusal of the Edinburgh ms. shows "b flat" to be correct.

musicum Orlandi de Lasso . . . complectens omnes cantiones quas motetas vulgo vocant . . . MDCIV.] of the complete works of Orlando di Lasso, paying attention specifically to the songs à 4, but have not found the music concerned."

There seems to be some confusion here in respect to Lasso's *Sämtliche Werke* described under XIV and the *Magnum opus musicum . . . complectens . . . motetas* which, as its subtitle indicates, is a collection of Latin motets.

XXI. The following music example reproduces the treble part of Lasso's chanson with the five most important texts that have so far been discovered. We have noted that the simple nature of the chansons by Lasso made it possible, in the 16th century, to perform them not only in a-cappella fashion but also as solo songs. For dramatic purposes, a rendering as solo, either accompanied or unaccompanied, would seem the only practicable mode of performance. If accompaniment on the lute or cittern (or modern equivalents thereof) is desired, the piano redaction in XI will indicate the necessary chords. The musical text is really quite simple, and the number of variant readings in the sources discussed is negligible. There are slight differences in *musica ficta*, i.e., the sharpening and flattening of some degrees of the scale in certain cadences. In accordance with standard practice of transcription, sharps and flats which seem probable on stylistic grounds, but are not in Lasso's original, are written above the note, whereas accidentals, indicated in the original, are directly before the note. When the English text substitutes two syllables for one French syllable, it is necessary to substitute two quarter-notes (crotchets) for the half-note (minim). For the convenience of singers, modern bar lines have been added, and the bars numbered.

As for the verbal text, the spelling has been modernized in a few instances. For example, the English text reads "cellar", not "seller". Similarly, the French text reads "souloir", not "saouloir".

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# The Design of *Twelfth Night*

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**M**OST readers of *Twelfth Night* would probably agree that this is the most delightful, harmonious and accomplished of Shakespeare's romantic comedies, in many ways his crowning achievement in one branch of his art. They would probably agree, too, that it has a prevailing atmosphere of happiness, or at least of "tempests dissolved in music". Yet there are striking differences of opinion over the design of *Twelfth Night*. Is it, for example, a vindication of romance, or a depreciation of romance<sup>1</sup>? Is it mainly a love-story or a comedy of humours; a "poem of escape" or a realistic comment on economic security and prudential marriage<sup>2</sup>? And there are further variations. The principal character, according to choice, is Viola, Olivia, Malvolio, or Feste.

To some extent, the play itself seems to invite such varying reactions: *Twelfth Night*; or, *What You Will*. Shakespeare here is both polishing his craftsmanship and exploring new facets of his experience<sup>3</sup>, so that the play has the buoyancy of a mind exhilarated by discovery, testing one human impulse against another, and satisfied with a momentary state of balance which seems all the more trustworthy because its limits have been felt and recognized. But in consequence, Shakespeare's attitude towards his people comes near to humorous detachment, to a kind of Socratic irony. He refrains from emphasising any one of his themes at the expense of the rest. He carefully plays down and transforms the crisis of sentiment in his main plot, while giving unusual prominence to his comic sub-plot. He distributes the interest more evenly among his characters than in *As You Like It* or the other comedies, providing more numerous (and more unexpected) points of contact between them, not only in the action but on the plane of psychology. And the whole manner of *Twelfth Night* is light and mercurial. The prose is full of ideas, but playful, not discursive. The poetry, for all its lyrical glow, gives a sense of restraint and ease, of keenly perceptive and yet relaxed enjoyment, rather than of any compelling pressure of emotion.

Perhaps this attitude on Shakespeare's part is responsible for the inconsistency of his interpreters. Those who dwell on the romantic side of the play seem un-

<sup>1</sup> Karl F. Thompson, "Shakespeare's Romantic Comedies", *PMLA*, LXVII (1952); E. C. Pettet, *Shakespeare and the Romance Tradition* (1949), 122-132. "Tempests dissolved in music" is the phrase of G. Wilson Knight, *The Shakespearean Tempest* (1953 ed.), pp. 121-127.

<sup>2</sup> This is the interpretation of John W. Draper, *The Twelfth Night of Shakespeare's Audience* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1950).

<sup>3</sup> "Shakespearean comedy . . . speculates imaginatively on modes, not of preserving a good already reached, but of enlarging and extending the possibilities of this and other kinds of good". H. B. Charlton, *Shakespearean Comedy* (1938), pp. 277-278.



certain about its connection with the comic realism; while those who concentrate on the elements of realism have to meet the kind of objection gravely stated by Dr. Johnson—that “the marriage of Olivia, and the succeeding perplexity, though well enough contrived to divert on the stage, wants credibility, and fails to produce the proper instruction required in the drama, as it exhibits no just picture of life”. The question to be interpreted, then, is how Shakespeare is using the instrument of theatrical contrivance, which is present, of course, in all his comedies, but which he uses here with exceptional delicacy and freedom.

Briefly, Shakespeare has taken a familiar kind of love-story and transformed it so as to extend the interest from the heroine to a group of characters who reveal varying responses to the power of love. He has modified the main situation further, and brought home his comments on it, by using methods of construction he had mastered previously in his *Comedy of Errors*. And he has added a sub-plot based on the customary jokes and revels of a feast of misrule, when normal restraints and relationships were overthrown. As the main title implies, the idea of a time of misrule gives the underlying constructive principle of the whole play.

In *Twelfth Night*, as Miss Welsford puts it, Shakespeare “transmutes into poetry the quintessence of the Saturnalia”<sup>4</sup>. The sub-plot shows a prolonged season of misrule, or “uncivil rule”, in Olivia’s household, with Sir Toby turning night into day; there are drinking, dancing, and singing, scenes of mock wooing, a mock sword fight, and the gulling of an unpopular member of the household, with Feste mumming it as a priest and attempting a mock exorcism in the manner of the Feast of Fools. Sir Andrew and Malvolio resemble Ben Jonson’s social pretenders<sup>5</sup>; but Shakespeare goes beyond Jonson in ringing the changes on the theme of Folly and in making his speakers turn logic and courtesy on their heads. A girl and a coward are given out to be ferocious duellists; a steward imagines that he can marry his lady; and finally a fool pretends to assure a wise man that darkness is light. In Feste, Shakespeare creates his most finished portrait of a professional fool; he is superfluous to the plot, but affects the mood of the play more than any other of Shakespeare’s clowns.

Moreover, this saturnalian spirit invades the whole play. In the main plot, sister is mistaken for brother, and brother for sister. Viola tells Olivia “That you do think you are not what you are”—and admits that the same holds true of herself. The women take the initiative in wooing, both in appearance and in fact; the heroine performs love-service for the lover. The Duke makes his servant “your master’s mistress” and the lady who has withdrawn from the sight of men embraces a stranger. The four main actors all reverse their desires

<sup>4</sup> Enid Welsford, *The Fool* (1935), p. 251; cp. E. K. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage* (1903), I, 403 n. Leslie Hotson gives further details connecting the play with the Feast of Mis-rule in *The First Night of Twelfth Night* (1954), ch. vii. To the various possible meanings of Malvolio’s yellow stockings (Hotson, p. 113) it is worth adding that, according to Stubbes, yellow or green “or some other light wanton colour” was the livery of “my Lord of Mis-rule” in the parishes (*Anatomy of Abuses*, 1583; ed. Furnivall, p. 147). Stubbes is speaking of summer games, but misrule was not confined to Christmas—cp. *TN* (Arden edn.), III. iv. 148: “More matter for a May morning”.

<sup>5</sup> P. Mueschke and J. Fleisher, “Jonsonian Elements in the Comic Underplot of *TN*”, *PMLA*, XLVIII, (1933).



or break their vows before the comedy is over; while Antonio, the one single-minded representative of romantic devotion, is also the only character in the main plot who tries to establish a false identity and fails (III. iv. 341-343); and he is left unrewarded and almost disregarded. Such reversals are, as Johnson says, devices peculiar to the stage, but Shakespeare makes them spring, or seem to spring, from the very nature of love. In the *Comedy of Errors* the confusions of identity are due to external circumstances; in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Shakespeare begins to connect them with the capricious, illusory factor in subjective "fancy" that is common to the madman, the lover, and the creative poet. In *Twelfth Night*, he takes this similitude further. Love here will "be clamorous, and leap all civil bounds", like a lord of misrule; "love's night is noon", like Sir Toby's carousals. Love seems as powerful as the sea, tempestuous, indifferent, and changeable as the sea. And fortune, or fate, reveals the same paradoxical benevolence in this imbroglio of mistakes and disguises: "Tempests are kind, and salt waves fresh in love".

The analysis of love as a kind of folly was a common theme of Renaissance moralists, who delighted in contrasting it with the wisdom of the stoic or the man of affairs. Shakespeare's treatment of the theme in *Twelfth Night* is a natural development from his own previous work, but he could have found strong hints of it in the possible sources of his Viola-Orsino story. Bandello remarks, for instance, that it arouses wonder to hear of a gentleman disguising himself as a servant, and still more in the case of a girl: but when you realize that love is the cause, "the wonder ceases at once, because this passion of love is much too potent and causes actions much more amazing and excessive than that"; a person in love has "lost his liberty, and . . . no miracle if he commits a thousand errors"<sup>6</sup>. And Barnabe Riche tells his readers that in his story of *Apolonius and Silla*, "you shall see Dame Error so play her part with a leash of lovers, a male and two females, as shall work a wonder to your wise judgement"<sup>7</sup>. In effect, then, what Shakespeare could take for granted in his

<sup>6</sup> "Ma come si dice che egli era innamorato, subito cessa l'ammirazione, perciò che questa passione amorosa è di troppo gran potere e fa far cose assai più meravigliose e strabocchevoli di questa. Né crediate che per altro la fabulosa Grecia finga i dèi innamorati aver fatte tante pazzie vituperose . . . , se non per darci ad intendere che come l'uomo si lascia soggiogar ad amore . . . , egli può dir d'aver giocata e perduta la sua libertà, e che miracolo non è se poi fa mille errori!" Bandello, *Le Novelle*, II, xxxvi (ed. G. Brognoligo, Bari, 1911, III, 252).

<sup>7</sup> Riche's *Apolonius and Silla* (ed. Morton Luce, *The Shakespeare Classics*, 1912), p. 53; cp. p. 52: "in all other things, wherein we show ourselves to be most drunken with this poisoned cup [of error], it is in our actions of love; for the lover is so estranged from that is right, and wandereth so wide from the bounds of reason, that he is not able to deem white from black . . . ; but only led by the appetite of his own affections, and grounding them on the foolishness of his own fancies, will so settle his liking on such a one, as either by desert or unworthiness will merit rather to be loathed than loved". Contrasts between love and reason are prominent, again, in Erasmus' *In Praise of Folly* and Sidney's *Arcadia*, two likely sources of the general themes of *TN*. Bacon's essay "Of Love" comes nearer still to the subject-matter of Shakespeare's play, illustrating the tension of ideas there from a point of view almost directly opposite: "The stage is more beholding to love than the life of man; for as to the stage, love is ever matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies; but in life it doth much mischief, sometimes like a Siren, sometimes like a Fury. . . . Great spirits and great business do keep out this weak passion . . . ; for whosever esteemeth too much of amorous affection, quitteth both riches and wisdom. This passion hath his floods in the very times of weakness, which are, great prosperity and great adversity . . . ; both which times kindle love, and make it more fervent, and therefore show it to be the child of folly." This essay could almost be a commentary on Malvolio, Orsino, Viola and Sebastian.

audience was not simply a readiness to be interested in romance, but a sense of the opposition between romance and reason.

On this basis, Shakespeare can unite his main action with his sub-plot, bending a romantic story in the direction of farce. By the same contrivances, he can disclose the follies surrounding love and celebrate its life-giving power. And he can do this, without sacrificing emotional reality—which is not exactly the same as Dr. Johnson's "just picture of life"—because he takes his stage machinery from the traditions of a feast of misrule, where social custom has already begun to transform normal behavior into the material of comic art<sup>8</sup>. The whole play is a festivity, where reality and play-acting meet. By presenting his main story on these lines, Shakespeare can develop his insight into the protean, contradictory nature of love with more economy and force than by keeping to the lines of an ordinary stage narrative. At the same time he can extend this theme through his realistic images of "uncivil rule" in the sub-plot, disclosing the conflicting impulses of an aristocratic community in a period of social change, and touching on the potentially tragic problems of the place of time and order in human affairs.

Shakespeare's intentions may stand out more clearly when one compares his treatment of the Viola story with its possible or probable sources<sup>9</sup>. The ultimate source is held to be the anonymous Siennese comedy, *Gl'Ingannati* (*The Deceived*), first performed at a carnival of 1531 and frequently reprinted, translated, or imitated in the course of the sixteenth century. Shakespeare may also have known Bandello's story, which follows the plot of *Gl'Ingannati* closely, omitting the subordinate comic parts; and he probably knew Riche's *Apolonius and Silla* (1581), derived indirectly and with variations from Bandello. Another source of the main plot must have been the *Menaechmi* of Plautus, which presumably had already contributed something to *Gl'Ingannati*, but affects the composition of *Twelfth Night* more directly by way of *The Comedy of Errors*. In any case, Shakespeare's situations were part of the common stock

<sup>8</sup> The idea of representing life as a festival of misrule was already implicit, of course, in the common notion that "all the world's a stage", and in the general Renaissance tradition of Folly, especially in Erasmus (cp. Welsford, pp. 236-242). Robert Armin, who acted Feste, may have helped to give point to the idea; in his *Nest of Ninnies* (1600-08; ed. J. P. Collier, 1842), he represents the World, sick of a surfeit of drink and revelling, being shown a pageant of fools, who are partly endearing and partly symbols of the World's vices (cp. Welsford, pp. 162-165, 284). Armin does not treat of love, but John Heywood's *Play of Love* (-1533) is a Christmas interlude consisting of debates on the "reasons" of love between Lover not Loved, Loved not Loving (the woman), Lover Loved, and Neither Lover nor Loved (the Vice). And much nearer to *TN* comes Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels*; or, *the Fountain of Self-Love* (1600). Moreover, Shakespeare himself is very likely to have remembered the suggestive episode of December 28, 1594, when the *Comedy of Errors* was performed in the "disordered" revels of Gray's Inn: "So that Night was begun, and continued to the end, in nothing but Confusion and Errors; whereupon, it was ever afterwards called, *The Night of Errors*. . . . We preferred Judgments . . . against a Sorcerer or Conjuror that was supposed to be the cause of that confused Inconvenience. . . . And Lastly, that he had foisted a Company of base and common Fellows, to make up our Disorders with a Play of Errors and Confusions; and that that Night had gained to us Discredit, and itself a Nickname of Errors" (*Gesta Grayorum*; E. K. Chambers, *Shakespeare*, Appendix, "Performances"). Lastly, Shakespeare uses the metaphor of life as a mask of misrule directly in *Troilus*, a play linked in several ways with *TN*: 'Degree being vizarded,/ The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask' (I. iii. 83).

<sup>9</sup> This paragraph is based on Morton Luce's Arden ed. of *TN* (1906) and his ed. of Riche. Luce assembles parallels between *TN* and Riche, Bandello, and *Gl'Ingannati*, from which it seems very possible, though not certain, that Shakespeare knew any or all of the latter. Luce mentions, but does not examine, Shakespeare's debt to Plautus.

of classical and medieval romance, as Manningham saw at one of the first performances of *Twelfth Night*, when he noted in his diary that it was "much like the Comedy of Errores, or Menechmi in Plautus, but most like and neere to that in Italian called *Inganni*" (one of the offshoots of *GI'Ingannati*).

There are four essential characters common to *GI'Ingannati*, Bandello, Riche, and Shakespeare; namely, a lover, a heroine in his service disguised as a page, her twin brother (who at first has disappeared), and a second heroine. The basic elements common to all four plots are: the heroine's secret love for her master; her employment as go-between, leading to the complication of a cross-wooing; and a final solution by means of the unforeseen arrival of the missing twin.

If Shakespeare knew Bandello or *GI'Ingannati*, he altered their material radically. The Italians both take the romance motif of a heroine's constancy and love-service, set it in a realistic bourgeois environment, and rationalize it with respectful irony. In Bandello, the irony is severely rational—because it is a tale of love, "the wonder ceases at once". In *GI'Ingannati*, the tone is whimsical. "Two lessons above all you will extract from this play", says the Prologue: "how much chance and good fortune can do in matters of love; and how much long patience is worth in such cases, accompanied by good advice"<sup>10</sup>. Both Italian authors give the heroine a strong motive for assuming her disguise, in that the lover has previously returned her affection, but has now forgotten her and turned elsewhere. Both provide her with a formidable father in the background and a foster-mother like Juliet's Nurse, who admonishes and helps her; and both credit her with the intention of bilking her rival if she can. On the other side, they both respect the code of courtly love to the extent of stressing the lover's penitence at the end, and his recognition that he must repay the heroine for her devotion. "I believe", he says in the play, "that this is certainly the will of God, who must have taken pity on this virtuous maiden and on my soul, that it should not go to perdition. . . ."<sup>11</sup>

Riche keeps this framework of sentiment, vulgarizes the narrative, and changes some of the material circumstances, generally in the direction of an Arcadian romance.

Shakespeare, for his part, changes the story fundamentally, broadening the interest and at the same time making the whole situation more romantically improbable, more melancholy at some points, more fantastic at others. He stiffens the heroine's loyalty, but deprives her of her original motive, her initiative, and her family. In place of these, he gives her the background of a vague "Messaline" and a romantic shipwreck, for which he may have taken a hint, but no more, from the episode of the shipwreck in Riche. Shakespeare's Viola, then, is a more romantic heroine than the rest, and the only one to fall in love *after* assuming her disguise. At the same time, however, Shakespeare enlarges the role of her twin brother and gives unprecedented weight to coincidence in the dénouement, which in both Italian stories is brought about more rationally,

<sup>10</sup> "Due ammaestramenti sopra tutto ne cavarete: quanto possa il caso e la buona fortuna nelle cose d'amore; e quanto, in quella, vaglia una longa pazienza accompagnata da buon consiglio" (ed. I. Sanesi, *Commedie del Cinquecento*, Bari, 1912, I, 316).

<sup>11</sup> "Io credo che questa sia certamente volontà di Dio che abbia avuto pietà di questa virtuosa giovane e dell'anima mia; ch'ella non vada in perdizione. E però, madonna Lelia, . . . io non voglio altra moglie che voi . . ." (V, iii; ed. Sanesi, p. 393). Cp. Bandello, pp. 273-275; Riche, p. 82.

by the deliberate action of the heroine and her nurse; so that Shakespeare's Viola is also unique in that her happiness is due to "good fortune" more than "long patience", and to "good advice" not at all.

In his exposition, therefore, Shakespeare sketches a situation from romance in place of a logical intrigue. But the purpose, or at any rate, the effect, of his plan is to shift attention at the outset from the circumstances of the love story to the sentiments as such, especially in their more mysterious and irrational aspects. Shakespeare may have taken hints, for Orsino and Olivia, from his predecessors' comments on the "error" of "following them that fly from us". But however that may be, his comedy now consists in the triumph of natural love over affectation and melancholy. And, taken together, the leading characters in *Twelfth Night* form the most subtle portrayal of the psychology of love that Shakespeare had yet drawn.

Viola's love is fresh and direct, and gathers strength as the play advances. When she first appears, Viola mourns her brother, like Olivia, and by choice would join Olivia in her seclusion:

O, that I serv'd that lady,  
And might not be deliver'd to the world,  
Till I had made mine own occasion mellow,  
What my estate is. (I. ii. 40)

Shakespeare makes the most here of the vagueness surrounding Viola; she seems the child of the sea, and of time. But even when her feelings and her problem have become distinct she still commits herself to "time" with a gentle air of detachment:

What will become of this? As I am a man,  
My state is desperate for my master's love;  
As I am a woman,—now alas the day!—  
What thriftless sighs shall poor Olivia breathe!  
O time, thou must untangle this, not I,  
It is too hard a knot for me t'untie. (II. ii. 37)

She has none of the vehement determination of the Italian heroines<sup>12</sup>, and, though nimble-witted, she is less resourceful and high-spirited than Rosalind. She foreshadows Perdita and Miranda in the romantically adolescent quality of her part.

There are stronger colors than this in Viola, admittedly. Before she appears on the stage, Orsino has spoken of the capacity for love inherent in a woman's devoted sorrow for her brother; and in two scenes in the middle of the play Viola herself speaks in more passionate terms. But in both cases her own feeling seems muffled or distorted, since she is acting a part, and in both cases her tone is distinctly theatrical. She tells Olivia how, if she were Orsino, she would

<sup>12</sup> Cp. Lelia, in *Gl'Ingannati*: "O what a fate is mine! I love him who hates me, . . . I serve him who knows me not; and, worse still, I help him to love another . . . only in the hope of gratifying these eyes with seeing him, one day, in my own way." About her rival, she says: "I pretend not to want to love her, unless she makes Flamminio withdraw from his love to her; and I have already brought the affair to a conclusion . . ." (I. iii; pp. 322, 328). Bandello's heroine says: "I have done so much that I want to see the end of it, come what may. . . . Then God will help me, who knows my heart and knows I have only taken these pains so as to have Lattanzio for a husband" (p. 262).

Write loyal cantons of contemned love,  
And sing them loud even in the dead of night;  
Holla your name to the reverberate hills,  
And make the babbling gossip of the air  
Cry out 'Olivia';

(I. v. 270)

she tells Orsino, on the other hand, that her imaginary sister

never told her love,  
But let concealment, like a worm i'the bud  
Feed on her damask cheek;—

(II. iv. 111)

—in each case, with an overtone of romantic excess. She does not speak out in her own voice, therefore, until the later scenes, when the more vigorous (and more artificial) emotions of the older pair have had full play. Meanwhile, the hints of excess in her two fictitious declarations of love reflect on the others as well as herself: she speaks for Orsino in the spirit of his injunction to "be clamorous, and leap all civil bounds"; while her image of repressed desire could apply to Olivia. Her own development in the comedy is closely attuned to the others'.

Shakespeare begins the play with Orsino. He follows Riche in making the lover in his comedy a duke (not, as with the Italians, a citizen), who has been a warrior but has now "become a scholar in love's school"<sup>18</sup>. Orsino suffers from the melancholy proper to courtly and "heroical" love; and Shakespeare fixes attention on his passion, which is more violent and "fantastical" than in the other versions of the story, by keeping Orsino inactive in his court to dramatize his own feelings like Richard II. Unlike the Italian lovers, he has not been fickle, yet changefulness is the very essence of his condition. He twice calls for music in the play, but there is no harmony in himself. Within a few lines, he countermands the first order, to apostrophize the spirit of love:

Enough, no more!  
'Tis not so sweet now as it was before.  
O spirit of love, how quick and fresh art thou,  
That, notwithstanding thy capacity  
Receiveth as the sea, nought enters there,  
Of what validity and pitch soe'er,  
But falls into abatement and low price,  
Even in a minute: so full of shapes is fancy  
That it alone is high fantastical.

(I. i. 7)

<sup>18</sup> Riche, p. 64. Draper (ch. vi) argues that Orsino is meant as a wholly admirable or sympathetic character, and that *TN* is "a genial satire on the vulgar love of Malvolio and Sir Andrew in contrast to the refined passion of Orsino, Olivia, and Viola-Sebastian" (p. 131). As regards Orsino, Riche's mildly scoffing attitude to his ducal lover hardly bears this out; nor do the quotations that Draper brings forward from the psychologists, e.g. his apt quotation from Burton: "Love . . . rageth with all sorts and conditions of men, yet is most evident among such as are young and lusty, in the flower of their years, nobly descended, high fed, such as live idly, and at ease; and for that cause (which our Divines call burning lust) . . . this mad and beastly passion . . . is named by our Physicians *Heroical Love*, and a more honorable title put upon it, *amor nobilis*, . . . because Noble men and women make a common practice of it, and are so ordinarily affected with it" (Burton, pt. III. ii. 1. 2; Draper, p. 122). For similar reasons, it is difficult to accept Hotson's conjecture (ch. vi) that Orsino is meant for the visiting Virginio Orsino, Duke of Bracciano, and Olivia for the Virgin Queen; if Shakespeare intended flattery, it seems unlikely that he would have presented both characters in an ironic light.

This apostrophe carries opposing meanings. "Quick" and "fresh", coming after "sicken" a few lines before, imply the vigor of life, but they also prolong the grosser sense of "appetite" and "surfeiting". The sea image glorifies Orsino's "spirit of love" and, in relation to the drama as a whole, it prepares the way for the sea-change that comes to Viola and Sebastian; but it also leads on to the image of Sir Toby "drowned" in drink (I.v.135). And Orsino's most striking metaphors here, those of sinking and "low price", suggest that what the speaker largely feels is chill and dismay. Nothing has any value by comparison with love; but also, nothing has any lasting, intrinsic value for a lover. Later, referring to the sea-fight, Orsino utters a similar paradox when he describes the "fame and honour" Antonio had won in "a bawbling vessel . . . For shallow draught and bulk unprizable" (V.i.52). But there, the paradox enhances Antonio's courage; here, it is depressing<sup>14</sup>. For Orsino, the only constant feature of love is instability. He tells Viola (II.iv.17) that all true lovers are

Unstaid and skittish in all motions else  
Save in the constant image of the creature  
That is beloved;

a moment later, it is the "image" that changes—

For, boy, however we do praise ourselves,  
Our fancies are more giddy and unfirm,  
More longing, wavering, sooner lost and worn  
Than women's are;—

and then, as he thinks of Olivia, it is the woman's "appetite", not the man's, that can "suffer surfeit, cloyment, and revolt" (II.iv.98). Feste sketches the life of such a lover with fitting ambiguity: "I would have men of such constancy put to sea, that their business might be every thing and their intent every where; for that's it that always makes a good voyage of nothing" (II.iv.75); they dissipate their advantages and can be satisfied with illusions. By its very nature, then, Orsino's love for Olivia is self-destructive, subject to time and change. Although, or rather, because, it is "all as hungry as the sea", it is impossible to satisfy. And it seems almost without an object, or incommensurate with any object, a "monstrosity" in the same sense as Troilus' love for Cressida, in its grasping after the infinite.

Moreover, Orsino's "spirit of love" seems something outside the rest of his personality, a tyrant from whom he longs to escape. His desires pursue him "like fell and cruel hounds". He wants music to diminish his passion, to relieve it with the thought of death. And when at last he confronts Olivia, something like hatred bursts through his conventional phrases of love-homage: "yond

<sup>14</sup> Cp. Juliana's speech in Riche, p. 66: ". . . men be of this condition, rather to desire those things which they cannot come by, than to esteem or value of that which . . . liberally is offered unto them; but if the liberality of my proffer hath made to seem less the value of the thing that I meant to present, it is but in your own conceit. . . ." Shakespeare returns to the problems of value and the self-destruction of desire in *Hamlet* and *Troilus*. Orsino's "shapes" and "fancy" recall Theseus' lines in *MND*, V.i.4-22; and in *Henry IV*, pt. 2, Falstaff connects them with drink: "A good sherris-sack . . . ascends me into the brain; . . . makes it apprehensive, quick, forgetive, full of nimble, fiery, and delectable shapes . . ." (IV.iii.107). These are points of contact between Orsino and Sir Toby.



same sovereign cruelty" (II.iv) is now (V.i) a "perverse", "uncivil lady", "ingrate and unuspicious", "the marble-breasted tyrant". In his jealous rage he feels himself "at point of death":

Why should I not, had I the heart to do it,  
Like to the Egyptian thief at point of death,  
Kill what I love? a savage jealousy  
That sometime savours nobly.

(V.i.115)

In all this, however, there is as much injured vanity as anything else. His "fancy" is at the point of dying, not his heart; and it is fully consistent with his character that he can swerve almost at once to Viola, gratified and relieved by the surprise of her identity and the full disclosure of her devotion to himself. His emotions, then, give a powerful upsurge to the play, but they are kept within the bounds of comedy. His real "error", in Shakespeare, is that he only imagines himself to be pursuing love. Olivia's, correspondingly, is that she only imagines herself to be flying from it.

With Olivia, even more than with Orsino, Shakespeare diverges from his possible sources, making her a much more prominent and interesting character than her prototypes. In the Italian stories, the second heroine is heiress to a wealthy old dotard, is kept out of sight most of the time, and is treated with ribald irony for her amorous forwardness. In *Apolonius and Silla*, she is a wealthy widow. In all three, she is considered only as rival and pendant to the Viola-heroine. Shakespeare, however, makes her a virgin, psychologically an elder sister to Viola, and better able to sustain the comedy of awakening desire. At the same time, she is the mistress of a noble household, and hence the focus of the sub-plot as well as the main plot<sup>15</sup>. When she first appears, she can rebuke Malvolio with aristocratic courtesy (I.v.94): "To be generous, guiltless, and of free disposition, is to take those things for bird-bolts that you deem cannon-bullets." But Olivia, like Orsino—like Malvolio, even—suffers from ignorance of herself, and must be cured of affectation; as Sebastian says (V.i.262), "nature to her bias drew in that".

Her vow of mourning has a tinge of the same aristocratic extravagance as Orsino's "spirit of love". Orsino compares her to an angry Diana; but then there follows at once the account of her vow, which already begins to disclose the comic, unseasonable side of her assumed coldness:

The element itself, till seven years' heat,  
Shall not behold her face at ample view;  
But, like a cloistress, she will veiled walk,  
And water once a day her chamber round  
With eye-offending brine: all this to season  
A brother's dead love, which she would keep fresh  
And lasting in her sad remembrance.

(I.i.25)

Olivia is to be rescued from her cloister (like Diana's priestess in *The Comedy of Errors* or Hermia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*<sup>16</sup>) and exposed to the

<sup>15</sup> Cp. Draper, pp. 215-219.

<sup>16</sup> Cp. *MND*, I.i.65-78 ("... For aye to be in shady cloister mew'd"), and Portia, in *MV*, I.ii.112-114. In *The Comedy of Errors*, Shakespeare moves the scene from the Epidamnus of *Menaechmi* to Ephesus so as to make Aemilia the priestess, or "abbess", of Diana's temple there. Possibly he was turning to account the passage in *Miles Gloriosus*, where the courtesan pretends to



sunshine. Feste warns her, in gentle mockery, that she is a "fool"; the hood does not make the monk, and "as there is no true cuckold but calamity, so beauty's a flower" (I.v). She is obliged to unveil her beauty, and has natural vanity enough to claim that "'twill endure wind and weather" (I.v.246); and Viola's speech, which stirs her heart, is also a form of comic retribution, hollaing her name to "the reverberate hills" and "the babbling gossip of the air"—

O, you should not rest  
Between the elements of air and earth,  
But you should pity me. (I.v.281)

"Element" is made one of the comic catchwords of the play<sup>17</sup>.

The comic reversal of Olivia's attitude culminates in her declaration of love to Viola, the most delicate and yet impressive speech in the play (III.i.150). It is now Olivia's turn to plead against "scorn", to "unclasp the book of her secret soul" to Viola<sup>18</sup>—and, equally, to herself. After two lines, she turns to the same verse form of impersonal, or extra-personal, "sentences" in rhyme that Shakespeare gives to other heroines at their moment of truth:

O, what a deal of scorn looks beautiful  
In the contempt and anger of his lip!  
A murd'rous guilt shows not itself more soon  
Than love that would seem hid: love's night is noon.  
Cesario, by the roses of the spring,  
By maidhood, honour, truth, and every thing,  
I love thee so, that, maugre all thy pride,  
Nor wit nor reason can my passion hide.  
Do not extort thy reasons from this clause,  
For that I woo, thou therefore hast no cause;  
But rather reason thus with reason fetter,  
Love sought is good, but given unsought is better.

Having already thrown off her original veil, Olivia now breaks through the concealments of her pride, her modesty, and her feminine "wit". Her speech is mainly a vehement persuasion to love, urged "by the roses of the spring"<sup>19</sup>. Yet she keeps her dignity, and keeps it all the more in view of the secondary

give thanks to Diana of Ephesus for rescuing her from Neptune's blustering realm (Loeb ed., II. v. 411 ff; cp. Aegeon's narrative of the storm in *C.E.*, I. i, which has no equivalent in *Menaechmi*). But in any case, the motif of a woman rescued from imposed celibacy after a sea-adventure is an important part of what could be called Shakespeare's mythology—Wilson Knight's "tempest" theme; cp. Portia again, (*MV*, III. ii. 53-57), and, of course, Marina, Perdita and Miranda. (There are satiric references to a convent from which the heroine runs away in *Bandello* and *Gl'Ingannati*).

<sup>17</sup> Cp. II. iii. 10, III. i. 62, III. iv. 130. There are other echoes, mainly comic, of the theme of Olivia-cloister-moon at: I. ii. 32 (gossip); I. iii. 126-128 (Mistress Mall's curtained picture); I. v. 20 ("... let summer bear it out"); I. v. 206 ("'tis not that time of moon with me"); II. iii. 59, etc. ("rouse the night-owl in a catch"); II. iv. 44 ("the knitters in the sun"); II. v. 164 ("Daylight and champain discovers not more"); III. i. 41 ("Foolry . . . does walk about the orb like the sun"); III. i. 89 ("the heavens rain odours on you"); III. iv. 58 ("midsummer madness"); IV. ii (Malvolio in darkness); IV. iii. 1 ("that is the glorious sun"); IV. iii. 28-35 ("conceal it . . . heavens so shine"); V. i. 151 ("To keep in darkness . . ."); V. i. 295-9 (Feste shouting); V. i. 346 ("Kept in a dark house, visited by the priest"); and "the wind and the rain" in Feste's epilogue.

<sup>18</sup> Cp. Orsino, I. iv. 13-14. For Olivia's use of rhyme here, cp. Beatrice (*Much Ado*, III. i. 107), Helena (*All's Well*, I. i. 223) and Cressida (*Troilus*, I. ii. 307).

<sup>19</sup> Cp. I. v. 53 ("... so beauty's a flower"), II. iv. 38 ("For woman are as roses . . ."), II. iv. 112 ("concealment, like a worm i' the bud . . .").

meaning latent in her words, her timid fear that Cesario's scorn is not the disdain of rejection at all but the scorn of conquest. Logically, indeed, her first rhyming couplet implies just this, implies that his cruel looks are the signs of a guilty lust rising to the surface; and this implication is carried on as she speaks of his "pride" (with its hint of sexual desire<sup>20</sup>), and into her last lines, with their covert pleading not to "extort" a callous advantage from her confession. But in either case—whatever Cesario's intentions—love now appears to Olivia as a startling paradox: guilty, even murderous, an irruption of misrule; and at the same time irrepressible, fettering reason, and creating its own light out of darkness. And, in either case, the conclusion to her perplexities is a plain one—"Love sought is good, but given unsought is better". This is Shakespeare's departure from the moral argument of his predecessors<sup>21</sup>, and it marks the turning-point of *Twelfth Night*.

There is still a trace of irony attaching to Olivia, in that her wooing is addressed to another woman and has been parodied beforehand in Maria's forged love-letter (II.v). And this irony pursues her to the end, even in her marriage, when once again she tries, and fails, "To keep in darkness what occasion now Reveals before 'tis ripe" (V.i.151). But from the point of her declaration to Viola, the way is clear for the resolution of the whole comedy on the plane of sentiment. In terms of sentiment, she has justified her gift of love to a stranger. She is soon completely sure of herself, and in the later scenes she handles Sir Toby, Orsino, and Cesario-Sebastian with brusque decision; while her demon of austerity is cast out through Malvolio. The main action of *Twelfth Night*, then, is planned with a suggestive likeness to a revel, in which Olivia is masked, Orsino's part is "giddy" and "fantastical", Viola-Sebastian is the mysterious stranger—less of a character and more of a poetic symbol than the others—and in the end, as Feste says of his own "interlude" with Malvolio, "the whirligig of time brings in his revenges".

Although Olivia's declaration forms the crisis of the main action, the resolution of the plot has still to be worked out. And here Shakespeare departs in a new way from his predecessors. Shakespeare's Sebastian, by character and adventures, has little in common with the brother in *G'Ingannati*, and still less

<sup>20</sup> Cp. Tarquin, in *Lucrece*, 432, and the setting there. It is worth noting that Olivia's seal is a "Lucrece" (II.v.96).

<sup>21</sup> There is no real equivalent to this interview, or Olivia's share of it, in Shakespeare's likely sources, unless partly in Riche, p. 66 (quoted above, note 14). But cp. Pasquella, in *G'Ingannati*, II.iii, p. 339; and Luce, *TN*, p. 184, cites verbal parallels from Bandello for III.i.117 and 149). As to the moral argument of the tale, both the Italians and Riche dwell on the justice and reason of exchanging love for love—e.g. *G'Ingannati*, I.iii (quoted above, note 12), IV.ii (p. 349), V.ii (p. 390; the lover here decries "ingratitude", as in *TN*, III.iv.367), V.ii (quoted above, note 11); Bandello, 273-275. Further, Bandello's heroine tells her master that his sufferings in his second love are a just retribution for ingratitude in his first: "you have received the return (*contracambio*) you deserved, because if you had been so much loved by a girl as beautiful as you say, you have done endlessly wrong to leave her for this one, who is avenging her without knowing it. A lover wants to be loved, not to follow someone in flight (*Egli si vuol amar chi ama e non seguir chi se ne fugge*). Who knows if this beautiful girl is not still in love with you and living in the greatest misery for you?" (Bandello, pp. 265-266). As Luce points out (*TN*, p. 184), this dialogue as a whole may have suggested Viola's dialogue with Orsino in II.iv.90-120; but the notion of love is still an exchange, not a gift. Similarly, Riche, p. 53, stresses "desert", or reciprocity, as "the ground of reasonable love", and he echoes Bandello: "for to love them that hate us, to follow them that fly from us, . . . who will not confess this to be an erroneous love, neither grounded upon wit nor reason?" Olivia's speech could almost be a reply to this.

with Silla's brother in Riche; but nearly everything in common—as Manningham presumably noticed—with the visiting brother in Plautus, *Menaechmus* of Syracuse. And Antonio's part in the plot (though not his character) is largely that of *Menaechmus'* slave in Plautus, while his emotional role stems from the Aegeon story that Shakespeare himself had already added to *Menaechmi* in *The Comedy of Errors*. These Plautine elements in the brother's story have been altered in *Gl'Ingannati* and dropped from, or camouflaged in, *Apolonius and Silla*. Whichever of the latter Shakespeare used for Viola, therefore, he deliberately reverted to Plautus for Sebastian, sometimes drawing on his own elaborations in *The Comedy of Errors*, but mainly going back directly to the original<sup>22</sup>.

Hence the second half of *Twelfth Night* is largely more farcical than its predecessors, whereas the first half had been, in a sense, more romantic. Shakespeare thus provides a telling finale, proper, as Dr. Johnson observes, to the stage. But he does much more than this. His farcical dénouement gives tangible shape to the notion of misrule inherent in his romantic exposition. Faults of judgment in the first part of *Twelfth Night* are answered with mistakes of identity in the second, while the action swirls to a joyful ending through a crescendo of errors. And by the same manoeuvre, Shakespeare charges his romance with a new emotional significance, bringing it nearer to tragedy.

How are Viola and Olivia to be freed? In *Apolonius and Silla*, the widow, pregnant after her welcome to Silla's brother, demands justice of the disguised heroine, thus forcing her to reveal herself and clearing the way for her marriage to the duke. Only when the rumor of this wedding has spread abroad does the wandering brother return to the scene and espouse the widow. In the Italian stories, the heroine reaches an understanding with her master by her own devices and the aid of her nurse, without any kind of help from the arrival of her brother; and this is a logical solution, since the heroine's love-service is the clear center of interest. But Shakespeare has been more broadly concerned with love as a force in life as a whole. He has shifted the emphasis to the two older lovers, keeping Viola's share of passion in reserve. And even after the crisis, he continues to withhold the initiative the Italians had given her. Shakespeare is alone in making the heroine reveal herself *after* her brother's marriage with the second heroine, as a consequence of it. And the whole Plautine sequence in *Twelfth Night* is designed to lead to this conclusion. Hence, while the first half of Shakespeare's comedy dwells on self-deception in love, the second half stresses the benevolent irony of fate.

In the early scenes, fate appears to the speakers as an overriding power which is nevertheless obscurely rooted in their own desires (the obverse, that is, to Orsino's "spirit of love", which springs from himself, yet seems to dominate him from without)<sup>23</sup>. Thus, Viola trusts herself to "time"; Olivia, falling in love, cries, "Fate, show thy force: ourselves we do not owe"; and the letter forged in her name yields an echo to her words: "Thy Fates open their hands; let thy blood and spirit embrace them"<sup>24</sup>. Antonio and Sebastian strengthen this motif and clarify it.

<sup>22</sup> See appendix to this article, "Shakespeare and Plautus", p. 000 below.

<sup>23</sup> Cp. Paul Reyher, *Essai sur les Idées dans l'Oeuvre de Shakespeare* (Paris, 1947), pp. 374-378.

<sup>24</sup> *TN*, I. ii. 42; II. ii. 41; I. v. 319; II. v. 149.

Antonio stands for an absolute devotion that is ultimately grounded on fate; he is the embodiment of Olivia's discovery, and his speeches on this theme are interwoven with hers. Shortly after her first lines about fate—and chiming with them—comes his declaration to Sebastian (II. i. 47):

But, come what may, I do adore thee so,  
That danger shall seem sport, and I will go;

and after her cry that love should be a gift, he tells Sebastian in more positive terms:

I could not stay behind you: my desire,  
More sharp than filed steel, did spur me forth. (III. iii. 4)

In the last, scene, again, he proclaims to Orsino—

A witchcraft drew me hither:  
That most ingrateful boy there by your side,  
From the rude sea's enrag'd and foamy mouth  
Did I redeem. (V. i. 74)

The resonant sea-image of destiny here dominates the bewildered tone still appropriate, at this point, to a comedy of errors<sup>25</sup>.

Sebastian's part runs parallel with this. When he first appears (II. i), he feels the same melancholy as his sister, and shows a similar vague self-abandonment in his aims: "My determinate voyage is mere extravagancy". But a stronger impression of him has been given already by the Captain, in the outstanding speech of Viola's first scene:

I saw your brother,  
Most provident in peril, bind himself,  
Courage and hope both teaching him the practice,  
To a strong mast that lived upon the sea;  
Where, like Arion on the dolphin's back,  
I saw him hold acquaintance with the waves  
So long as I could see.

The Captain has told Viola to "comfort [herself] with chance"; Sebastian is "provident in peril", on friendly terms with destiny. When he bobs up resurrected at the end, accordingly, he does precisely what Malvolio had been advised to do, grasps the hands of the Fates and lets himself float with "the stream", with "this accident and flood of fortune" (IV. i. 62, IV. iii. 11)<sup>26</sup>. By the same turn of mind, moreover, he imparts to the dénouement a tone as of clarity following illusion, of an awakening like the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

<sup>25</sup> Cp. the theme of "witchcraft" (not present in *Menaechmi*) in CE, I. ii. 100; II. ii. 189; III. ii. 45-52, 153; IV. iii. 11, 66; and IV. iv. 146. Antonio's "witchcraft", however, also harks back to the "enchantment" Cesario has worked on Olivia (III. i. 117).

<sup>26</sup> Cp. the sailors in the storm in CE, I. i. 75-95; and the speeches of Menaechmus of Syracuse, where, after receiving the courtesan's gifts, he thanks the gods and hurries off "while time and circumstance permit" ("dum datur mi occasio/ tempusque"; *Menaechmi*, Loeb ed., III. ii. 473-474, 551-553). Bandello's young man, at a similar point in the story, also decides to "try his luck" ("Lasciami andar a provar la mia fortuna", p. 267), but Sebastian comes nearer to Plautus; cp. note 23. The Italians virtually ignore the Plautine motif of resurrection, which Shakespeare develops; cp. note 29.

Or I am mad, or else this is a dream. . . . (IV. i. 63)

This is the air; that is the glorious sun;  
This pearl she gave me, I do feel't and see't;  
And though 'tis wonder that enwraps me thus,  
Yet 'tis not madness. . . . (IV. iii. 1)

"Mad" the lady may appear; but Sebastian—like Olivia before him, except that he does it in all coolness—is ready to "wrangle with his reason" and welcome the gift of love. The comedy of errors in which he figures is thus both counter-part and solution to the initial comedy of sentiment. Riche had called his love-story the work of "Dame Error"; Shakespeare, in effect, takes the hint, and goes back to Plautus.

Having planned his dénouement on these lines, moreover, Shakespeare goes further, adding a superb variation on his Plautine theme in the farcical scene leading up to Viola's meeting with Antonio (III. iv). This scene as a whole, with its rapid changes of mood and action, from Olivia to the sub-plot and back towards Sebastian, braces together the whole comic design. It brings to a climax the misrule, farcical humours, and simulated emotions of the play—with Olivia confessing "madness", Sir Toby triumphant, Malvolio in *excelsis* ("Jove, not I, is the doer of this . . ."), Sir Andrew allegedly "bloody as the hunter"<sup>27</sup>, and Viola, after her unavoidable coldness to Olivia, submitted for the first time to the laughable consequences of her change of sex. And the duel with its sequel perfect this comic catharsis. This duel, or what Sir Toby and Fabian make of it, bears a strong affinity to the sword dances and Mummings' play combats of a season of misrule; it becomes another encounter between St. George and Captain Slasher, the Turkish Knight. One champion is "a devil in private brawl: souls and bodies hath he divorced three"; the other is "a very devil, . . . a firago. . . . He gives me the stuck-in with such a mortal motion that it is inevitable"—and "they say he has been fencer to the Sophy". Now in one sense the duel and what follows are superfluous to the main action, since it is not strictly necessary for Viola to meet Antonio, or to meet him in this way. But in effect this episode of misrule<sup>28</sup> contains the principal conflict between

<sup>27</sup> III. iv. 231; cp. Orsino's "desires, like fell and cruel hounds" (I. i. 21) and Olivia's metaphor at III. i. 123-125.

<sup>28</sup> Cp. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 190-198 (Christmas sword-dances), 206-227 (Mummings' plays), and *The English Folk-Play* (1933), pp. 3-9, 23-33 (the champions). Besides therodomontade quoted above and the comic fighting, the following details of contact or resemblance between the duel episode and the Mummings' plays seem worth noting: two of the main actors here are a fool and a woman dressed as a man; there is a lady in the background, like St. George's Sabra (*EFP*, pp. 25, 175), and the duel is a kind of wooing contest (*EFP*, pp. 99-104); "cockatrices" and "firago" suggest the Dragon (*EFP*, pp. 30, 156, 177, 204); the deliberate nonsense and Fabian's "bear" (III. iv. 307-308) recall the clowning in *Mucedorus* (which has Mummings' play associations—cp. R. J. E. Tiddy, *The Mummings' Play*, pp. 84-85, 129-133); Sir Andrew's offer of a reward for sparing his life has some resemblance to Jack of Lent's offer in the processional game described by Machyn (Chambers, *EFP*, pp. 155-156), while Antonio's entry corresponds to the entry of a Mummings' play Doctor; and finally, like the Mummings' play combats (*EFP*, p. 194), the duel is followed by a kind of resurrection—the resurrection of one of the fighters' second self.

On the other hand (apart from a desire to satirize the duello), there is a possible source for this episode in the episode of feigned madness and demonic possession in *Menaechmi*, V. ii (which Shakespeare had already used in *CE*, IV. iv). Antonio's part resembles the sequel in *Men.*, V. vii-viii, where the slave rushes in to rescue his master's twin from a scuffle, is promised his liberty, and then loses it again; and there, too, the episode of "devils" leads on to a resurrection. In addition, Antonio's part here recalls the passages in *CE* where Aegeon is arrested on a journey of love (I. i. 124-139)

the serious and the ludicrous forces in the play; it prepares emotionally for the resurrection of Sebastian; and, by a further swerve of constructive irony, the additional, gratuitous comedy of errors involving Antonio gives new force to the main theme of the romance.

As it concerns Viola, the dialogue here restores the balance in favor of her character, in that her generosity and her lines against "ingratitude" prepare the audience for her culminating gesture of self-sacrifice in the last act. But, more than this, Antonio's speeches stress the paradox of love that has been gathering force through the play:

*Antonio:* Let me speak a little. This youth that you see here  
I snatch'd one half out of the jaws of death,  
Reliev'd him with such sanctity of love,  
And to his image, which methought did promise  
Most venerable worth, did I devotion.

*Officer:* What's that to us? The time goes by: away!

*Antonio:* But, O, how vile an idol proves this god.  
Thou hast, Sebastian, done good feature shame.  
In nature there's no blemish but the mind;  
None can be call'd deform'd but the unkind:  
Virtue is beauty, but the beauteous evil  
Are empty trunks o'erflourished by the devil.

*Officer:* The man grows mad: away with him! . . . (III. iv. 372)

It is in keeping with the comedy of errors that Antonio here has mistaken his man, to the point of seeming "mad", that Viola, happy to hear of her brother again, promptly forgets him—as Sir Toby notices (III. iv. 400)—and that Antonio, as it turns out, should help Sebastian most effectively by so being forgotten. But this same quirk of fate brings the mood of the play dangerously near the confines of tragedy. The comedy has no answer to his problem of sincere devotion given to a false idol<sup>20</sup>.

Antonio stands outside the main sphere of the comedy. He belongs to the world of merchants, law, and sea-battles, not the world of courtly love. His love for Sebastian is irrational, or beyond reason, and his danger in Orsino's domains is due, similarly, to irrational persistence in an old dispute (III. iii. 30-37). But he gives himself completely to his principles, more seriously than anyone else in the play, and tries to live them out as rationally as he can. In contrast to the lovers (except possibly Viola), he is not satisfied with truth of feeling, but demands some more objective standard of values; in his world, law and "time" mean something external, and harder than the unfolding of natural instinct. His problems are appropriate to *Troilus* or *Hamlet*. In one way, therefore, he

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and where the Officer arrests Angelo for debt (IV. i); and this indirectly strengthens the case for attributing this part of *TN* to a borrowing from Plautus. It is quite plausible, however, to suppose that Shakespeare noted the likeness between the resurrection motif and the folk-plays and the resurrection motif in Plautus, and decided to exploit it.

<sup>20</sup> Antonio's lines about "empty trunks" hark back to Viola's speeches earlier (at I. ii. 46-50 and II. ii. 28-29) and to speeches in the previous comedies, e.g. Bassanio in the casket scene (*MV*, III. ii. 73 ff.). But the tone of his "idolatry" metaphor rather points forward to the debate between Troilus and Hector in *Troilus*, II. ii. Cp. Bacon's comments on love as the worship of an "idol", "and how it braves the nature and value of things", in his essay "Of Love".



marks a limit to festivity. Nevertheless, precisely because he takes himself so seriously, he helps to keep the comic balance of the play.

The comedy of errors in the main plot, the element of mummery and misrule, implies a comment on the serious follies of love, and bring a corrective to them. In the sub-plot (or -plots)—his addition to the Viola story—Shakespeare makes this corrective explicit and prepares for the festive atmosphere at the end. "What a plague means my niece, to take the death of her brother thus? I am sure care's an enemy to life. . . ." "Does not our lives consist of the four elements?—Faith, so they say; but I think it rather consists of eating and drinking." Sir Toby, Maria, Feste, Fabian stand for conviviality and the enjoyment of life, as opposed to the melancholy of romance.

At the same time, however, the sub-plot action reproduces the main action like a comic mirror-image, and the two of them are joined to form a single symmetrical pattern of errors in criss-cross. Shakespeare had attempted a similar pattern before, in *The Comedy of Errors*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and *Much Ado*, for example, but nowhere else does he bring it off so lightly and ingeniously.

In the main plot there is a lover who pursues love and a lady who tries to hide from it. In the sub-plot there is Malvolio, who pursues love, and Sir Toby, who prefers drinking. Olivia and Sir Toby are "consanguineous" but of opposite tempers; the other two disturb both of them. On their side, Orsino and Malvolio are both self-centred, but one neglects "state" and the other affects it; however, one is a lover who likes solitude, the other a solitary who turns to love. Both imagine they are in love with Olivia, while one is really fired by a forged letter, and the other is blind to the wife in front of his eyes. In the upshot, Orsino unwittingly helps to find a husband for Olivia, and Malvolio, a wife for Sir Toby. At the beginning of the comedy, Olivia had mourned a brother, while Orsino resented it; at the end, she finds a brother again, in Orsino himself.

Between Orsino and Olivia come the twins, Viola-Sebastian, opposite and indistinguishable. Between Malvolio and Sir Toby comes Maria, the "Penthesilia" who forges a false identity. The twins are heirs to fortune, unsuspecting and unambitious; Maria is an intriguer, who signs herself "The Fortunate-Unhappy". In their first scene together, Sir Andrew "accosts", "woos" and "assails" Maria, who drops his hand; Antonio likewise accosts, woos, and assails Viola and Sebastian, who lose or ignore him. The symmetrical pattern is completed at the mid-point of the play, when Sir Andrew and Antonio confront each other with drawn swords. This encounter between the romantic and the comic figures is twice repeated, and on the last occasion it seems to be Viola's double who is the aggressor (V.i. 178-180). Hence, although Sir Andrew and Antonio do not know each other or why they are quarrelling, they co-operate to bring about an unexpected result; Sir Andrew, to provide a wife for Sebastian, and Antonio, to provide a husband for Maria.

This dance of changed partners and reversed fortunes is much more complicated than anything in *GI'ngannati*. Shakespeare devises it partly by carrying the Plautine themes of twinship and of the lost being found again, or brought back to life, much farther than the Italian had gone; and partly by pursuing his own allied and festive theme of a Twelfth Night mask of misrule.



By this means, he laces sub-plot and main plot together in a single intricate design.

The interest of the sub-plot is more varied, moreover, and its links with the main plot are more complex, than a bare summary of the action can indicate. In relation to the main plot, the comic figures are somewhat like scapegoats; they reflect the humours of Orsino and Olivia in caricature and through them these humours are purged away. Secondly, the sub-plot is a Feast of Fools<sup>30</sup>, containing its own satire of humours in Malvolio and Sir Andrew. And, from another point of view, Sir Toby's "uncivil rule" is complementary to the problem of "time" in the main plot.

Besides Malvolio, Sir Toby and Sir Andrew are to some extent parodies of Orsino. One will drink Olivia's health till he is "drowned" or "his brains turn o' the toe like a parish-top"; the other is a model of gentlemanly indecision, hopes to woo Olivia without speaking to her, and attacks Viola from jealousy. The strains of unconscious parody in the sub-plot help to amplify the general theme of delusion and error.

On Olivia's side, moreover, the disorder in her household is a direct reaction to her attitude at the beginning of the play<sup>31</sup>. Malvolio affects a grave austerity to please her, but the instincts are in revolt. Sir Toby redoubles the clamor of love for her and personifies her neglect of time and the reproach of the clock (III. i. 135). Sir Andrew, a fool, helps to find her a husband. In Malvolio's "madness" she comes to see a reflection of her own (III. iv. 15), and at the end he takes her place in cloistered darkness.

In addition, the comic dialogue echoes the thought of the serious characters and twists it into fantastic shapes. To the serious actors, life is a sea-voyage: the comic actors deal with journeys more specific, bizarre, and adventurous than theirs, ranging in time from when "Noah was a sailor" to the publishing of "the new map with the augmentation of the Indies", and from the Barents Sea to the gates of Tartar or the equinoctial of Queubus. The serious actors scrutinize a fate which might be pagan in its religious coloring: the comic speakers, for their part, are orthodox Christians, and their dialogue is peppered with biblical and ecclesiastical references. Sir Toby, for instance, "defies lechery" and counts on "faith"; Sir Andrew plumes himself on having "no more wit than a Christian or an ordinary man has", and would beat Malvolio for no "exquisite reason" save that of thinking him a puritan<sup>32</sup>, the duel scene and the madness scenes are

<sup>30</sup> The first offspring of Folly, according to Erasmus, are Drunkenness, Ignorance and Self-Love.

<sup>31</sup> Cp. Morris P. Tilley, "The Organic Unity of *TN*", *PMLA*, XXIX (1914).

<sup>32</sup> *TN*, I. v. 129-133; I. iii. 85 and II. iii. 145-150. There are many other instances, e.g.: I. iii. 129 ("go to church in a galliard"); I. v. 9-15 ("a good lenten answer . . ."); I. v. 28 (Maria "as witty a piece of Eve's flesh . . ."); I. v. 57 ("cucullus non facit monachum"); I. v. 70-3 (Olivia's brother's soul in "hell"); II. iii. 119 ("by Saint Anne"; cp. Hotson, p. 101); II. v. 43 ("Fie on him, Jezebel!"); III. i. 3-7 (Feste lives "by the church"); III. ii. 16 ("Noah"); III. ii. 31 ("a Brownist"); III. ii. 71-74 ("Malvolio is turned heathen, a very renegade; for there is no Christian, that means to be saved by believing rightly, can ever believe such impossible passages of grossness"); III. ii. 78; III. iv. 89-131 ("all the devils in hell . . . the fiend is rough . . . 'tis not for gravity to play at cherry-pit with Satan . . . Get him to say his prayers", etc.); III. iv. 245-306 ("devil", repeated; "souls and bodies hath he divorced three . . . death and sepulchre . . . perdition of souls"); IV. ii. 1-63 (Sir Topas, "the old hermit of Prague", "Satan", "the Egyptians in their fog", Pythagoras and the soul, etc.); III. iv. 126-137 ("Like to the old Vice . . . Adieu, Goodman Devil"); V. i. 35-38 (Christmas dicing—cp. Hotson, p. 164,—and "the bells of Saint Bennet"); V. i. 45 ("the sin of covetousness"); V. i. 178-180 ("For the love of God . . . the very devil incardinate"); V. i. 286 ("Beelzebub"); V. i. 289-299

full of "devils". In part, these ecclesiastical jokes reinforce the suggestion of Twelfth Night foolery and of mock sermons like Erasmus' sermon of Folly; from this aspect, they lead up to Feste's interlude of Sir Topas. But in part, too, their tone of moral security to the degree of smugness gives a counterweight to the emotions of the serious actors.

Moreover, Sir Andrew and Sir Toby are both alike in feeling very sure of their ideal place in the scheme of things. They are contrasted as shrewd and fatuous, parasite and gull, Carnival and Lent; but they are both, in their differing ways, "sots", and both gentlemen<sup>83</sup>. Their conversation is a handbook to courtesy. And while Sir Andrew is an oafish squire, who will "have but a year in all these ducats", Sir Toby is a degenerate knight, who will not "confine himself within the modest limits of order" and, possessed of the rudiments of good breeding, delights in turning them upside-down. He is repeatedly called "uncivil" (II. iii. 125, III. iv. 265, IV. i. 55), and his merry-making is out of time and season. He tells Malvolio, "We did keep time, sir, in our catches"; but when at the end he leaves the stage with a broken head, driving Sir Andrew off before him, he is abusing the surgeon, on the lines of the same pun, for "a drunken rogue" whose eyes are "set at eight". Despite his resemblance to Falstaff, Sir Toby has a smaller mind, and this shows itself in his complacency with his position in Olivia's household.

Malvolio is a more complex and formidable character. Evidently Maria's "good practise" on this overweening steward was the distinctive attraction of

("gospels"—cp. J. Dover Wilson, *TN*, Cambridge ed., p. 168); V. i. 381 (the whirligig—cp. Hotson, p. 164). In addition, Sir Toby anticipates Sebastian's reference to astrology (I. iii. 139, II. i. 3). By contrast with these numerous comic references to religion, the serious actors cite mythology; and, apart from Olivia's Priest, also a little comic, they hardly refer to orthodox religion at all (unless Antonio's words at III. iv. 327 and 363 contain such a reference implicitly—"I take the fault upon me", and "Do not . . . make me so unsound a man"; cp. Wilson, p. 156). Among the sub-plot actors, however, Malvolio is notable for his references to "Jove" (II. v. 177, 183; III. iv. 79, 87). Wilson, p. 97, argues that these are a sign of alterations in the text, to satisfy the statute of 1606 against blasphemy; but they seem more likely to be a comic sign that Malvolio is coming within the orbit of romance.

<sup>83</sup> Draper, chs. ii-iii, gives much illuminating material on the social background of Sir Toby and Sir Andrew. But he introduces the very questionable assumption that Sir Andrew is meant to be a social climber of nouveau-riche parentage. Draper bases his argument on Sir Andrew's "carpet"-knighthood and his boorishness. But the son of an ambitious self-made man would have been quite likely to be sent to a university (like Yellowhammer junior in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*); and, on the other side, a gentleman might buy a knighthood (if that is in fact what "carpet consideration" implies—Draper, p. 48). Sir Andrew's follies are simply those of a wealthy heir. He admires his horse, has no sense of humor, is quarrelsome, frowns or capers without reason, has no languages, dresses absurdly, and gets drunk—and this is the catalogue of follies in Portia's noble suitors in *MV*, I. iii. He is thin, vain, and insignificant, like Justice Shallow in his youth, and has grown up a similar ignoramus (2 *H. IV*, III. ii, V. 1. 65-80); precisely as Orlando, too, fears to grow up if he, a "gentleman" by birth, is kept "rustically at home" for his education (*AYL*, I. i). Some of Shakespeare's contemporaries comment scornfully on the English custom of keeping a wealthy heir "like a mome" on his estate, while his younger brother must fend for himself (T. Wilson, *The State of England, 1600*, ed. F. J. Fisher, pp. 23-24; cp. *Cyville and Uncyville Life*, 1579, Roxburghe Library ed., p. 24; Fynes Morison, *Itinerary*, 1617, ed. MacLehose, IV, 61). Sir Andrew, with his self-esteem, seems just such an heir, now converting himself into an Improvident Gallant. In short (apart from his ambitions on Olivia, which are really very faint), the point of the satire is not that Sir Andrew is trying to climb above his class, but that he is a gentleman born, adjusting himself foolishly to changing manners and conditions. The same could be said of the comparable characters in Ben Jonson, e.g. Master Stephen or Kastril, the angry boy.

*Twelfth Night* to Stuart audiences; but that does not mean (as some critics would have it, reacting against Lamb<sup>24</sup>) that Malvolio is presented as a contemptible butt. An audience is more likely to enjoy and remember the humiliation of someone who in real life would be feared than the humiliation of a mere impostor like Parolles. Malvolio is neither a puritan nor an upstart, though he has qualities in common with both. Olivia and Viola call him a "gentleman" (V. i. 279, 282), as the steward of a countess's household no doubt would be, and in seeking to repress disorders he is simply carrying out the duties of his office:

Have you no wit, manners, nor honesty, but to gabble like tinkers at this time of night? Do ye make an alehouse of my lady's house, that ye squeak out your coziers' catches without any mitigation or remorse of voice? Is there no respect of place, persons, nor time in you? (II. iii. 89)

These early speeches to Sir Toby have a firm ring about them that explains Olivia's confidence in Malvolio, without as yet disclosing the "politic" affectation that Maria sees in him. On the other hand, his principle of degree and order is simply a mask for his pride. He is "sick of self-love", unable to live spontaneously as one of a community, as is hinted from the outset by his recoil from the sociable side of the jester's art—an office that also requires the understanding of place, persons, and time. And even before finding Maria's letter, he shows the self-ignorance of a divided personality in the day-dream he weaves about himself and Olivia, indulging his "humour of state". Nevertheless, when his humour has been mocked to the full, Shakespeare still makes him protest that he "thinks nobly of the soul", and he remains a force to be reckoned with right to the end. With his unconscious hypocrisy in the exercise of power and his rankling sense of injustice, he comes midway between Shylock and the Angelo of *Measure for Measure*.

Sir Toby, Sir Andrew and Malvolio—all three—are striving to be something false, whether novel or antiquated, which is out of place in a healthy community; they are a would-be retainer, a would-be gallant, a would-be "politician". But the conflict over revelry between Malvolio and Sir Toby is a conflict of two opposed reactions towards changing social and economic conditions. In Malvolio's eyes, Sir Toby "wastes the treasure of his time". So he does; and so, in their ways, do Olivia and Orsino. A natural way of living, Shakespeare seems to imply, must observe impersonal factors such as time as well as the healthy gratification of instinct—and in the last resort, the two may be incompatible with each other. Hence Malvolio in the end is neither crushed nor pacified. He belongs, like Antonio, to the world of law and business, outside the festive circle of the play. Both are imprisoned for a while by the others. They stand for two extremes of self-sacrifice and self-love, but they share a rigid belief in principle. And neither can be fully assimilated into the comedy.

There are discordant strains, then, in the harmony of *Twelfth Night*—

<sup>24</sup> E.g. O. J. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Satire* (New York, 1943), pp. 84-88; Draper, ch. v. The Countess's Steward in *All's Well* is apparently a gentleman by rank; Antonio in *The Duchess of Malfi* is certainly one; and the historical characters who have been suggested as possible originals for Malvolio have been of the rank of knights or above (cp. Luce, *Apolonius and Silla*, p. 95; Draper, pp. 110-111; Hotson, ch. v). The argument that Malvolio must be plebeian because he is presumptuous seems to rest on a false assumption about Elizabethan satire.

strains of melancholy and of something harsher. As far as any one actor can resolve them, this task falls to Feste.

Feste is not only the most fully portrayed of Shakespeare's clowns, he is also the most agile-minded of them. He has fewer set pieces than Touchstone and fewer proverbs than the Fool in *Lear*. He is proud of his professional skill—"better a witty fool than a foolish wit"—but he wields it lightly, in darting paradoxes; he is a "corrupter of words". Yet, besides being exceptionally imaginative and sophisticated, he is exceptionally given to scrounging for tips. This trait is consistent with the traditional aspect of his role, especially as the fool in a feast of misrule, but it helps to make him more like a real character and less like a stage type.

This money-sense of Feste and his awareness of his social status bring him within the conflict of ideas affecting the other actors. Although he depends for his living on other people's pleasure, and can sing to any tune—"a love-song or a song of good life"—Feste is neither a servile entertainer nor an advocate of go-as-you-please. On the contrary, he is a moralist with a strong bent towards scepticism. "As there is no true cuckold but calamity, so beauty's a flower. . . . Truly, sir, and pleasure will be paid, one time or another. . . . The whirligig of time brings in his revenges": one factor will always cancel another. As against Malvolio, he belittles the soul; but he shows hardly any more confidence in the survival-value of folly, and marriage is the only form of it he recommends. For Feste himself could very easily belong to the ship of fools he designates for Orsino, having his business and intent everywhere and making "a good voyage of nothing". (The same thought is present when he tells Viola that foolery "does walk about the orb like the sun; it shines every where".) There is a persistent hint, then, that his enigmas glance at himself as well as others, and that he feels his own position to be insecure. And it is consistent with this that he should be the only character in Shakespeare to take pleasure, or refuge, in fantasies of pure nonsense: "as the old hermit of Prague, that never saw pen and ink, very wittily said to a niece of King Gorboduc, 'That that is is'." It is impossible to go further than a non-existent hermit of Prague.

Feste is not the ringleader in *Twelfth Night*, nor is he exactly the play's philosopher. He is cut off from an independent life of his own by his traditional role in reality and on the stage, and what he sees at the bottom of the well is "nothing". He knows that without festivity he is nothing; and he knows, in his epilogue, that misrule does not last, and that men shut their gates against toss-pots, lechers, knaves, and fools. A play is only a play, and no more. Yet it is precisely on this finely-poised balance of his that the whole play comes to rest. Orsino, Olivia, Viola, Sebastian, Sir Toby, Maria, Malvolio, Feste himself—nearly everyone in *Twelfth Night* acts a part in some sense, but Feste is the only one who takes this aspect of life for granted. The others commit errors and have divided emotions; but Feste can have no real emotions of his own, and may only live in his quibbles. Yet by virtue of this very disability, he sees the element of misrule in life more clearly than the rest, appreciating its value because he knows its limitations. A play to Feste may be only a play, but it is also the breath of life.

Feste is the principal link between the other characters in *Twelfth Night*. Unless Puck is counted, he is the only clown for whom Shakespeare provides an epilogue. And as it happens, his is the epilogue to the whole group of Shakespeare's romantic comedies.

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#### APPENDIX

*Shakespeare and Plautus* (see p. 128, above): The Plautine motif of confused identities is present in *Gl'Ingannati*, and possibly in Riche. But a comparison of *TN* with *Menaechmi* and *CE* on one side, and with *Gl'Ingannati*, *Bandello*, and Riche on the other makes it seem certain that Shakespeare was consciously borrowing from Plautus in planning Sebastian's role, at the same time, however, enlarging this borrowed material on the lines of *CE*:

(a) *Background*: In *Men.*, there are twin brothers, long separated and unknown to each other; their father is dead. In *CE*, they have been separated by a tempest; their father is alive. In both, one of the "lost" brothers hopes to find the other in the course of his travels. In *Gl'Ingannati* and *Bandello*, the twin brother has been lost since the sack of Rome in 1527; he comes expecting to find his father, still alive, and his sister. In Riche, the brother sets off in pursuit of his sister, who has followed the duke and has suffered shipwreck; their father is still alive. So far, *TN* might be a compound of all the others.

(b) *Sebastian*: In *Men.*, Menaechmus of Syracuse, searching for his brother, lands at Epidamnus with his slave. He is hot-tempered (Loeb ed., II. i. 269)—a trait only emphasized here and in *TN*. Leaving his slave, he meets in turn a cook, a courtesan, and a parasite, who mistake him for his twin. He thinks them mad, or drunk, or dreaming (II. iii. 373, 395), but sleeps with the courtesan, accepts her gifts—a mantle and a bracelet—and makes off "while time and circumstance permit", thanking the gods for his unexpected luck (III. iii. 551-3). He misses his slave, and gets involved in a squabble with his sister-in-law and her father, feigning madness to frighten them off. His doings react on his brother. Finally, the brothers meet, compare notes about their father, and recognize each other with the help of the slave.

Sebastian's actions follow exactly the same pattern. He appears in Illyria with a companion, then leaves him; he is going to the court, but has no definite goal since his twin sister has apparently died (II. i). Meeting his companion again, he says he wants to view "the reliques of this town"; they separate a second time, after making an appointment (III. iii). He then meets in turn a clown, a parasite (Sir Toby) and his friend, and a lady, who mistake him for his twin. He thinks they are mad, or that he is mad or else dreaming, fights the parasite and his friend, but accepts the lady's invitation to accompany her (IV. i). He has missed his companion, but accepts the lady's gift of a pearl, welcomes "this accident and flood of fortune", and agrees to marry her (IV. iii). Off-stage, he fights the parasite a second time (V. i. 178-80). Meanwhile, his doings have reacted on his twin, partly through the agency of his companion. Finally, the twins meet, compare notes about their father, and recognize each other.

In *Gl'Ingannati*, the brother comes to Modena with a servant and a tutor, a pedant who describes the sights of the town in detail (III. i). He leaves them to go sight-seeing, meets the second heroine's maid, and agrees to visit the mistress, supposing her to be some courtesan (III. v). Then he meets her father and his own father, who take him to be his twin sister, dressed as a man; he calls them mad, and



lock him up with the second heroine (III. vii), whereupon he seduces her. He does not meet his twin sister until she is married.

In Bandello the only characters the brother meets at first are the second heroine and her maid; in Riche, only the second heroine.

With Sebastian, then, Shakespeare ignores *Gl'Ingannati* (except conceivably for the sight-seeing), and follows Plautus in detail. He had used much of this material before, in *CE*. But there he had introduced variations (e.g. the "lost" brother's business affairs and the character of Luciana); here he goes back directly to his source.

(c) *Messaline*. Apparently no editor of *TN* has explained satisfactorily why Shakespeare makes Sebastian come from "Messaline", "a town unknown to geography". Perhaps this is because they have concentrated unduly on the Italian background of *TN*; (cp. Draper, who suggests Manzolino, or "Mensoline", near Modena, pp. 262-263). But reference to Plautus offers a very likely solution. In *Men.*, II. i the slave asks Menaechmus of Syracuse how long he means to go on searching for his twin: "Istrians, Spaniards, Massilians, Illyrians (*Massiliensis, Hilurios*), the entire Adriatic, and foreign Greece and the whole coast of Italy—every section the sea washes—we've visited in our travels. . ." (Loeb ed., pp. 235-238). This scene corresponds to *TN*, II. i, where Sebastian mentions "Messaline", telling Antonio that his "determinate voyage is mere extravagancy" because his sister is drowned. Hence it seems almost certain that Shakespeare invented the name "Messaline", in connexion with Illyria, from a reminiscence of these lines of Plautus (where, in addition, the speaker's name is Messenio); (cp. *Times Lit. Supp.*, June 3, 1955). This suggests that the parallel between Sebastian and Menaechmus was clearly present to Shakespeare's mind from the beginning.

(d) *Antonio*. In *Men.*, the slave is a purse-bearer, warns Menaechmus against the dangers of Epidamnus, intervenes to save his master's twin from danger, is promised his liberty, has the promise withdrawn, and then has it renewed. Antonio's part corresponds to this closely. There is nothing like this in *Gl'Ingannati*, nor much in the Dromio of *CE*. On the other hand, Shakespeare seems to have taken some traits in Antonio from Aegeon in *CE* (cp. note 28, above).

(e) The *Captain* who comes on with Viola in *TN*, I. ii has only a minimal part as her confidant. In this, his only scene, his main speech concerns Sebastian; while the later news of his arrest at Malvolio's suit (V. i. 276-278) recalls the legal business in *CE*, like the arrest of Antonio. He therefore belongs to Sebastian's part in the composition of *TN*, rather than Viola's. (There is a captain in *Apolonius and Silla*, but he tries to rape the heroine, and then disappears.)

(f) *Illyria*. The assumption that Shakespeare's knowledge of *Men.* played a large—and not merely an incidental—part in the composition of *TN* throws some further light on Shakespeare's methods of construction. In particular, it suggests why he set the play in "Illyria". On the face of it, there is no special reason for this choice of a setting, unless perhaps Viola's pun on "Elysium" when the place is first mentioned. Although the name has since acquired a romantic aura from the play itself, there is nothing specially Arcadian or Ruritanian about "Illyria" in *TN*, and no strong local color, as there is for Modena in *Gl'Ingannati*, or for Venice in Shakespeare's other plays. What there is, moreover, is slightly inconsistent; for Antonio's warning to Sebastian about the dangers of "these parts", which he says are "rough and inhospitable" (III. iii. 8-11), is not exactly borne out by the rest of the play, and is vague in any case, so that it seems to belong to Antonio, not to Illyria. This speech can be traced back, however, to the more specific warning of the slave in *Men.* II. i. 258-264, to the effect that Epidamnus is a town of "rakes, drinkers, sycophants and alluring harlots", owing its very name to the tricks it plays on strangers—and this (together with the way the warning is falsified) does correspond very closely to Illyria as



Sebastian finds it. Further, Hotson points out that the real Illyria of Shakespeare's day was known for riotous behavior, drinking and piracy (p. 151). These touches account for the sea-fighting in *TN* (but not the tricks of fortune), and otherwise they match with Epidamnus; so that Epidamnus and the real country together furnish the sketchy local color of "Illyria" in *TN*. It looks, therefore, as if Shakespeare, having planned to modify the Viola story with the aid of Plautus, looked for a place-name that would fit the attributes he wanted, and chose "Illyria" accordingly. If so, his memory could have prompted him from the same line of *Men.* that yields the source of "Messaline".

(g) *Olivia's household*. Assuming that Shakespeare founded Illyria from Epidamnus, he would have looked to the mother-town for some of the inhabitants and their customs. There is a good deal of banqueting in Epidamnus, and some talk of law-suits. And there is one important character whom Shakespeare had not used already in *CE*. This is the parasite, Peniculus or "Brush", a greedy drinker and a schemer. He pushes himself on the courtesan's house, urges his patron to dance at one point (*Men.*, I. iii. 197—cp. *TN*, I. iii. 143), and elsewhere provokes Menaechmus of Syracuse. And he seems to be reincarnated in the person of Sir Toby.

Secondly, there are the episodes of feigned inspiration, or frenzy, in *Men.*, V, with a comic doctor and a scuffle over the wrong twin. Shakespeare had used these already in *CE*, IV. iv (cp. note 28, above), but there was no reason why he should not use them again. They could well have furnished hints for the duel scene with its "devils" in *TN* and the scene of Malvolio and Sir Topas.

Moreover, anyone approaching the Viola story by way of Plautus would be inclined to give more prominence to the second heroine (the supposed "courtesan" of the Italian tales) and her companions. And in fact, Olivia and her household, in their actions towards Sebastian, reproduce very closely the actions of the courtesan, her servants, and the parasite in *Men.*, without any hint of indebtedness to *G'Ingannati*, *Riche*, or the transformed Plautine incidents of *CE*. These considerations need not imply that Shakespeare imagined Olivia and her household simply as afterthoughts to the Plautine twin; but they do seem to suggest how, once he had begun thinking about the material in Plautus, the whole of his composition could have fallen into shape.

Finally, (h) *Errors and misrule*. The circumstances of the performance of *CE* at the Gray's Inn revels of 1594 could well have suggested to Shakespeare the plan of introducing a Plautine comedy of mistaken identity into a larger framework of misrule (cp. note 8, above). He had done something like this already in *The Shrew*, where the sub-plot is a comedy of changed identities borrowed from Ariosto, and the framework story of Sly as a lord is an episode of misrule.

To sum up, it is plausible to reconstruct the composition of *TN* somewhat as follows. Reading the Viola story, in *Riche* or elsewhere, Shakespeare was struck by the notion of "error" implicit in "following them that fly from us", and this gave him the hint for Orsino and Olivia. Secondly, "error" suggested the role of Sebastian, with its Plautine farce and its romantic overtones of sea-adventure prolonged from *CE*. And the same notion of "error" also suggested the stage devices of misrule, prominent in the sub-plot of *TN* and latent in the whole play. Though it leaves much of the emotional content of *TN* untouched, this conjecture does seem to account for the way the whole stage design of the play holds so beautifully together.

# HOWV YOV OVGHT TO HOLD your penne.

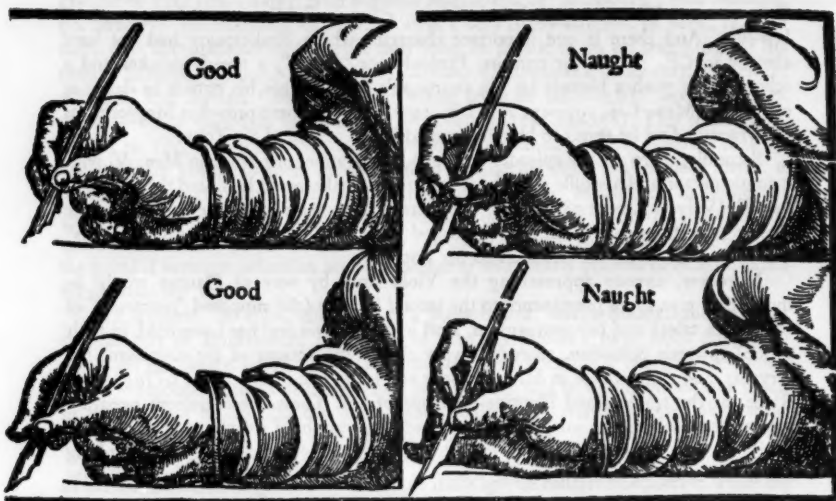


Illustration in Jean de Beau Chesne's *A New Booke, Containing All Sorts of Hands Usually Written at This Day in Christendome, as the English and French Secretary, . . . : with Examples of Each*, 1611. See p. 213.

## Francis Hayman's Illustrations of Shakespeare

W. M. MERCHANT



HE six-volume Hanmer *Shakespeare* published by Oxford in 1744 contains one of the most important collections of Hayman illustrations. A set of Hanmer in the Folger Shakespeare Library greatly extends our knowledge of Hayman, both as artist and illustrator, for it contains all Hayman's original drawings from which Gravelot engraved the frontispieces. We have therefore a unique opportunity in the history of Shakespeare illustration of seeing with exactitude the faithfulness of an engraver to his original and the subtle but cumulatively significant stylistic changes produced in the parallel work of the two men.

The interest of this set does not end there; bound in with the first volume is the text of the agreement between Hanmer and Hayman for the production of the illustrations.<sup>1</sup> It reads:

1. The said Francis Hayman is to design and delineate a drawing to be prefix'd to each Play of *Shakespeare* taking the subject of such scenes as S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer shall direct, and that he shall finish the same with Indian ink in such manner as shall be fit for an Engraver to work after them and approved by the said S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer
2. That the said S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer shall pay to the said Francis Hayman the sum of three Guineas for each drawing taking one with another as soon as the whole number shall be finished, upon this condition nevertheless and it is declared and mutually consented to that if the whole number shall not be completed in the manner before-mention'd by Lady-day which shall be in the year of our Lord 1741. The said Francis Hayman shall not be intitled to receive any payment or consideration whatsoever for any part of the said work.

Tho: Hanmer

Fr: Hayman

It would be interesting to know whether the condition in the second half of the second clause was invoked, for the illustrations show that Hayman did not in fact complete the work; the illustrations for Volume 4 are drawn and engraved by Gravelot and, unlike almost all of Hayman's drawings, are signed: "H. Gravelot inv. et delin." Though Gravelot was now engaged upon both processes, the drawings are done with all the care that Hayman gave to his originals, though Gravelot treats the actual texture and background of his own drawings with a little more freedom than he accords Hayman's. It is clear that each of the

<sup>1</sup> The agreement is reproduced in facsimile in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, IV, 286.

artists has the finished engraving in mind throughout; the drawings are almost exactly plate size, weapons are always placed on the right side of the wearer (to be reversed in the process of engraving) and the foliage and architectural backgrounds are given the kind of treatment in the drawing which corresponds to the final print from the plate.

The context of the drawings makes their interpretation especially suggestive. Hayman's close friendship with Hogarth ensured his solid grounding in the main tradition of eighteenth-century narrative painting, his friendship and long correspondence with Garrick confirmed the impulse towards theatrical drawing which he had received from Hogarth, while his collaboration with Gravelot, Grignion, and other engravers of French extraction set him in the main stream of continental rococo book-illustration. Moreover, the stylistic implications of his association with Gravelot in the Hanmer project may be tested and estimated by comparison with Gravelot's work, only a few years previously, for Theobald's *Shakespeare* in 1740; his treatment of Hayman's drawings is very clearly seen by placing side by side his engravings for both projects. There is also the very interesting question of the development of Gravelot's own technique between the work he did for Theobald and the drawings and engravings he produced on his own for the fourth volume of Hanmer. In general, Gravelot's work in the Theobald edition is weaker and more prettily decorative than in engravings from Hayman's originals, and since we should expect no startling advance in technique in four years, it would not seem unjust to ascribe some of the greater strength in his own independent work for Hanmer to the influence of Hayman. It is interesting that in only one instance does he choose the same incident from the History plays which he illustrates in both the Hanmer and Theobald editions, and this is the firm favorite from *Henry the Eighth*, the scene in which Henry confronts Wolsey with the intercepted papers. The Hanmer edition has the more generous page of the two, so that the designs could be conceived on a grander scale, but size alone does not account for the greater firmness and vigor of the execution.

In the following notes to the illustrations for the Hanmer edition I shall comment only on those drawings which have some interest in themselves and not on the engravings, which are sufficiently familiar.

The first volume contains seven comedies; the frontispieces to *The Tempest* and *Much Ado about Nothing* are not noteworthy; that to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has a finely dramatic moonlit effect which Gravelot somewhat lessens in the engraving. Gravelot also tones down the caricature in Hayman's treatment of the women in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, but on the other hand the faces in the engraving for *A Comedy of Errors* gain a little in character from Gravelot's treatment. The only conspicuous change in any plate is Gravelot's omission of three figures from the background to the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* frontispiece, clarifying and strengthening the composition. Hayman's drawing for *Measure for Measure* is the most elaborate work in the first volume (Plate 1a); it is a richly toned wash, somberly depicting an interior scene, where the stage-direction calls for "A Street".<sup>2</sup> Lucio's removal of the Duke's friar-habit

<sup>2</sup> This stage-direction is Rowe's but even in this 1709 edition in which he introduces it, the scene is depicted as an interior. Is this a continuous stage tradition? The Folio has: "Enter . . . at severall doores".



Pl. 1a. *Measure for Measure*. Francis Hayman's drawing for Hanmer's edition of Shakespeare. From the original in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

action has the dramatic meaning in mind throughout. The drawings are almost exactly plain line, except where the figures are always placed on the right side of the picture (and he is seated in the position of engraving) and the figures and architectural details are given in the form of a sketch in the drawing which corresponds to the final pose from the film.

The action of the film is such a free interpretation especially suggestive of Hayman's own work, that it is not surprising to find his work appearing in the

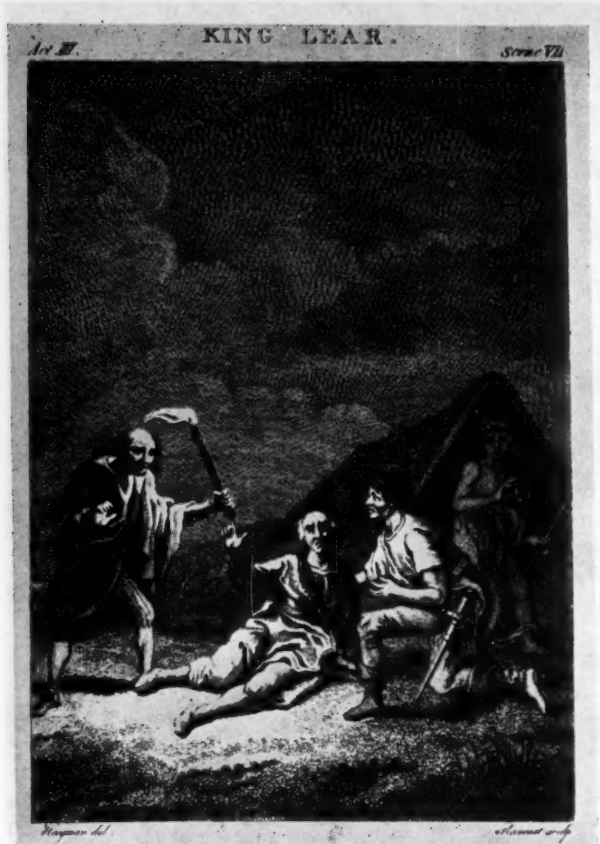


Pl. 1b. *As You Like It*. Francis Hayman's drawing for Hanmer's edition of Shakespeare. From the original in the Folger Shakespeare Library.





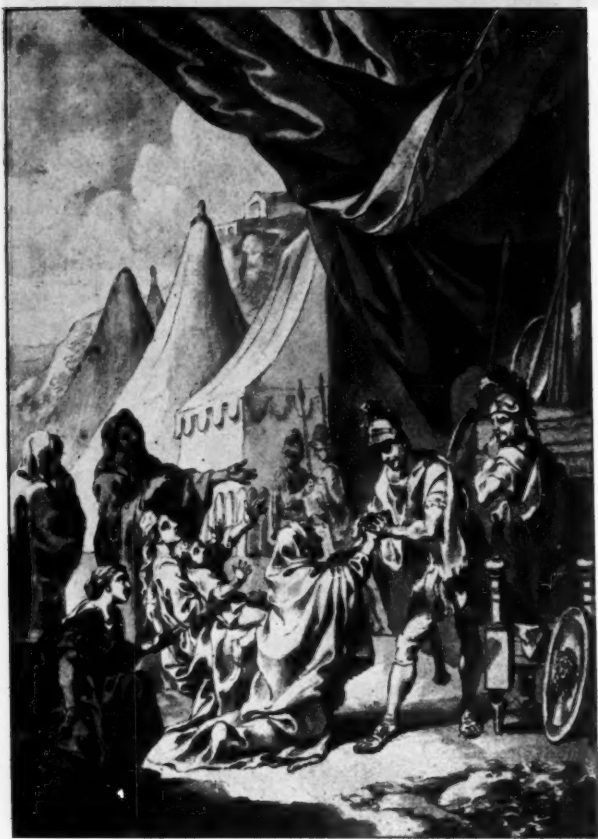
Pl. 2a. *King Lear*. Francis Hayman's drawing for Hanmer's edition of Shakespeare. From the original in the Folger Shakespeare Library.



Pl. 2b. Francis Hayman's frontispiece to *King Lear* (engraved by Ravenel), in Charles Jennens' edition (1770-1774; incomplete, only five plays published). From the copy in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

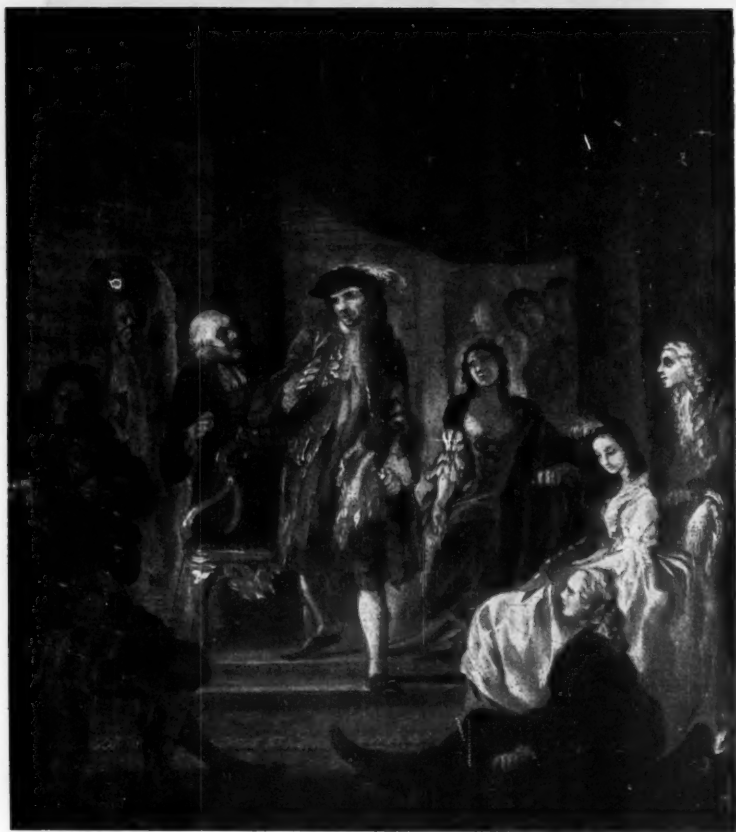


Pl. 3a. 2 *Henry IV*. Francis Hayman's drawing for Hanmer's edition of Shakespeare. From the original in the Folger Shakespeare Library.



Pl. 3b. *Coriolanus*. Francis Hayman's drawing for Hanmer's edition of Shakespeare. From the original in the Folger Shakespeare Library.





Pl. 4b. *Hamlet*. Francis Hayman's oil painting. From the original in the Folger Shakespeare Library.



is shown without false theatricality, and the chair of state, which dominates the drawing with its elaborate canopy, has the visual significance which it carries in some of the later Tragedies. The main weakness in this drawing is the unaccountable youthfulness with which Angelo is depicted.

There is only one notable drawing in the second volume of the Comedies, the frontispiece to *As You Like It* (Plate 1b). This is almost identical with an oil study reproduced as Plate 119 in Ellis Waterhouse: *Painting in Britain, 1530-1790* (The Pelican History of Art, 1953), save for the necessary adaptation of a vertical composition in the frontispiece illustration to a horizontal in the oil painting (this seems to me to be their relationship; the drawing for the engraving in Hanmer is probably the first in order, both on general grounds and from the detail that the hilt of the Duke's sword in the oil study appears on the right side, in which it also appears in the drawing, preparatory to its reversal in the engraving, when it would appear correctly on his left side).

The third volume has a great deal of interest. *King Lear* is included here as the first of the Histories and has a fine engraved frontispiece, of some importance in stage history. Garrick first performed Lear in 1742 (in March at Goodman's-Fields and again in May at Drury Lane); this drawing (Plate 2a) was made about a year later, with a grouping and stage atmosphere which anticipates the much later engraving, McArdeU's splendid mezzotint after Benjamin Wilson (1762). The costumes are closely similar, suggesting a stage performance, but in one conspicuous matter, Hayman's is not stage illustration, for the cowering Fool in his drawing has no stage counterpart between the writing of Nahum Tate's *Lear* and Macready's revival of Shakespeare's text in 1838. The Fool in this drawing has the young and vulnerable quality of the character in John Runciman's painting in 1767,<sup>8</sup> recalling the tenderness of Lear's:

In Boy, go first. You houseless povertie,  
Nay get thee in; Ile pray, and then Ile sleepe.

The drawing for the *King John* frontispiece has much more character than Gravelot conveys in the engraving; this is tragedy where Gravelot renders pathos. He has similarly reduced the element of caricature in the drawing of *1 Henry the Fourth*, in which Mistress Quickly is especially lively. "Falstaff recruiting" from *2 Henry the Fourth* (Plate 3a) shows Hayman's greatest debt to Hogarth (it is the only drawing in the series which Hayman signed); a cynical Falstaff, the toothless garrulity of Shallow, and the fat and placid pipe-smoking Silence are in the Hogarth tradition, but Hayman failed to take the interest in the recruits that Hogarth showed.

The illustrations in the fourth volume are entirely the work of Gravelot. It is difficult to see why Hayman should have failed in his contract at this point. The frontispieces seem all to have been engraved in correct sequence, and the drawings in Volumes I to III are marked at the foot from a to u (the letter t may be seen in Plate 3a) and Gravelot's drawings are marked in correct series, v to z, with Hayman's drawings in Volume V resuming aa. It is of course possible that Hayman realized at this point in the work that he could not finish in time and called on his engraver's aid; certainly Gravelot made no mistake about

<sup>8</sup> Reproduced W. M. Merchant: "Runciman's Lear in the Storm" in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, XVII, Nos. 3-4 (1954).

tacitly claiming his payment by carefully signing each plate. The frontispiece to *1 Henry the Sixth* is the only one in which he allows himself any freedom between the drawing and the engraving, using a lightly dotted indication of some of the features and giving himself a fair amount of latitude with the background. In all his other drawings he provides himself with much more precise detail than he received from Hayman. His drawings are more linear, depend less for their effect upon wash than some of the finest of Hayman's, and in rendering foliage he follows his own drawings leaf by leaf (whereas Hayman had given him only the most general indications of massed clumps), a curious and seemingly unnecessary care when the artist was himself the engraver. This is especially apparent in his finest drawing, for *3 Henry the Sixth*; the design is reproduced in minute detail, for it depends for its dramatic quality on the manner in which the tragic, statuesque figures in the foreground are placed against the background of battle, the drama of which is conveyed almost wholly in the formal patterning of the spears.

The frontispiece to *Richard the Third* is an unusual subject; he depicts Act III, scene viii, "Enter Gloucester above, between two clergymen"; he had been almost equally unconventional when he illustrated the play for Theobald, when, in that edition, he showed the wooing of Anne (Act I, scene ii); moreover, the scenes, which were very infrequently selected for illustration in the eighteenth century, are themselves treated with some dramatic originality and, more particularly in the drawing for Hanmer, with a quality of vivid theatrical narrative.

With the fifth volume we return to Hayman and to the best work he produced for Hanmer. It seems to me an undoubted conclusion from these drawings that Hayman had looked carefully at the frontispieces to Rowe's *Shakespeare* of 1709. Many of his own drawings are more sensitive versions of the same scene, frequently with the same composition, as those of the earlier volumes. For *Timon of Athens* he has chosen one of the most frequently illustrated of the scenes, Timon's gold showered into the laps of Phrynia and Timandra, and this is the scene, more crudely handled, which appears in Rowe. More important is the frontispiece to *Coriolanus* (Plate 3b). Elisha Kirkall, in preparing the frontispiece for Rowe, had copied Poussin's painting of Coriolanus as he appeared in Plutarch's narrative.<sup>4</sup> Hayman, probably taking his cue from Kirkall, depicts the same scene, but there is abundant evidence, from the grouping and the individual figures, that he has gone directly back behind Kirkall's engraving (though perhaps by way of Picart's engraving) to Poussin's painting of this moment in Coriolanus' tragic downfall. His own drawing has the more spacious organization of Poussin's original, while preserving in the background some of the theatrical setting and properties which were none of Poussin's concern. It is possible in turn that Hayman was the source of J. P. Kemble's setting for *Coriolanus*, shown in Ackerman's *Microcosm of London* (1810), the Drury Lane plate. Certainly Kemble's version of the scene is nearer to Poussin (and hence to Hayman) than it is to Rowe's frontispiece.

*Julius Caesar* (the quarrel between Brutus and Cassius in Act IV) is handled with a graceful awareness of theatrical setting. In *Antony and Cleopatra* the elegance of Cleopatra and her ladies is very satisfactorily balanced by the grinning

<sup>4</sup> See W. M. Merchant, *John Rylands Library Bulletin*, September, 1954, pp. 13 ff; and "Roman Costume in Shakespearian Productions", *Shakespeare Survey* 10 (1957).

Clown with his basket containing "the pretty worm of *Nilus*". It is a pity that Gravelot loses something of both the elegance and the grotesquerie of this scene. Hayman's art is not equal to the horror of *Titus Andronicus*, though he chooses a sufficiently violent scene for his drawing, but in the closing illustration for this volume, Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking, he achieves at least the tragic pathos of the scene and the frightened recoil of the watchers.

In the final volume neither *Troilus and Cressida* nor *Cymbeline* moved Hayman to any notable interpretation, but the remaining drawings are of particular theatrical interest. The tomb burst open by Romeo is sufficiently like the set used by Garrick, as we see it in the Wilson painting (engraved in 1762 by Ravenet) to lead us to assume that this renders the stage property faithfully. The *Hamlet* drawing of the "Mousetrap" (Plate 4a) is well authenticated from other sources. Hayman's drawing is executed with unusual care and richness of texture; the only comparable plate in the series is the *Measure for Measure* in Volume I. It is doubly theatrical in that the "murder of Gonzago" is played below a musicians' gallery, while the two principal groups in the "audience" are strongly placed downstage, with Claudius the focus of interest on the left and Hamlet on the right. An oil study of this scene, reproduced by Mr. T. S. R. Boase in *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, X (1947) may be one of Hayman's paintings for the Prince's Pavilion in Vauxhall Gardens. In this oil painting the perspective is changed from that of the Hanmer plate; this is *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark, for Claudius is here the exclusive center of interest, and the "murder of Gonzago", shown exactly as in the Hanmer engraving, is drawn in the lower left hand corner of the canvas. The moment in the action, Claudius springing to his feet in dismayed guilt, is identical in both versions and the costumes are alike in each, but the oil painting has important differences. Gertrude is here a woman of more queenly dignity, and Polonius, who in the Hanmer engraving is a commonplace, periwigged courtier, is in the larger version an anxious old man, sympathetically treated by the painter.

Another small oil painting by Hayman in the Folger Library (Plate 4b) appears to be a study uniting elements from both the previous versions. It is a small canvas, 13" by 10", and in general arrangement appears to be a copy of the Vauxhall Gardens painting. Here however the dramatic composition has been sharply changed by the introduction at the lower right hand corner of a group, Hamlet, Ophelia and Horatio, in the posture and the positions which they occupy in the Hanmer plate. The execution of this small study has none of the fine detail of the larger oil, and it appears to have lost also much of the dramatic penetration of the character drawing in that canvas; but the three versions taken together are of exceptional interest in our consideration of the theatre presentation and the critical interpretation of this scene.

The scene from *Othello*, the terrible accusation of Desdemona in Act IV, scene vi, appears also to recollect the theatre in its set and grouping, though it is chiefly notable in characterization for the hypocritical turn of feature ascribed to Iago.

The play frontispieces constitute the greatest interest of this edition, but its very handsome production is enhanced by the use of tail-piece cartouches, designed and engraved by Gravelot. There are three designs, for Comedies, His-

tories, and Tragedies, and each exists in two states, each unsigned in the Comedies, one signed and the other unsigned in the Histories and Tragedies. There are no more than minor differences of size and drawing between the two versions in each case. By a fortunate chance all six copperplates survive in the possession of the Oxford University Press.

The plates used for the Comedies (Volumes I and II) are easily distinguished, though unsigned. The first state of the plate is used throughout the first volume until p. 514, the tail-piece to *Much Ado about Nothing*, for which the slightly smaller second plate is used. The two states are used in Volume II, but the second state now occurs earlier in the volume, as the tail-piece to *As You Like It*, at p. 247, and it is used for the finest page of the whole Hanmer edition, the epilogue to *All's Well that Ends Well* at p. 421, and finally at p. 600 to close the volume, as the tail-piece to *The Winter's Tale*.

Of the plates used for the Histories, one is signed and the other unsigned. The signed version is used throughout Volume III until the last page, the tail-piece to *Henry the Fifth*, and similarly in Volume IV, except for the tail-piece to the last play, when the unsigned version is used for *Henry the Eighth*.

In the two volumes of Tragedies the signed version is used throughout Volume V and again in Volume VI until the last two plays, when the tail-pieces to *Hamlet* and *Othello* are in the unsigned state.

Hayman was engaged in book illustration for some thirty years after the production of the Hanmer edition and towards the end of his life five further plates appear in the Jennens edition, in 1770-74, as frontispieces to *King Lear*, *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *Othello* and *Macbeth*.<sup>5</sup> Two of them, the plates for *Othello* and *King Lear*, raise interesting questions of dating and interpretation. Neither depicts the identical scene that Hayman handled for the Hanmer edition, and though the *Lear* drawing shows the heath scene, the composition and temper of the second drawing differ wholly from the first. Yet neither the *Othello* nor the *Lear* drawings for Jennens shows any significant development in style or approach to Shakespeare, which one might have expected from the interval of thirty years between the issues (though comparison is not made easier by the comparative crudity of the engraving in the later edition). Nor is there any indication that Hayman has been much influenced by changes in stagecraft and acting, which were many, in the intervening period. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Kalman Burnim for bringing to my attention two hitherto unpublished letters in the Folger Library, which appear to solve the problems involved with these plates.<sup>6</sup> It will be remembered that the drawings for the Hanmer edition were to satisfy Sir Thomas Hanmer on two counts: he was to choose their content ("taking the subject of such scenes as S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer shall direct") and the final execution of the drawings before they went to the engraver was to be "approved by the said S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Hanmer". Hayman was therefore subject to a certain degree of control in the design of these first illustrations. In a letter from Garrick to Hayman, written probably in the summer of 1745, there are references both to the recently published engravings for Han-

<sup>5</sup> Jennens' *Five Plays of Shakespeare*, published in two volumes: Volume I, 1770, containing *Lear* and *Hamlet* and Volume II in 1773, containing *Macbeth*, *Othello* and *Julius Caesar*. The plays in each volume are separately paged and *Lear* was separately issued. There is no general title, and Jennens died before completing his work on the other plays.

<sup>6</sup> For Mr. Burnim's treatment of the two Garrick letters, see pp. 149-152.

mer and clear anticipations of the drawings which were not to appear for another thirty years. Garrick writes:

If you intend to alter the scene in *Lear* (which by the by cannot be mended either in design or execution) what think you of the following one. Suppose *Lear* mad, upon the ground, with *Edgar* by him; his attitude should be leaning upon one hand & pointing wildly towards the Heavens with the other. *Kent* & *Footman* attend him, & *Gloster* comes to him with a Torch; the real Madness of *Lear*, the frantick affection of *Edgar*, & the different looks of concern in the three other carracters, will have a fine effect. Suppose you express *Kent*'s particular care & Distress by putting him upon one knee begging & entreating him to rise & go with *Gloster*. but I beg pardon for pretending to give you advice in these affairs.

Comparison of these suggestions with the finished plate for the Jennens *Lear* (Plate 2b) shows that Hayman took the whole of Garrick's advice. This drawing, unlike any other version of the scene of which I am aware, shows *Lear* in the attitude which Garrick suggests, and a sentence from another letter from Garrick to his "Dear Frank" Hayman, dated "Aug<sup>t</sup>. ye 18<sup>th</sup> 1746", raises the most attractive possibilities: Garrick is again clearly referring to the Hanmer drawings and their possible re-interpretation, this time in relation to *Othello*. After describing with the same care he had given to *King Lear* the scene after the murder of *Desdemona* (which Hayman does not use in the Hanmer edition and which he does use in the Jennens plate) he goes on:

I shall better make you conceive my Notion of this Attitude & Expression when I see you . . . *Iago* . . . gnawing his Lip in Anger at his wife; but likewise will be describ'd better by giving you the expression when I see you.

If the earlier plates were dictated in some part of their interpretation by the essentially literary approach of Hanmer, this is the happiest evidence that the second group of plates were a faithful rendering of Garrick's interpretation.

There remains the puzzling gap between the date of these letters and the production of the final group of Hayman illustrations for Jennens. Without further evidence as valuable as this initial material discussed by Mr. Burnim, it is not possible to do more than conjecture; but it seems likely that Garrick was stimulating Hayman to a further active concern with the Vauxhall Gardens project, in which he was already engaged.<sup>7</sup> We have seen that some of his designs are reflected in the Hanmer plates; it is possible that these two drawings for *Othello* and *Lear* were preliminary studies for further Vauxhall Gardens paintings which were not carried through at the time but came to his hand as fortunate material for engraving many years later when he required material for a new edition of Shakespeare.

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<sup>7</sup> See J. G. Southworth: *Vauxhall Gardens* (Columbia University Press, 1941), p. 42; and T. S. R. Boase: "Illustrations of Shakespeare's Plays in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, X (1947), 98-91.





# The Significance of Garrick's Letters to Hayman

KALMAN A. BURNIM



WO letters by David Garrick to the artist-scenographer Francis Hayman are significant not only for the clue they provide to several fascinating aspects of Hayman's career as a Shakespeare illustrator, but also for the exciting possibilities they suggest in recording the history of eighteenth-century theatrical production. The first letter contains the advice for any future illustration for *King Lear* and at the same time illuminates several events of Garrick's early career:

I should have perform'd my promise of writing to you sooner, could I have sent you a Letter either of Fun or Business. The dullness of this place does not afford matter for the first, & I have been too much harried by Fishing Feasting &c. to sit down to the last. M<sup>r</sup> Windham is now with me, we have had much talk about you & your performances & both agree the scheme of the six pictures from Shakespear will be an excellent & advantageous one. I sent him some few Remarks upon 'em some time agoe, but you was not in Town & he has not seen you since. . . if you intend altering the scene in Lear (which by the by cannot be mended either in design or execution) what think you of the following one. Suppose Lear mad, upon the ground, with Edgar by him; his attitude should be leaning upon one hand & pointing wildly towards the Heavens with the other. Kent & Footman attend him, & Gloster comes to him with a Torch; the real Madness of Lear, the frantick affectation of Edgar, & the different looks of concern in the three other carracters, will have a fine effect. suppose you express Kent's particular care & distress by putting him upon one knee begging & entreating him to rise & go with Gloster. but I beg pardon for pretending to give you advice in these affairs, you may thank yourself for it, it is your Flattery has made me impertinent. The Scene you chose for Othello strikes me more & more, & I think cannot be alter'd for the better, 'tis a glorious subject & you will do it justice. I have many thousand things to say upon this head most of which I must defer till I see you, which I am afraid will not be for some time, however go on & prosper (I need not wish you success you must have it) & all my endeavours to forward it are sincerely at your service. I have receiv'd a most surprizing epistle from M<sup>r</sup> Lacy, full of false accusations many of 'em contradictory, & interspers'd with low, weak, calumny & defamation . . . he has sent me an offer of 900L for three years, to come into a generall article to be obliged to play whenever he pleases, all which I have rejected. I won't agree for 3 years I will have the salary I have had hitherto, & all my arrears shall be paid, I am not able to act two nights successively two principal carracters. I endeavour'd at it last sea-

son (contrary to my agreement) in King John, Tancred, &c & the whole town knows the consequence. in short notwithstanding Lacy's complaints I promoted the interest of the managers beyond my ability & when M<sup>r</sup> Sheridan & M<sup>rs</sup> Cibber did not play I did my utmost. he accuses me of making interest in Ireland to act there, when I knew I was in articles with him. . . . I have had offers since, which I have not accepted of nor will provided I am not forc'd there by ill usage in England. . . . I am sure you are sensible I have acted right, & what gives me great satisfaction is that I have transacted nothing with M<sup>r</sup> Lacy without witness. . . . have you finish'd my picture yet? D<sup>r</sup> Newton has been here & prais'd it extravagantly. your drawings for Milton will do you great service, I have promis'd the Doctor to read the third book & give him my opinion for the Drawing, which I'll send you. The Country is much allarm'd by the Rebels, for my own part I have little fear of them & intend offering my service as a volunteer as I have no other engagements upon me, & cannot be better employed. . . .<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the biographical facts, most fortunate is it that in this letter Garrick offers what must be regarded as a valid description of his staging of the heath scene in *King Lear*. Lear was his greatest triumph, reputedly unsurpassed by any actor before or since. James Beattie's diary entry for May 26, 1773, echoes the tenor of critical acclaim: "Garrick's action in the most difficult character transcends all praise. The many tears shed by the audience bore ample testimony to his and to Shakespear's merit."<sup>2</sup> The merit, indeed, was mostly Garrick's, for Shakespeare's sublime effort, it will be recalled, had been hopelessly diluted by Nahum Tate, whose version Garrick was playing at the time he wrote this letter to Hayman; although Garrick had restored much of Shakespeare to the play when Beattie saw it in 1773 (also about the time Hayman did the illustrations for the Jennens edition), too many of the abortive alterations such as the Cordelia-Edgar liaison and the happy ending were still to be found. Garrick had considered restoring the Fool, but finally decided against "so bold an attempt."<sup>3</sup> The letter to Hayman and the resultant illustration, then, delineate

<sup>1</sup> Holograph letter in the Folger Shakespeare Library, MS. V. a. 11. Although the letter is undated it can be assigned with some certainty from the internal evidence to late October of 1745, when Garrick was at Bath supposedly recovering from an illness. His companion mentioned in the letter was William Windham, whose diary places him with Garrick at Bath at the time; a picture painted by Hayman of these two friends seated in the foreground of a pleasant landscape probably dates from this time (see Robert W. Ketton-Cremer, *The Early Life and Diaries of William Windham* [London, 1930], p. 40, and a letter from Lord Rockford, October 17, 1745, in *Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, I, 35-36,—"I heard from Wyndham last week, and he tells me he is going to Bath along with you."). The "last season" referred to in the letter was clearly that of 1744-45, when James Lacy assumed the management of Drury Lane, and Thomas Sheridan came over from Dublin to play with Garrick and Mrs. Cibber. The letter reveals that the real reason Garrick failed to open the 1745-46 season at Drury Lane was not that "he was still only recovering slowly from his illness" (Percy Fitzgerald, *Life of David Garrick* [London, 1899], p. 86), but rather that he had been unable to settle a satisfactory contract with Lacy. His health prevented neither his considering military service nor his accepting Sheridan's offer to finish out the season in Dublin (he arrived there November 24, 1745). Although the letter from Lacy has apparently not survived, Garrick's answer is preserved in the Yale Library Rare Book Room. Despite his difficulties with James Lacy at this juncture, two years later they joined in partnership of Drury Lane, an association which except for several minor incidents was distinguished by its remarkable harmony and success for twenty-seven years.

<sup>2</sup> James Beattie's *London Diary* (Aberdeen, 1946), p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies* (London, 1784), II, 172.

the second storm scene as presented in the Tate version, where Gloster seeks to carry Lear to shelter:

*Kent.* Good my Lord, take his Offer.

*Lear.* First let me talk with this Philosopher.

*Glost.* Beseech you, Sir, go with me. . . .

*Kent.* His Wits are quite unsettled; good Sir, lets force him hence. . . .

*Glost.* Now, I prithee, Friend, let's take him in our Arms, and carry him where he shall meet both Welcome and Protection. Good Sir, along with us.<sup>4</sup>

At this point in the action Garrick introduced the business of falling asleep which required him to be carried off the stage for an effective exit.<sup>5</sup>

Although there are numerous accounts of Garrick's acting in the role, in few instances are we presented with specific details of staging.<sup>6</sup> In this case the fortunate letter to Hayman, the subsequent plate, and the Tate text all happily conspire to render a unique tableau of the stage action.

The second letter to Hayman, dated August 18, 1746, performs a similar service for *Othello*:

. . . The last Time I saw you the Scheme of the Six Prints from Shakespear seem'd to be resolv'd upon. . . . You have often flatter'd me by approving of some Notions of mine upon that affair, you shall command Me whenever you please (bodily & mentally) & nothing will give me so much satisfaction as Contributing my Mite to so agreeable an undertaking, I shall now send you my Thoughts of Othello. The Scene w<sup>th</sup> in my Opinion will make the best Picture, is that point of Time in the last act, when Emilia discovers to Othello his Error about the Handkerchief

Emil.—oh thou dull Moor! That Hankerchief &c.

Here at once the Whole Catastrophe of the play is unravell'd & the Groupe of Figures in this Scene with their different Expressions will produce a finer Effect in painting, than perhaps any other in all Shakespear, tho as yet never thought of by any of the Designers who have publish'd their several Prints from y<sup>e</sup> same author. The back ground you know must be Desdemona murder'd in her bed; the Characters upon the Stage are Othello, Montano, Gratiano & Iago: Othello (y<sup>e</sup> Principal) upon y<sup>e</sup> right hand (I believe) must be Thunderstruck into Horror, his Whole figure extended, w<sup>th</sup> his Eyes turn'd up to Heav'n & his Frame sinking, as it were at Emilia's Discovery. I shall better make you conceive my Notion of this Attitude & Expression when I see you; Emilia must appear in the utmost Vehemence, with a Mixture of Sorrow on Account of her Mistress, & I believe should be in y<sup>e</sup> middle; Iago on y<sup>e</sup> left hand should express the greatest perturbation of mind, & should Shrink up his Body, at y<sup>e</sup> opening of his Villany, with his Eyes looking askance (as Milton terms it) on Othello, & gnawing his Lip in Anger at his Wife; but likewise will be describ'd

<sup>4</sup> Act II, scene iii. For Garrick's later restorations to this play see George Winchester Stone, "Garrick's Production of King Lear", *Studies in Philology*, XLV (January 1948), 89-103.

<sup>5</sup> Charles Macklin termed the falling asleep "a mere trick in acting", devised by Garrick to gain the advantage over Barry, who was too big a man to "be carried off the stage with the same ease that he could." See James Kirkman, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin* (London, 1799), II, 257.

<sup>6</sup> Arthur Colby Sprague, *Shakespearean Players and Performances* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953), pp. 21-40.

better by giving you the Expression when I see you. The other less capital Characters must be affected according to y<sup>e</sup> Circumstances of the Scene, & as they are more or less concern'd in y<sup>e</sup> Catastrophe: I could say a great Deal upon the Choice of this Scene, but I hate writing. . . . I am in some doubt whether you should not have Shakespear's Words engrav'd at y<sup>e</sup> bottom of Each Print, that have reference to it. . . .<sup>7</sup>

Again, as the Reverend Mr. Merchant has shown, Hayman executed his plate for this scene with keen regard for Garrick's counsel. Garrick had not been notably successful as Othello, and by the time he wrote to Hayman he had played the role for the last time (June 20, 1746, at Covent Garden), but the play made its periodic appearance on his stage during the twenty-nine years of his management, sometimes with him as Iago; so perhaps it would not be rash to presume that as stage-director he mounted the final scene in the manner prescribed to Hayman.

The reputation of Garrick in his own time was so phenomenal as to be almost mythical. Consequently his influence on the literary as well as the theatrical production of Shakespeare was substantial.<sup>8</sup> So notable an editor as George Steevens found it necessary to acknowledge the inspiration frequently supplied by Roscius: "often when I have taken my pen in hand to try to illustrate a passage I have thrown it down again with discontent when I remembered how able you were to clear that difficulty by a single look, or particular modulation of voice."<sup>9</sup> It may be logically expected that artists bent on graphic renditions of familiar scenes from Shakespeare or other dramatists would also turn with profit to Garrick and the Drury Lane stage for inspiration and subject matter; and as editorial efforts frequently reflect in detail Garrick's interpretation of certain passages or scenes, so might many illustrations reflect in similar detail what the artist saw on the stage.

These two letters to Hayman testify that at least two eighteenth-century illustrations of Shakespeare can be esteemed valid theatrical documents, not only in stage composition but in matters of expression and attitude as well. Reconstructions of other Garrick productions (such as *Macbeth*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *The Chances*, and *Zara*) effected by a coalescence of texts, reviews, eye-witness accounts, and promptbooks indicate that many other illustrations, generally viewed as creations of the artistic imagination, actually assume the quality of photographs or scenographic designs.<sup>10</sup> As such they represent a provocative and invaluable fertile area of source materials for the theatre historian.

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<sup>7</sup> Holograph letter in the Folger Shakespeare Library, Case II, folder 6, 746.

<sup>8</sup> See George Winchester Stone, "David Garrick's Significance in the History of Shakespearean Criticism", *PMLA*, LXV (March 1950), 183-197.

<sup>9</sup> *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick*, I, 216-217.

<sup>10</sup> Especially the illustration of Garrick and Bellamy in the tomb scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, engraved by Ravenet after a painting by Wilson, 1763; and Garrick and Mrs. Pritchard in *Macbeth*, a mezzotint by Green after a painting by Zoffany, 1776.

# The Repetitions in Antony's Death Scene

MARY OLIVE THOMAS



LATELY editors of *Antony and Cleopatra* have been troubled by repetitions in the scene where Antony is drawn into the monument to die in Cleopatra's arms (IV. xv).<sup>1</sup> These were first pointed out, apparently, by Bernard Jenkin,<sup>2</sup> who noted two pairs of repetitions: (1) Cleopatra's request for help, lines 12-13,

Helpe *Charmian*, helpe *Iras* helpe: helpe Friends  
Below, let's draw him hither<sup>3</sup>

and lines 29-31,

Helpe me my women, we must draw thee up:  
Assist good Friends;

(2) Antony's words, "I am dying Egypt, dying," at line 18 and again at 41. Jenkin regarded them as evidence of revision by Shakespeare:

Surely . . . there were two versions of the beginning of this scene, and . . . both versions (or parts of both) have got into the First Folio in a confused form. (P. 2)

He attributed the revision to Shakespeare's awareness of the staging problem:

Shakespeare had to write a second version, because by following North too closely, he ran up against the difficulty of having to heave Antony aloft in sight of the audience. (Pp. 4-5)

Dover Wilson, agreeing with Jenkin that the duplications were evidence of textual disturbance, thought they were the work of a cutter's hand—possibly Shakespeare's but more probably a prompter's who sought to abbreviate performance time (pp. 128-130). He suggested that the cutter marked for deletion lines 13-21, i.e., from Antony's "Peace" through Cleopatra's "assist good Friends", and that he indicated the cut by placing in the margin a version of lines 30-31 (the present second request for help) which now appears as lines 12-13 (the present first request).

But Wilson's argument is considered weak by M. R. Ridley, who avers:

It posits an unskilful, and even silly, cutter, who gave himself more trouble than there was any need for. Why did he not simply stop his cut at the

<sup>1</sup> J. D. Wilson, *Antony and Cleopatra* (Cambridge, 1950), pp. 128-130; M. R. Ridley, *Antony and Cleopatra* (London [1954]), pp. 195-196, 198.

<sup>2</sup> "Antony and Cleopatra: Some Suggestions on the Monument Scenes", *RES*, XXI (January, 1945), 1-14.

<sup>3</sup> I quote from J. D. Wilson's facsimile of the Folio text (Boston and New York, 1929); line numbers are those of the Globe edition.

end of line 29 (*Antony*), and relieve himself of the job of rewriting Shakespeare for the insertion at line 12? (P. 196)

His alternative is that Shakespeare, after writing lines 9-13,

then saw the advantage of a brief interchange before the hoisting up, and wrote line 13 (Peace!) —31 (*good friends*); and that either he forgot to delete the now worse than unwanted *Help Charmian . . . higher*, or his indications of deletion were neglected.

Ridley, however, does not entirely eliminate the cutter:

We shall still need the cutter to account for the repetition of Antony's *I am dying, Egypt, dying* (if we are determined to be rid of its second occurrence . . . line 41 . . .).

He summarizes and comments on Wilson's view:

The cutter, feeling that he had left Antony's dying condition insufficiently stressed, lifted a significant phrase from the cut (line 18) and inserted it. If one accepts the general hypothesis of the cut, this seems convincing. (P. 198)

But can we not entirely discount this second hand which Ridley grudgingly allows and the presence of which, Wilson admitted,<sup>4</sup> contravenes other evidence concerning the nature of the Folio copy? Ridley's willingness to retain the cutter derives from a conviction that the lines following the second "I am dying" are less effective than those accompanying the first and that Shakespeare would not thus weaken the phrase. But this position is peculiarly vulnerable; an assumption of Shakespearian infallibility is not adequate support for arguing the presence of a second hand.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, if the second occurrence of "I am dying" were suspected to be first in order of composition, would this intrusion be desired or permissible?

Some suggestion on the composition order and the question of authorship is gained from examining the two sets of lines in relation to Plutarch's narrative. The second set embodies action indicated and explained by Plutarch:

*Antonius . . . called for wine, either because he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had dronke, he earnestly prayed her. . . .*<sup>6</sup>

The play improves on this:

I am dying Egypt, dying.  
Give me some Wine, and let me speake a little. (IV.xv.41-42)

<sup>4</sup> He wrote: "While agreeing with Dr Greg that F. was not printed from a prompt-copy, I fancy that a couple of small repetitions in the first monument scene (4.15) may be traces of the prompter's hand" (p. 128). Greg, in turn, agrees with Wilson that cutting is evidenced, but he thinks that the prompter is to be discounted. Indeed, he regards this "remarkable passage" as confirmation of his idea that the copy was Shakespeare's foul papers (*The Shakespeare First Folio* [Oxford, 1955], pp. 402-403).

<sup>5</sup> L. Abercrombie noted that the attitude typical of romantic criticism is by no means limited to it: "We do not now talk about divinity; we admit that Shakespeare, being a man, might err as an artist; but apparently there is a limit: if he err too much, once more from dislike we proceed to rejection" ("A Plea for the Liberty of Interpreting", *Proceedings of the British Academy*, XVI [London, 1930], 149).

<sup>6</sup> I quote from the University Microfilm (no. 15283) of *The Lives of the noble Grecians and Romanes* (London, 1579), p. 1006 E-F.



Whoever wrote the speech was transforming Plutarch. To replace Plutarch's reason for Antony's requesting wine by the new dying-wine-speaking association—especially fitting after Antony's previous, "Oh quicke, or I am gone" (IV. xv. 31) and Cleopatra's "Quicken with kissing" (IV. xv. 39)—is not the work of an inept hand; nor is the second "I am dying" speech intrinsically weak.

Further, not only is the request for wine derived from Plutarch, but also its context, for it appears in a section of the scene which follows the history rather closely. From Cleopatra's speech beginning:

I dare not Deere,  
Deere my Lord pardon: I dare not,  
Least I be taken (IV. xv. 21-23)<sup>7</sup>

through Antony's last words (IV. xv. 51-59) the sequence is that of the history, with slight additions and changes, and Antony's final speech closely parallels that in the history.

On the other hand, the first "I am dying" speech, which Ridley considers "so immeasurably more effective", occurs where the writer is departing from the history. Indeed, in one instance, he is contradicting both it and later lines in the scene. Antony's explanation,

Not Caesars Valour hath o'rethrowne *Anthony*,  
But *Anthony's* hath Triumpht on it selfe (IV. xv. 14-15)

is in accord with earlier Shakespearian additions,<sup>8</sup> but it is in contradiction with:

A Roman, by a Roman  
Valiantly vanquish'd. (IV. xv. 57-58)

This last corresponds to Plutarch's report that Antony said he was overcome, "valiantly, A Romane by an other Romane" (p. 1007A). One assertion, then, is related to the history by parallelism, the other by inversion. The later one states

<sup>7</sup> This speech comes in with curious abruptness. Jenkin, for one, queried: "What is it that she dare not do? Surely not to receive Antony's last kiss?" (p. 2). He noted that editors have found difficulty in "the inconsequence of Cleopatra's speech 'I dare not—'. . . . Emendations make Antony tell Cleopatra to 'come down'; or Cleopatra to say that she 'dare not descend', 'dare not open the door' and so on" (p. 12).

Jenkin suggested that the speech was appropriate in Shakespeare's first version of the scene in which, he hypothesized, Cleopatra was in her monument, the inner stage, separated from Antony by only a gate. Cleopatra's "I dare not—" is her reply to Antony's "implied request (a more definite one may have got lost)" (p. 4) that she open the gate.

Recently, a similar suggestion has been made: "The line is interpretable only on the assumption that something on the stage below her, something tangible and visible which Antony can designate by a mere gesture, without spoken word, stands for the difference between her capture and her security. . . . Perhaps the wounded man, dreading the agony of being hauled up by ropes, has made a sign toward them: perhaps one of the guards has knocked or rattled on them. At all events, the meaning is clear, and clearly accords with the line in North's Plutarch, 'Cleopatra would not open the gates'" (Irwin Smith, "Gates" on Shakespeare's Stage", *SQ*, VII (Spring, 1956), 168.

<sup>8</sup> Compare

she which by her death, our Caesar telles  
I am Conqueror of my selfe (IV. xiv. 61-62),

and

Thou strik'st not me,  
'Tis Caesar thou defeat'st (IV. xiv. 68),

and possibly

And with those hands that graspt the heaviest Club,  
Subdue my worthiest selfe (IV. xii. 46-47).

that Antony was valiantly overcome by Caesar; the first that he was *not* overcome by Caesar—that he was conquered by himself.

A similar relation of parallelism and inversion is to be seen in the two "I am dying" speeches. The first seems to have connections with the passage from Plutarch which underlies the second, but at a removal in another direction. It introduces the passage:

onely  
I heere importune death a-while, untill  
Of many thousand kisses, the poore last  
I lay upon thy lippes. (IV. xv. 19-21)

The wine does not appear, but Antony's "I heere importune death a-while" has an inverse relation to Plutarch's suggestion that perhaps Antony called for wine "to hasten his death". And the two "I am dying" speeches are similar in pattern: wine/importuning will hold off death long enough for speaking/kissing. Could it not be that their similarities and differences result from their being products of the same mind, with the first speech, further removed from Plutarch and occurring in a sequence departing from the history, written later than the second?

The suggestion that interpolation is a more likely explanation of the textual peculiarities than cutting seems to be reinforced when the scene is analyzed from the theatrical standpoint. Consideration of how the scene is to be staged throws a coloring of unrealism about Wilson's proposed cut of seventeen lines. Granted that the play is long, what is the likelihood that abridgment would come where the staging is most complicated? If Cleopatra and her women are to draw up<sup>9</sup> the dying Antony either to a window stage, as Adams envisages,<sup>10</sup> or to a temporary structure on the outer stage, as Wilson and also Hodges suggest,<sup>11</sup> the operation would not be easy. Nor, it would seem, so quickly performed as to be completed during the six or so lines which the proposed cut of seventeen lines (13-31) leaves to be spoken between "let's draw him hither" (13) and "welcome, welcome" (38). The accomplishment of the various processes of lowering and attaching the rope, or whatever is used, and of drawing up the body in so short a space would be quite a feat.

Such a practical view of the operation has corroboration of a sort in a contemporary poetic document, the *Cleopatra* of Samuel Daniel. Whether or not there is a reflection of an actual performance of this scene in passages which Daniel added to his 1607 edition, recently suggested as a possibility,<sup>12</sup> the action as described there is interesting in its emphasis on the difficulty of the drawing-up process. Daniel may or may not have witnessed a performance of Shakespeare's play—his familiarity with the play in some form seems likely from the nature of his 1607 revisions<sup>13</sup>—but he was the writer of court masques, and

<sup>9</sup> Jenkin's argument that in Shakespeare's final version Antony was not to be drawn up, but was to be concealed on the upper stage and be lifted into view by stagehands at line 38, seems both too complicated and too inconclusive to set aside what is clearly called for in the text.

<sup>10</sup> John C. Adams, *The Globe Playhouse* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 346.

<sup>11</sup> J. D. Wilson, p. 230; C. Walter Hodges, *The Globe Restored* (London [1953]), pp. 58-60. See Irwin Smith, p. 168, for a brief survey of suggestions on the staging.

<sup>12</sup> Joan Rees, "An Elizabethan Eyewitness of *Antony and Cleopatra*?" *Shakespeare Survey* 6 (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 91-93.

<sup>13</sup> R. H. Case thought the changes—the increased use of dialogue, the expansion and addition of

the concrete detail he offers could therefore be significant. The body was lifted by "rowles of taffatie"; Charmian and Iras "Tug'd at the pulley"; when the body was half-way up, the women were unable to do more and "The frame stood still."<sup>14</sup> The gradualness of the procedure is especially emphasized:

When *Cleopatra* all her strength thereto  
 Puts, with what vigor love and care could use,  
 So that it mooves againe, and then againe  
 It comes to stay. When she afresh renewes  
 Her hold, and with reinforced power doth straine,  
 And all the weight of her weake bodie laies,  
 Whose surcharg'd heart more then her body wayes.  
 At length shee wrought him up.

The probable slowness of the drawing-up on any stage makes it seem likely that Shakespeare intended most of the lines to stand as we now have them, even the repetitions of the requests for help. Indeed, it could be argued that in the prolonged process the first request for help accompanies the lowering and fastening of the rope and the second comes when the drawing-up is near enough completion that the dramatist can afford to center audience attention directly on the mechanical process without fear that interest in how the thing is done will break the mood. This is to accept the present order of the lines as the order of composition and to regard the repetitions as Shakespeare's employment of rhetorical figures, *epimone*, for example, at a time when he wishes to heighten effect and evoke compassion. If repetitions alone are considered, taste is perhaps the only arbiter. But when to the repetitions are added the other factors dividing the scene in two sections—the alternate independence of and dependence on Plutarch's sequence, the abruptness with which Cleopatra's "I dare not" speech comes in, the relation of Antony's two "I am dying" speeches, and the contradiction in the two views of his being vanquished—the case for interpolation seems the stronger. Perhaps the present reading resulted from the printer's ignoring minor deletions, or perhaps Shakespeare, as in other places, was not bothered by minor unevennesses.

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roles, the addition of at least one incident and several new verbal parallels—probably resulted from the stimulus of Shakespeare's play. See *The Tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra* (London [1906]), pp. 9-12.

<sup>14</sup> *The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Samuel Daniel*, edited by A. B. Grosart (London, 1885), III, 8.

A. a. b. b. c. c. d. d. e. e. f. f. f. f. g. g. h. h. i. i. j. j.  
k. k. l. l. m. m. n. n. o. o. p. p. q. q. r. r. s. s. t. t. u. u.  
v. v. w. w. x. x. y. y. z. z. 8. 8.



As the cleauesse of the eyes reioyseth the herte,  
so doeth a good name fede the bones. the care that  
harkeneth to the reformation of lyfe, shall dwell  
amonge the wyse. he that refuseth to be reformed,  
despyseth his own soule. god is mine onely trust.

A b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s t u v x y z z

An example of what some writing masters called "La Bastarde Angloise", de Beau Chesne's *A New Booke* (1611). See p. 213.

# The Elizabethan Rejection of Judicial Astrology and Shakespeare's Practice

WARREN D. SMITH



THE erroneous impression of the status of the occult *judicial* branch, as distinct from the scientific *natural* branch, of astrology in Shakespeare's England created by modern criticism warrants a thorough examination of the pronouncements of the period along with a detailed study of the consequent practice, if not the personal conviction, of its leading dramatist. Though Elizabethans seem to have been perfectly aware of the distinction between the new science and the ancient superstition, their writings habitually include under the general term *astrology* what is known today as astronomy, or, as is the case with Shakespeare, misname as *astronomy* what is really judicial astrology. Hence our discussion should begin with a definition like that to be found in *O.E.D.*, which clearly distinguishes between the two contrasting divisions:

a. *Natural Astrology*: the calculation and foretelling of natural phenomena, as the measurement of time, fixing of Easter, prediction of tides and eclipses; also of meteorological phenomena. *Obs.* . . . b. *Judicial Astrology*: the art of judging of the reputed occult and non-physical influences of the stars and planets upon human affairs; star-divination, astromancy. (The only meaning of "Astrology" since end of 17th c.).

Confusion in terminology, on the other hand, cannot be said to explain the injudicious assumptions of modern critics<sup>1</sup> that Elizabethans of all classes, irrespective of position or training, endorsed the tenets of judicial astrology<sup>2</sup> and that Shakespeare himself, as a typical man of his age, reflects the belief throughout his works.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> My study was completed before the publication, by the Huntington Library, of Paul H. Kocher's book, *Science and Religion in Elizabethan England*, 1953, which, in the main, is an attempt to establish an alliance between the two fields featured in the title. Though nothing of moment in this article is duplicated by the book, Kocher, unlike all earlier writers, argues that Elizabethan religion joined forces with science particularly in opposition to judicial astrology. See, especially, Chapter 10, "Astrological Fate", pp. 201-224.

<sup>2</sup> See Felix E. Schelling, *Shakespeare and 'Demi-Science'*, 1927, pp. 158-159; Hugh De Lacy, "Astrology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser", *JEGP*, XXXIII (1934), 524-526; Hardin Craig, *The Enchanted Glass* (1936), pp. 40-41; Cumberland Clark, *Shakespeare and Science* (1929), pp. 40-41 and 59; Carroll Camden, "Astrology in Shakespeare's Day", *Isis*, XIX (1933), 46 and 73; E. M. W. Tillyard, *The Elizabethan World Picture* (1944), p. 48; D. C. Allen, *The Star-Crossed Renaissance* (1941), pp. 159-160, 181-182, and 185-186; and E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies* (1927), p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> See Ruth L. Anderson, "Elizabethan Psychology and Shakespeare's Plays", *U. of Iowa Humanistic Studies*, III (1928), 4; Walter C. Curry, *Shakespeare's Philosophical Patterns* (1937), Intro., p. x; Willard Farnham, *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (1936), pp. 102-103; William S. Kennedy, "Shakespeare's Astronomy", *Poet-lore* (July, 1907), pp. 376-377; D. C. Allen, *The Star-Crossed Renaissance* (1941), pp. 149, 165-166, 167, 183-184, and 246; and E. E. Stoll, *Shakespeare Studies* (1927), pp. 229-230, 240, 243, and 249-250.

In opposing the prevailing opinion I intend to demonstrate that both Church and State, in accordance with tradition, condemned the doctrine as sacrilegious and treasonable, that evidently Queen Elizabeth and certainly King James rejected it, and that not only was Shakespeare conversant with the most important contemporary pronouncements of refutation but also, wherever he is not appropriating the occult purely for dramatic effectiveness, his work in whole evinces either indifference or hostility towards judicial astrology.

With its denial of free will, judicial astrology naturally had been opposed by the Church from the beginning. St. Augustine, formulating for Western Christianity its condemnation of divination, is said to have attacked astrology with such vehemence that "for many centuries after his day it apparently played no vital part in the life of Christian Europe."<sup>4</sup> As early as 747 in England, the Council of Clovesho<sup>5</sup> directed its bishops to call the people together and forbid, among other evils, *auguries*. Peter of Blois, Archdeacon of Bath and a favorite of Henry II, has left an interesting letter on the superstitions of his time which inveighs against figure-casters, astrologers, and wizards, concluding with the statement that "because their divination now and then comes out right heedless persons put confidence in them. But a good Christian ought not to enquire about the future: he should leave it humbly to God" (Kittredge, pp. 44-45). It can readily be demonstrated that some of the more prominent members of the Tudor clergy inherited the antipathy of their progenitors. In the *Works* published in 1550 Bishop Hooper says belief in astrology is against the first commandment, and classes as idolators those people "that superstitiously observe the course and revolution of the heavens, think they can do good or harm, give good fortune or ill, as those think and judge that elevate the figure of heaven to judge what shall follow them, when they perceive by their nativities under what sign they were born, offend against this commandment" (p. 308). Tudor clergymen sometimes appealed to secular reason as well as to religious faith. As part of an attack against the deterministic philosophy of astrology, Roger Hutchinson, who had studied at Cambridge with Cheke, Ascham, Cecil, and Grindal, exposes the encompassing impracticability of a belief in planetary influence:

You justices, sheriffs, bailiffs, and constables, why presume ye to punish evil doers? If a thief come before you, he is not to be blamed, but his destiny. If an adulterer, an idolator, an extortioner, you can lay nothing to his charge, but to the stars, which cause him to be naught, will he, nill he. No man escapeth punishment by laying of destiny for him. No officer will accept this answer of an evil doer. No master will allow his servant laying this for him, nor the mistress her maid, nor the schoolmaster his disciple, nor the merchantman his prentice. Whereof it is evident, that all men condemn this damnable opinion, by natural reason, in their deeds, albeit the words of some sound to the contrary.<sup>6</sup>

In similar vein James Pilkington,<sup>7</sup> who shortly was to become the first Protestant Bishop of Durham, appeals to the reasoning power of the reader by making

<sup>4</sup> Farnham, *Medieval Heritage*, p. 111.

<sup>5</sup> G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (1923), p. 27.

<sup>6</sup> John Bruce, ed., *Works of Roger Hutchinson*, Parker Society, 28 (1842), 79.

<sup>7</sup> James Scholefield, ed., *Works of James Pilkington*, Parker Society, 39 (1842), 17.



the beliefs in the birth-star and day-fatality cancel each other out: "If astronomers say true, every man at his birth by his constellation have divers things and desires appointed him. Why then, how can so many divers constellations in so many men at your birth agree, to make one day unlucky in your life to all men?" Secular writers, in turn, frequently based their arguments on religion. Wholly dependent upon belief in God is the thesis of Francis Cox's *Short Treatise Declaringe the Detestable Wickednesse of Magicall Sciences*, published in 1561. The worldly Henry Howard<sup>8</sup> feels that one of the means "whereby the contagion of vnlawfull Prophetes is conueyed into the mindes of mortall men, is conference with damned Spirits." In *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584, p. 116) Reginald Scot concludes a primarily logical passage condemning astrology with the pious assertion, "But I will rather beleue Paul and Peter, which say, that prophetie is the gift of God; and no worldly thing." A speech in Peele's *David and Bethsabe* (Scene xv, 86-101) expresses the protagonist's conviction that only God has control over or can forecast future events. William Covell's *Polimanteia*, printed in 1595, contains the statement (sig. B1) that "God testifieth of himselfe, that he alone knoweth things to come"; and Nashe's *Christs Teares Ouer Ierusalem* confutes astrologers by blaming the tribulations of Londoners on their own sins.<sup>9</sup> Having quoted St. Augustine in support of his condemnation in *The History of the World* (sig. B1<sup>v</sup>-B2), Raleigh comes to the orthodox conclusion: "And certainly, God which hath promised us the reward of well-doing, which Christ himself claimed at the hands of the Father, ('I have finished the Work which thou gavest me to do:') and the same God, who hath threatned unto us the sorrow and torment of Offences, could not, contrary to his merciful nature, be so unjust, as to bind us inevitably to the Destinies or Influences of the Stars, or subject our Souls to any imposed necessity."

As the Church condemned judicial astrology as a heresy, so the State considered its practice a felony. In *Astrologaster*, published in 1620, John Melton presents an account (pp. 40-41) of a figure-caster who was punished by Henry VII for having had the temerity to predict the date of the king's death. Kittredge gives instances of criminal trials of astrologers in 1382, 1401, 1441, 1477, 1538, 1551, 1554, and 1556 (pp. 81-82 and 227-230), concluding with the pertinent remark, "This brings us to the threshold of Queen Elizabeth's reign. No wonder a bill to punish propheties was debated in her first parliament (1559) and passed in her second (1563)." A comparison of the wording in the four successive bills passed by Tudor parliaments against prophesying reveals among other things a progressively sterner official attitude towards the practice of judicial astrology. The first act, of 1541, reads, in part:

Where dyvers and sondry persones, making theyre foundacon by Prophetes, . . . have dyvised descated and practiced to make folke thinke that by theyre untrew gessys it might be knowne what good or evyll things shulde coome happen or be doone, by or to suche persones as have and had noble personages of whome suche fals Prophetes hathe or shulde hereafter be set fourthe, wherby in tymes paste many noble men have suffered, . . .

<sup>8</sup> See G. L. Kittredge, "English Witchcraft and James the First", in D. G. Lyon and G. F. Moore, eds., *Studies in the History of Religions* (1912), pp. 40-41.

<sup>9</sup> See Camden, "Astrology in Shakespeare's Day", p. 36.

That if any persone or persones prynte or wryte, or ells speake sing or declare to any other persone of the King or of any other persone, after the firste daye of Julie next coomyng, any such false Prophecies . . . theeme everye such offence shalbe deamed Felonye, . . . (*Statutes of the Realm*, III, 850).

The Act of 1550 makes the two interesting additions "fantasticall and fonde Prophetes" which are made "to the greate disturbunce [*sic*] and perill of the Kings Ma<sup>tie</sup> and this his Realme" and "by reason of any tyme yere or daye name bludshed or warr" (*Statutes*, IV<sup>1</sup>, 114). Also, for the term *Felonye*—which does not seem to connote the death penalty, as it sometimes does, in the context of the 1541 Act—is substituted the specific punishment, "shall suffer ymprisonement of his body by the space of one yere w<sup>o</sup>ute baile or maynprise, and shall forfeite for every such offence the some [*sic*] of ten pounds." Permitted to lapse for a while after the accession of Elizabeth, the act was restored in 1563 (*Statutes*, IV<sup>1</sup>, 445), with the same penalty and the additional stipulation "to make anye Rebellion Insurrection Dissention losse of Lief or other Disturbance w<sup>h</sup>in this Realme and other the Quenes Dominions." The final bill, passed in 1580, not only is decidedly broader in scope than the preceding three but also carries the considerably harsher penalty of death "without any Benefite of Cleargie or Sanctuarie" (*Statutes*, IV<sup>1</sup>, 659-660). Several features of this act are of special interest: prophecy is coupled with *Witchcraft*; the phrase "within her highenesses Dominions or without" makes the law enforceable anywhere in the world; a newly specified crime is "by casting of Nativities"; and it now becomes a felony not only to set forth "howe long her Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall lyve or contynue" but also to predict "who shall raigne as King or Queene of this Realme of England after her Highenesse Decease." The political implications are tremendous. Clearly, with Mary Stuart lodged in an English prison and Catholic forces throughout Europe plotting her rescue, this was a particularly unpropitious time for astrologers, or anyone else, to make prognostications concerning Elizabeth. That the statute was framed in earnest is evidenced in several subsequent entries in the *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, the first three (II, 347 and 373 and III, 317-318) of which record criminal examinations on August 24 and December 28, 1586, and February 17, 1593. A fourth entry (IV, 42), dated May 12, 1595, is a message from a Henry Sanderson to no less a public figure than Sir Robert Cecil advising him of the apprehension of one Robert Ogleby, by direction of the Bishop of Durham. Cecil's attention is called to the fact that on an old letter found in the prisoner's pocket "is endorsed the Queen's nativity and her coronation day". Interestingly enough, Sanderson feels it relevant to add that the culprit's brother, John, "is a great Catholic, and haunts Northumberland". Without reference to the Act of 1580, Kittredge writes that the allying of prophesying with witchcraft had long been traditional in England:

For centuries the English government was about equally concerned with sorcerers and with prophets—with sorcerers because they might attempt to kill the king, with prophets (including astrologers) because they might forecast his death. . . . The connection is almost primeval, descending to the Elizabethan age by every line along which we can trace influences—English, Scandinavian, classical, Christian. (P. 226)

The connection apparently exists in the Royal Articles of 1547; in the Articles of Cranmer in 1548; of Bonner in 1554, and of White as Cardinal Pole's commissioner in 1556; in Queen Elizabeth's Articles and Injunctions in 1559; in the anonymous Interrogatories in 1560 and Parkhurst's in 1561; in Jewel's Articles in 1568, and Sandys' in 1569.

Of the twenty-one examples of the term *prophecy* in the plays of Shakespeare, the nine that represent excursions into the occult are all innocuous enough. One attributes the gift of foretelling events to the first of the stage witches, Joan Pucel (1 *Henry VI*, I.ii.55); three concern the villainous prophecy manufactured by Richard of Gloucester to imprison his innocent brother Clarence (3 *Henry VI*, V.vi.86 and *Richard III*, I.i.33 and 89); one is included in Malcolm's praise of the English king (*Macbeth*, IV.iii.157) for his "heavenly prophecies"; and the remaining four are clearly satiric—two occurring in the Fool's jibe at Merlin (*King Lear*, III.ii.80 and 95), the third in Clarence's honest expression of astonishment that King Edward should hearken "after prophecies and dreams" and "such-like toys" (*Richard III*, I.i.54 and 60), the fourth in Hotspur's slur on "the dreamer Merlin" (1 *Henry IV*, III.i.150). The four references to *sorcerer* in the plays are given in apposition with *tyrant* (*Tempest*, III.ii.49), in a harmless allusion to *Lapland* (*Errors*, IV.ii.11), in the uncomplimentary phrase "Dark-working sorcerers" (*Errors*, I.ii.99), and in a disparaging allusion to the "subtle-witted French" (1 *Henry VI*, I.i.26). It is especially interesting to discover *augurer* used in only the three Roman plays (*Julius Caesar*, II.i.200 and II.ii.37; *Antony and Cleopatra*, IV.xii.4 and V.ii.337; and *Coriolanus*, II.i.1) and *soothsayer* employed only in Roman plays (*Julius Caesar*, I.ii.19 and *Antony and Cleopatra*, I.ii.3) and, as appropriate to the dramatic context, with reference to the Roman soothsayer who accompanies Caius Lucius to Britain in *Cymbeline* (V.v.426). *Prognostication* is given only twice in the dramatist's work, in neither case with serious import: the sly glance of Charmian at the amorous desires of Iras, "if an oily palm be not a fruitful prognostication, I cannot scratch mine ear" (*Antony and Cleopatra*, I.ii.53-54) and the outrageous lie Autolycus tells the clown (*Winter's Tale*, IV.iv.17-21), that he will be blown to death by flies "in the hottest day prognostication proclaims". Even the word *prediction*—not peculiar to the jargon of astrologers, sorcerers, and prophets—is employed both sparingly and cautiously. None of the four examples in the plays (*Julius Caesar*, II.ii.28; *Macbeth*, I.iii.55; *King Lear*, I.ii.119 and 152) can be said to reflect the dramatist's belief in the efficacy of prediction. Neither *predict* nor other variants of the word appear in the plays. It would seem that in practice Shakespeare was alert to, if he did not in theory agree with, the conviction of church and government regarding prophecies.

Only ignorance of the official attitude in Elizabethan England could have trapped modern critics into making such unfounded generalizations as, "It was Queen Elizabeth and her famous astrologer, John Dee, who did more than any other person to popularize [judicial] astrology."<sup>10</sup> The tendency to overemphasize the association of Elizabeth with Dee, I suspect, is partly due to its really being the only available evidence in support of her acceptance of judicial astrology. That the queen was fond of the scientist there is little doubt, but it is also

<sup>10</sup> Camden, p. 45.

pertinent to remember that practically none of the many promises of appointment to religious posts he managed to extract from her bore fruit. Unfortunately Dee's only biography is a romanticized account written some fifty years ago by a woman who herself shows leanings toward the occult.<sup>11</sup> The only proof that he was an *astrologist* in the modern sense of the word is the oft-mentioned casting of a horoscope for the queen's coronation day at the request of Robert Dudley. The notices in Dee's diary<sup>12</sup> of the horoscopes cast for friends and his numerous children are worded simply as unembellished records of the events. The most skeptical of dramatists, Ben Jonson, seems to have amused himself from time to time with the sport of casting horoscopes, but Drummond<sup>13</sup> reassures us that "he trusts not in them". Unlike Jonson, to be sure, Dee appears to have dabbled in alchemy and spiritualism, but only because of ingenuous faith in the Iago-like Edward Kelley. The entries in the diary of changes in the weather, like storms, are also worded as bare facts. Dee's whole comment on the eclipse of February 5, 1598—"The Eclips. A clowdy day, but great darknes about 9½ mane" (p. 68)—is anything but a superstitious interpretation of an uncommon phenomenon. That in the closing years of his long frustrated life he seems to have become subject to harmless flights of fancy should not obscure the more important fact that at the time of Elizabeth's accession John Dee was recognized as the greatest natural scientist in England.<sup>14</sup> The Queen's orthodoxy in religious matters, let alone her position as head of both Church and State, is sufficient indication of her official stand, and there really is no evidence whatever that she privately accepted the claims of astrology. On the other hand, there are two contemporary allusions to the Queen's expressed rejection of judicial astrology. In one of the anecdotes of the bishops of England written for Prince Henry in 1608,<sup>15</sup> Sir John Harington remarks on how greatly pleased Elizabeth was with a royal sermon of Bishop Elmer that placed God above *prognosticators* and *astronomers*. And D. C. Allen quotes Henry Howard's interesting account of the Queen's fearless reaction to the comet of May, 1582:

I can affirme thus much as a present witnesse by mine owne experience, that whē divers (upon greater scrupulosity then cause) went about to dissuade her maiesty (lying then at Richmond) from looking on the Comet which appeared last: with a courage answerable too the greatnesse of her state, she caused the window to be set open, and cast out this word, *Iacta est alia, The Dice are throwne*. Affirming that her stedfast hope and confidence was too firmly planted in the province of God, to bee blasted or affrighted with those beames which eyther had a ground in nature whereupon to rise, or at least no warrant out of Scripture, to portend the mishaps of Princes. (Pp. 179-180)

The skepticism of James towards practically all the popular myths of the day is evident both in his own writings and in allusions of others. The combined researches of Kittredge<sup>16</sup> and Henry N. Paul<sup>17</sup> have by now, I assume,

<sup>11</sup> Charlotte Fell Smith, *John Dee* (1909); see pp. 1, 61, and 305.

<sup>12</sup> John Eglington Baily, ed., *Diary, for the years 1595-1601, of Dr. John Dee* (1880).

<sup>13</sup> R. F. Patterson, ed., *Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden* (1924), p. 28.

<sup>14</sup> See Francis R. Johnson, *Astronomical Thought in Renaissance England* (1937), pp. 135-139.

<sup>15</sup> *Nugae Antiquae* (1804), II, 37-38, "Elmer" is usually spelled "Aylmer".

<sup>16</sup> "English Witchcraft and James the First", (1912).

<sup>17</sup> *The Royal Play of Macbeth* (1950).

exonerated the King from charges of witch hunting and at the same time established his skill in exposure of fraud. Added to a fundamentalist belief in the Bible, the native shrewdness of the King seems to have made him invulnerable to hoaxes of any type. In *The History of Great Britain*, published in 1653, Arthur Wilson gives James full credit (pp. 111-112) for exposing the "sleeping preacher", Richard Haydock, in 1617. Disraeli's account of the episode, however, more clearly reveals the royal acumen in logic:

The king was present at one of these sermons, and forbade them; and his reasons, on this occasion, brought the sleeping preacher to his knees. The king observed, that things studied in the day-time may be dreamed of in the night, but always irregularly, without order; not, as these sermons were, good and learned: as particularly the one preached before his Majesty in his sleep—. . . 'and I observed', said the king, 'that he always preaches best when he has the most crowded audience. Were he allowed to proceed, all slander and reason might pass under colour of being asleep' . . . (*Literary Miscellanies* (1881), p. 532)

Recording the incredulity of James concerning miraculous power in touching to heal scrofula, Wilson attests to his remarkable astuteness in applied psychology:

He was a King in understanding and was content to have his Subjects ignorant in many things. As in curing the *Kings-Evil*, which he knew a *Device*, to aggrandize the *Virtue* of Kings, when Miracles were in fashion; but he let the World believe it, though he smiled at it, in his own *Reason*, finding the strength of the *Imagination* a more powerful *Agent* in the *Cure*, than the *Plasters* his *Chirurgions* prescribed for the *Sore*. (P. 289)

Kittredge prints a letter (p. 53) from the King to Henry before the prince left Scotland which contains the admonition, "Ye have ofte hearede me saye that most miracles nou a dayes proves but illusions, and . . . hou easielie people are inducid to trust wonders." In *Daemonologie* (ed. Harrison, p. 66) James adds visions and prophecies to the wonders that have ceased since they "serued onely for the first sowing of faith, & planting of the Church." And in *Basilicon Doron* (ed. Craigie, p. 171) he warns his son against giving significance to dreams because "that errorr proceedeth of ignorance, & is vnworthy of a Christian; who should be assured, *Omnia esse pura puris*, as *Paule* saith; all daies and meates being alike to Christians." In view of the general outlook of James it is rather surprising that so little attention hitherto has been paid to the important passage in the much quoted *Daemonologie* which not only recognizes the validity of astronomy but also completely rejects judicial astrology:

There are two things which the learned haue obserued from the beginning, in the science of the Heauenlie Creatures, the Planets, Starres, and such like: The one is their course and ordinary motiones, which for that cause is called *Astronomia*: . . . that is to say, the law of the Starres: And this arte indeed is one of the members of the Mathematicques, & not onlie lawful, but most necessarie and commendable. The other is called *Astrologia*, . . . which is to say, the word, and preaching of the starres: The second part<sup>18</sup> is to truste so much to their influences, as thereby to fore-tell what

<sup>18</sup>I omit the comment of James on the "first part", which Allen (*Star-Crossed Renaissance*, pp. 154-155, n. 9) calls *astrologia naturalis*.



common-weales shall florish or decay: what persones shall be fortunate or vnfortunate: what side shall winne in anie battell: What man shall obtaine victorie at singular combate: . . . and diuerse such like incredible things, . . . This parte now is vtterlie vnlawful to be trusted in, or practized amongst christians, as leaning to no ground of natural reason: & it is this part which I called before the deuils schole. . . in the Prophet *Ieremie* it is plainelie forbidden, to beeleeue or hearken vnto them that Prophecies & fore-speakes by the course of the Planets & Starres. (Pp. 12-14)

This was written in 1597 when the author was King of Scotland, but that after his accession to the English throne he held to his earlier convictions would seem to be demonstrated by the reissuing of *Daemonologie* in the *Works* published with the royal approval in 1616. Two letters written to Cecil express humor at the expense of astrology as well as of courtiers.<sup>19</sup> Bearing no date, the first alludes to an eclipse:

I, having now remained a while in this hunting cottage, am abler to judge of astronomical motions, than ye that lives in the delicious courts of princes. The effects then of this eclipse for this year are very many and wondrous. It shall make divers noblemen at the court loathe their wives, and wish they were better married, such as Lennox, Pembroke, and Roxburgh. It shall make some widows loth to marry again; the beagle knows who this is.

Dated 18 October, 1605, the second concludes with a mischievous jibe at Lincoln:

. . . only this word of mirth, that I envy your nephew that hath observed that strange alteration in the Earl of Lincoln, that I could not foretell by all my astrology; but the reason is that now the noble lord lives by the influence of Dis [*i.e.*, Pluto].

The judgment of modern criticism, I fear, has rested too often upon an unfortunate tendency to underrate the intellectual atmosphere in the London of Shakespeare's lifetime. Francis Johnson<sup>20</sup> stresses that interest in all phases of natural science was considerably more widespread in Elizabethan England than is ordinarily conceded, and that "The number and variety of popular scientific books printed in the vernacular during this period provide one of the most significant phenomena of the age." Thomas Harriot seems to have been but the most noted example of a general movement, and we are told that the growing interest in astronomy was directly concerned with its practical application to navigation. F. P. Wilson<sup>21</sup> warns against the temptation to write down natural astrologers, along with judicial astrologers, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as asses or quacks. Fulke's *Goodly Gallery*, published in 1571 and dedicated to the powerful Earl of Leicester, explains celestial phenomena on the basis of scientific principle alone. Montaigne (*Essays*, 8th ed., 1776, I, 44) makes the revealing observation that "divination is of much less authority in our days." And William Kennedy, speculating on what Shakespeare must have known of the Copernican theory,<sup>22</sup> is impressed with what he calls the ferment

<sup>19</sup> Frederick George Marcham, "James I of England and the 'Little Beagle' Letters", *Persecution and Liberty: Essays in Honor of George Lincoln Burr* (1931), pp. 321-322 and 326.

<sup>20</sup> P. 3; see also p. 211. Kocher, *passim*, agrees.

<sup>21</sup> "Some English Mock-Prognostications", *Library*, 4th series, XIX (1938-39), 13-14.

<sup>22</sup> "Shakespeare's Astronomy", pp. 370-371.



of scientific thought in which the dramatist lived. Of particular interest are the writings of the time against superstitions other than astrology. In the *Characters* published in 1608 (ed. Aldington, pp. 75-76), Joseph Hall satirizes the superstitious man for attaching significance to a hare's crossing his path, a crow's morning cry, fatality days, dreams, stars, charms, and wax. The most devastating condemnation of witchcraft, Scot's *Discoverie* (pp. 102-103), ridicules other myths of the ancients as being "the cosening art of crafty knaves and priests." Greene interrupts the story of "Venus Tragedie" (*Planetomachia*, p. 69) to observe that "commonly young Gentlewomen are delighted with old wiues doating fables, and directed after their secret counsailes, counting their sayings as Oracles, & thinking . . . it a religion to obserue their fond and superstitious principles." Describing a defeat of the English forces in Ireland in a letter to Sir Anthony Standen (*Nugae*, I, 267), Harington remarks, "I verily think the idle faith which possesses the Irishry, concerning magic and witchcraft, seized our men and lost the victory", an interesting comment on the skepticism of not only the writer but also the English soldier of 1599. According to Paul (p. 92) Bishop Bancroft is responsible for a famous paragraph attacking the popular belief in witches to be found in Harsnet's *Declaration of Egreious Popish Impostures*. What Jonson thought of alchemy is common knowledge, and an article<sup>23</sup> of Kittredge's has demonstrated that in the earlier *Volpone*, as well as in *The Devil Is an Ass*, the dramatist was deliberately aiming to please James through satirizing the fraudulent pin-spitting witch previously exposed by the King. Accounting for the probable causes of the earthquakes that shook London April 6-7, 1580, William Camden (*Annals*, 1635, p. 216) adopts a style closely resembling Hotspur's repudiation of Glendower in referring to the "force of windes gotten into the hollow places of the earth." More's *Utopia* (ed. Arber, pp. 148-149), which was of course still popular reading in Shakespeare's day, relates that the citizens "vtterly despise and mocke sothsayinges and diuinations of thinges to come by the flighte or voices of birdes, and all other diuinations of vaine superstition." Calphurnia's dream is explained in Covell's *Polimanteia* (sig. M3-M3<sup>r</sup>) as having "come by reason of a *Sympathie* . . . as when one friend dreameth of another" rather than through supernatural means. And Scot's exposition of dreams (p. 132) not only would do credit to a psychiatrist but also is a very possible source of Mercutio's "Queen Mab" speech:

Certainly men never lightly faile to dreame by night, of that which they miditate [*sic*] by day: and by day they see diuers and sundry thinges, and conceive them severally in their minds. Then those mixed conceits being laid up in the closet of the memory, strive together; which, because the phantasie cannot discerne nor discusse, some certaine thing gathered of many conceits is bred and contrived in one together. And therefore in my opinion, it is time vainly employed, to study about the interpretation of dreames.

Though the whole matter of contemporary supernatural manifestation was one of wide controversy among Elizabethans,<sup>24</sup> with argument on both sides, King James was by no means alone in the conviction that miracles had ceased. Scot quotes St. Augustine (p. 115) in support of the theory, and Harington

<sup>23</sup> "King James I and *The Devil Is an Ass*", *MP*, IX (1912), 195-209.

<sup>24</sup> See Kocher, pp. 107, 109-110, 117, 121, 131-132, and 275-276.

(*Nugae*, II, 49-50) informs Prince Henry that Bishop Vaughan had denied to Elizabeth<sup>25</sup> the power to heal the evil supernaturally. Harington's tutor, Dr. Flemming, reported (pp. 207-208) to have made the rational observation "That scing now the extraordinarie gifts, first of tongues, next of miracles, was ceased; and that knowledge is not now *infusa*, but *acquisita*, we should not despise the helpe of any humane [human] learning." According to Paul (p. 98), some time before 1600 rejection of the possibility of contemporary miracles became the official ecclesiastical position in England. If so, the line Shakespeare gives the Archbishop of Canterbury in *Henry V* (I. i. 67)—"miracles are ceas'd"—is beautifully timed as well as highly appropriate to the rank of the speaker. Agreeing on scientific grounds with the Church's stand against the validity of demoniacal possession, Dr. Edward Jorden, prominent London physician and friend of Cecil, published a treatise in 1603 on the disease called "the Suffocation of the Mother", another name for hysteria. It was this enlightened medical man who was chosen by King James in 1605 to investigate the widely publicized claims of Ann Gunter that she was possessed, the same year Shakespeare was writing for *Lear* the lines "O, how this mother swells up toward my heart! / Hysterica passio!"

Though perhaps scantier than could be desired, the documentary evidence available leaves the impression that along with other popular beliefs of the period judicial astrology must have been under continual intellectual fire. Because of its sundry forecasts one of the most common targets seems to have been the contemporary almanac. The available evidence makes it impossible to reconcile the admission of Carroll Camden<sup>26</sup> that the use of almanacs was "opposed by a majority of the learned inhabitants of England during Shakespeare's day" with the unfounded conclusion that "a belief in the efficacy of comets and eclipses to foretell future events was attested to by all Elizabethans, even by those divines and others who denounced judicial astrology." The fact remains that the extant satires<sup>27</sup> on the almanac were aimed not at the inaccuracy of weather predictions alone but particularly at the impossibility of foretelling human events from celestial phenomena. A number of secular challenges of astrology were made without reference to almanacs. More's *Utopia* (ed. Arber, p. 105) admits the validity of using astronomical data to forecast changes in the weather but condemns "the amities and dissensions of the planettes, and all that deceytfel diuination by the starres." The first Elizabethan formal attack was William Fulke's *Most Pleasant Prospect*, published in 1563, which bases its argument chiefly on the teachings of Aristotle. Wholly an intellectual satire on astrology is "The Most Excellent Profitable and Pleasant Book of the Famous Doctor and Expert Astrologian Arcandum", published pseudonymously in 1568 (?). Less secular but equally vituperative in tone is a lengthy passage in Stubbes's *Anatomic of Abuses*,<sup>27</sup> which, as Cumberland Clark has remarked (*Astronomy in the Poets*, p. 43), reads very much like the well known declamation of Edmund in *King Lear*. The following year, 1584, marked the publication of two works previously cited, Henry Howard's *Defensative against the poyson of*

<sup>25</sup> "Elizabethan Almanacs and Prognostications", *Library*, 4th series, XII (1932), 207.

<sup>26</sup> See Camden, pp. 103-105; Allen, *Star-Crossed Renaissance*, pp. 218-219 and 221; Thomas Dekker, *The Raucous Almanacke* (1609) in Alexander B. Grosart, ed., *Non-Dramatic Works* (Huth Library) IV (1885), 167-266; and John Melton, *Astrologaster, or the Figure-Caster* (1620), p. 31.

<sup>27</sup> Frederick J. Furnivall, ed., *New Shakespeare Society* (1882), Part II, pp. 56-66.

*supposed Prophecies* and Reginald's Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, the latter hardly ever recognized as also a rejection of judicial astrology. Howard's work was stimulated by the fantastic prognostications of Richard Harvey for the preceding April. Scot reverses the assumption of modern criticism and at the same time anticipates the practice of Shakespeare in suggesting that "the astronomers themselves have received their light, and their very art from poets, without whose fables and twelve signes, the northerly southerly figures had never ascended the heavens. And yet astrologers do live, cosen men, and gaine by these fables" (p. 153). Although Gabriel Harvey seems to have donated nothing directly to the general assault, in commending Scot's book as one that "dismasketh sundry egregious impostures" (ed. Grosart, II, 391) he gives equal credit to Stubbes and Howard. A passage in the aforementioned *Polimanteia* of Covell (sig. F2) asserts that "Imagining that some Planets and fixt Starres are the workers and contriuers of the worldes aduventures" is too "ridiculous" to merit serious discussion. Nashe's *Anatomie of Absurditie, Have with You to Saffron Walden*, and *Terrors of the Night* are all three devoted to stinging attacks on the superstition. Fulke Greville's *Life of Sir Philip Sidney* (ed. Nowell Smith) contains a statement that probably represents the sentiments of the individualistic Sidney as well: "no Star-gazers can so well prognosticate the good, or ill of all Governments, as the providence of men trained up in publique affaires may doe" (p. 141). Much has been conjectured about the views of Bacon on the matter, but in *De Augmentis*<sup>28</sup> appears the assertion that astrology "is so full of superstition, that scarce anything sound can be discovered in it." None of the authors of such outright condemnations, moreover, seems to have suffered punishment or reprimand at the hands of Elizabethan officials. In one case the writer (Francis Cox) published a recantation of superstitions after undergoing public trial for having indulged in "Necromancie and Invocations of Spirites, and curious Astrology."<sup>29</sup> The King's condemnation of *The Discoverie* in the introduction of *Daemonologie* is chiefly based on Scot's repudiation of the existence of Satan, a religious matter, and Paul has finally succeeded in destroying (p. 51) the persistent myth that the book was burned by the public hangman upon the accession of James to the throne of England. Actually, we are told (*D.N.B.*, XVII, 1002), the work made "great impressions on the magistracy and clergy" when it was first published. That the author anticipated no trouble appears to be indicated by the personnel of the dedications: Sir Roger Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Thomas Scot, the writer's cousin; John Doldwell, Dean of Rochester (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury); and William Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury (later Bishop of Norwich). Though Lord Henry Howard seems to have been in political difficulties during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, under James he became a member of council and earl of Northampton.

Implications have been given above that Shakespeare was conversant with some of the more important publications condemning judicial astrology. It is generally agreed that much of the witchcraft lore in *Macbeth* is derived from

<sup>28</sup> *Lib. III, Cap. iv*; quotation taken from De Lacy, "Astrology in the Poetry of Edmund Spenser", p. 523.

<sup>29</sup> The trial is discussed in Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, p. 258, without reference, however, to the publication of Cox.

Scot's *Discoverie* and the King's *Daemonologie*, both of which, as we have seen, contain striking attacks on astrology. Portions of *King Lear*, as well as of *Macbeth*, have been traced to the direct influence of Harsnet's *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*, which, following the initial publication in 1603, was popular enough to be reissued in 1604 and again, because of the demand created by the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, in 1605. The names of Tom o' Bedlam's devils are known to have been lifted from the book, and, as Paul points out (p. 96), the feigned demonism of Edgar is a timely satirical picture of a variety of fraud castigated in the source. In the considered judgment of Taylor<sup>80</sup> the influence of Montaigne extends far beyond the essay on "Cannibals". I have discovered a passage in that very essay (I, 241-242) advocating punishment of contemporary "diviners" equal in severity to that inflicted by the Scythians of old on their false prophets. Granted the dramatist did not make use of as many of the essays as Taylor contends, it is but reasonable to suppose that he read the whole of Montaigne, possibly the original issue of 1580 as well as the Florio translation of 1603. The condemnation in "Of Prognostications" (I, 46-48) is one of the most devastating of the era, and Paul, I think, is successful in connecting (p. 61) the essay on the "Power of the Imagination" with the most salient characteristic of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, which is, as the critic asserts, "The more striking when we realize that Holinshed's *Macbeth* had no imagination at all."

In discussions of Shakespeare's practice too much significance has been attached to the fact that nowhere in the plays or poems can be discovered the slightest evidence of the author's awareness of the existence of the Copernican theory, let alone acceptance of it. Surely it can be seen that the older Ptolemaic system, with its dramatic emphasis on man as the center of the universe, is more congenial to literary creation than the newer, more complicated arrangement. Modern conversation adopts the convenience of referring inaccurately to the *rising* and *setting* of sun and moon, and Clark makes the pertinent observation (p. 43) that our speech today is "sprinkled with words born in the practice of the astrologers." Shakespeare assuredly does not hesitate to borrow astrological terminology for purely literary purposes. In the first seven lines of Sonnet LX, for example, *nativity* is used in a literal sense and *eclipses* in a figurative. In the many instances of the use of the term *sun* only three examples can be said to be astrological: Horatio's Plutarchian account of the portents of Caesar's death (*Hamlet*, I.i.118), Gloucester's expression of misplaced fear (*King Lear*, I.ii.112), and Edmund's skeptical rebuttal (131), which, as we shall see, really throws light on the import of the subplot. The sun that rises *bloodily* in *1 Henry IV* (V.i.1) is granted no significance by king or prince other than as a sign of change in the weather. All the other cases are either objective or figurative. The account in *Shakespeare's England* (I, 458) attributes all kinds of occult significance to the dramatist's use of *moon*, yet, of the numerous examples, I can discover but five alluding to the influence of the moon over water, which is astronomical theory rather than superstition, and only two—again in the speeches of Gloucester and Edmund—connected with judicial astrology. In *Othello* (V.ii.109) the protagonist thinks an eclipse of the sun and moon should follow the murder of his wife, which, as Allen has noted (p. 178),

<sup>80</sup> George Coffin Taylor, *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne* (1925).

is a reversal of the occult doctrine. All seventeen examples of *celestial* are literal in connotation, and the single instance of the "twelve celestial signs" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, V.ii.806-807) is employed by the Princess to signify merely the passage of a year. *Sphere*, or *spherical*, occurs seventeen times, all but four objectively. Three of the four exceptions allude to the popular belief in the music of the spheres, not part of the doctrine of judicial astrology, and the other is included in Edmund's previously mentioned condemnation. Significantly enough, all thirty references to *Jupiter* concern the mythological god, not the planet. Only two of the thirty-six instances of *Mars* in the plays refer to the planet, the first expressing the Dauphin's conviction that the "true moving" of Mars is "to this day not known" (*1 Henry VI*, I.ii.1-4) and the second being part of Helena's bantering speech directed at Parolles for his notorious cowardice (*All's Well*, I.i.204-214). Fourteen of the occurrences of *Mercury* are allusions either mythologically to the god, or objectively to the star, the single exception being Autolycus' patent rationalization that his thievery had been predestined by the planet (*Winter's Tale*, IV.iii.24-26). *Venus* and *Saturn* appear only twice in the plays with astrological import, both times together: Aaron's curt refusal of Tamora's unwelcome advances (*Titus*, II.iii.30-31), "Madam, though Venus govern your desires, / Saturn is dominator over mine", really figurative, and Hal's obvious jest at the expense of Falstaff as the old lecher is caught in the act of kissing Doll Tearsheet (*2 Henry IV*, II.iv.286-287), "Saturn and Venus this year in conjunction? What says th' almanac to that?" Also figuratively employed are *meteors* in *The Comedy of Errors*, IV.ii.1-6; *eclipse* in *1 Henry VI*, IV.v.52-55; *augury* in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, IV.iv.68-74; *earthquake* in *King John*, V.ii.40-42 and *Henry V*, II.iv.97-101; and *comet* in *The Taming of the Shrew*, III.ii.95-98 and *1 Henry IV*, III.ii.46-48. In several cases the adoption of superstitions is but a literary manifestation of faithfulness to the source. For instance, the portents of doom in *Julius Caesar* and *Macbeth*, as Schelling has pointed out (p. 14), come directly from North and Holinshed. And I have noted above that *augurer* appears only in the three Roman plays, where it is fitting, and all soothsayers are Romans. Moreover, the complexities of the theatrical situation the dramatist was faced with must have presented a constant challenge to his efforts to please. The motley composition of the public playhouse audience plus the normal anticipation of subsequent performance at court demanded the presentation of as encompassing an appeal as possible. It has been said that the ghost in *Hamlet*, for example, may be an obliging amalgam of the conflicting beliefs of the contemporary spectators, and the supernatural element in *Macbeth*, as Paul has observed (p. 213), is capable of the dual construction of "magical for the commonalty, and psychological for the judicious."

Most important, though too often disregarded by those who would attempt to establish Shakespeare's belief or disbelief, the dramatist regularly appropriates popular superstition for dramatic effectiveness alone. A significant aspect is offered in the explanation of Bundy<sup>31</sup> that part of the tragic essence of the protagonists, in contrast to the villainous realists, is the imperfect knowledge they have of themselves: Othello is proud of his self-restraint and Lear is fond of calling others proud; conscious of a war of the soul, but baffled in their attempt to understand themselves fully, the great protagonists tend to blame

<sup>31</sup> Murray W. Bundy, "Shakespeare and Elizabethan Psychology", *JEGP*, XXIII (1924), 539-540.



external conditions, as in Romeo's desire to "shake the yoke of inauspicious stars / From this world-wearied flesh" and Hamlet's cry that "The time is out of joint". In the service of dramatic irony the playwright uses gullibility, as well as skepticism. Hence, on the one hand, we witness Hastings fatuously ignoring the portent of the boar rasing the helm in the dream of Stanley and, on the other, Othello foolishly accepting the conviction that cuckoldry is a fated destiny. A second performance of *Twelfth Night* or *All's Well* would impress the alert spectator with the contrast between Sebastian's early belief that his stars shine darkly over him and his subsequent good fortune, or between the gloomy assertion of Helena that baser stars shut her up in wishes and her later success in winning a husband. It is but dramatically appropriate that highly imaginative characters should entertain superstitious notions. Thus Brabantio, as preparation for the outrageous charges of witchcraft he is soon to hurl at Othello, is made to base his credulity of the elopement on the coincidence of its being "not unlike my dream". It is fitting to the character of Joan Pucel that she express the conviction of having been chosen to "work exceeding miracles on earth", as it is in *King John* to the fantasy of "old men and beldames in the street" that they "say five moons were seen to-night". To contemporary Londoners the superstitious nature of Welshmen was notorious. Such is responsible for the untimely desertions of Hotspur by Glendower, who, according to the Archbishop of York, was "overrul'd by prophecies", and of Richard II by the Welsh captain who decides to quit Ireland because of his dread of meteors, fixed stars, and a bloody looking moon. Sometimes the situation is permitted to create the fantasy. The reaction in England to the shocking news of Arthur's violent end, in the opinion of Cardinal Pandulph, will be the calculated misinterpretation of the forces of nature as imaginary portents against King John:

This Act so evilly borne shall cool the hearts  
Of all his people and freeze up their zeal,  
That none so small advantage shall steal forth  
To check his reign but they will cherish it;  
No natural exhalation in the sky,  
No scope of nature, no distemper'd day,  
No common wind, no custom'd event,  
But they will pluck away his natural cause  
And call them meteors, prodigies, and signs,  
Abortives, presages, and tongues of heaven,  
Plainly denouncing vengeance upon John.

(*King John*, III. iv. 149-159)

In the unforgettable speech of Theseus on "the lunatic, the lover, and the poet", the dramatist expresses his awareness of the power of the imagination to apprehend what is nonexistent: the mind of man, as well as the pen of poetry, can give "to airy nothing a local habitation and a name."

The usual generalization that Shakespeare's practice reflects personal belief in astrology is not at all supported by the text. The term itself is absent and the four instances of the Shakespearian synonym, *astronomy*, can hardly be taken as evidence of espousal: Edgar's expression of warranted incredulity that Edmund should have become a "sectary astronomical", Thersites' sneer at the discrepancy between the words and actions of Diomed in that "when he per-



forms, astronomers foretell it; it is prodigious, there will come some change", Imogen's assertion that the *astronomer* would be learned indeed who "knew the stars" as well as she does the handwriting of Posthumus, and the opening lines of Sonnet XIV—"Not from the stars do I my judgment pluck, / and yet methinks I have astronomy", the poet's astronomy being the study of his friend's eyes. The one occurrence of *stargazers*, in line 509 of *Venus and Adonis*, alludes to the impotence of their predictions compared to the power of a lover's kiss. Belief in the occult is not implied in any of the four examples of *almanac*: the figurative designation of Dromio of Ephesus as the "almanac" of the "true date" of Antipholus; reference to the likelihood of a moonlight night for the performance of Bottom's play; Hal's jest about the kiss Falstaff gives Doll; and Enobarbus' sarcastic comparison of the sighs and tears of Cleopatra with the storms and tempests reported in almanacs. The two appearances of the astrological term *augury* are Hamlet's orthodox defiance, in favor of the "special providence in the fall of a sparrow", and Proteus' use of the word merely in the sense of a personal deduction (*Two Gentlemen*, IV. iv. 72). The only example of *blazing star* is in the mock lament of the clown in *All's Well* that a "good" woman is born not so frequently as the appearance of one. All three instances of *exhalations* are unastrological: the skeptical speech of Pandolph quoted above; the allusion of Hal to the bright red spots on Bardolph's face; and the placid observation of Brutus in his orchard at midnight that the "exhalations" whizzing overhead will provide sufficient light to read a letter by. The occult references to a favorite term of astrologers, *predominant*—Helena's mockery of Parolles as having been born under Mars, and the totally unwarranted suspicion of Leontes that "It is a bawdy planet, that will strike / Where 'tis predominant"—are far from being indications of the dramatist's belief in the efficacy of astrology. The astrological term *trigon* is given only in a humorous allusion to the red-faced Bardolph. Both examples of *zodiac*, a term prominent with astrologers and almanac makers, are purely objective in import: the reference of Aaron in *Titus Andronicus* to the sun's galloping the *zodiac*, and the protest of Claudio in *Measure for Measure* that the statutes unexpectedly restored by Angelo lay dormant "so long that nineteen zodiacs have gone round / And none of them been worn." Not one of Shakespeare's few references to the individual constellations, the twelve signs of the zodiac, portrays the writer's acceptance of judicial astrology. *Aries* appears in an exchange of jests about archery between Titus and old Marcus, which also includes the single example of *Virgo* and one of the three of *Taurus*. The other two allusions to the latter are in the poetic comparison made by Demetrius of Helena's hand with the white snow on *Taurus* and in the patently erroneous assignments of parts of the body to the influence of the constellation given by Sir Toby and Sir Andrew. *Gemini* is used merely as a convenient synonym for *pair*, a "geminy of baboons" in *The Merry Wives*, and *Cancer* only in the simile of Ulysses that seeking out the proud Achilles in his tent would be like adding "more coals to Cancer". The seven remaining constellations are not mentioned.

Attempts to establish Shakespeare's personal convictions have all too frequently<sup>82</sup> made the error of concentrating, to the exclusion of all other evidence,

<sup>82</sup> E.g., Ruth Anderson, pp. 59-60, n. 64; Craig, pp. 41-42; Clark, p. 57; Schelling, p. 15; Stoll, pp. 243-246; *Shakespeare's England*, I, 457-458; Tillyard, pp. 54-55; "Museum", "The Astronomy

upon three of the more conspicuous declamations in the plays: Hotspur's ridicule of Glendower for boasting of supernatural portents attendant upon his nativity,<sup>33</sup> and the equally skeptical speeches of Cassius in *Julius Caesar* and, especially, of Edmund in *King Lear*. Unhappily for the critics, Hotspur, at any rate, is neither atheist nor villain—hence cannot be fitted into the neat argument that the dramatist himself must have been credulous since he puts skepticism into the dialogue of only the most unsympathetic characters. Stoll's rationalization<sup>34</sup> that the jeer is directed at Glendower merely as a bore is discounted by the text, in Percy's orthodox complaint to Mortimer that the old man angers him with "such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff / As puts me from my faith." More significant, the source soberly relates the prodigies marking the birth of Glendower as fact, and Holinshed neither hints of Percy's skepticism nor, indeed, brings him in contact with the Welshman. On the other hand, there is seriously recorded (1808 ed., III, 19-20) the appearance of a *blasing star* in 1402 portending the ensuing victories of the magician and the success of his art in repulsing the invasion of Henry with "such faoule weather of winds, tempest, raine, snow, and haile . . . that the like had not beene heard of." Likewise is there no reference in North's *Plutarch* to the belief of Shakespeare's Cassius that it is in ourselves rather than in our stars that we are underlings. And the source of the Gloucester-Edmund-Edgar subplot of *King Lear*, Sidney's "Story of the Paphlagonian Unkind King", contains no allusion to celestial phenomena. In contrast, the soliloquy Shakespeare gives Edmund in rebuttal of Gloucester's belief that eclipses can cause human dissension is unquestionably the most unqualified denial of judicial astrology in Elizabethan drama:

This is the excellent foppery of the world, that, when we are sick in fortune, often the surfeit of our own behaviour, we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon, and the stars; as if we were villains on necessity; fools by heavenly compulsion; knaves, thieves, and treachers by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars, and adulterers by an enforced obedience of planetary influence; and all that we are vile in, by a divine thrusting on. An admirable evasion of whoremaster man, to lay his goatish disposition to the charge of a star! My father compounded with my mother under the Dragon's Tail, and my nativity was under Ursa Major, so that it follows I am rough and lecherous. Fut! I should have been that I am, had the maidenliest star in the firmament twinkled on my bastardizing. (I. ii. 131-145)

Since the majority of efforts to establish Shakespeare's convictions have been centered on the soliloquy, our discussion should end, I feel, with a closer examination of its contents than has heretofore been attempted. Partly because the speaker is the villain, it has not before been suspected that the sentiments ex-

of Shakespeare", *Contemporary Review*, 511 (July, 1908), 2-3; Wilhelm Creizenach, *The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (1916), pp. 213-215; John Cooke, "The Astrology of Shakspeare", *Macmillan's Magazine*, 51 (April, 1885), 469; D. Fraser-Harris, "Shakespeare and the Influence of the Stars", *Discovery*, VIII (1927), 366; and R. C. Bald, "Thou, Nature, Art My Goddess": Edmund and Renaissance Free-Thought", in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (1948), pp. 347-349.

<sup>33</sup> It may be of interest to note the judgment of Samuel Johnson (1765 ed., 1 *Henry IV*, IV, 173. n. 6): "The poet has here taken, from the perverseness and contrarioussness of *Hotspur's* temper, an opportunity of raising his character, by a very rational and philosophical confutation of superstitious error."

<sup>34</sup> *Shakespeare Studies*, p. 245.

pressed about judicial astrology are exactly those of contemporary state and church.<sup>35</sup> But even more important, despite the familiarity of critics with the passage, it has dramatic significance hitherto completely disregarded. It is generally acknowledged that in soliloquy, at least, Shakespeare's villains can normally be depended upon to tell the truth about the character of the protagonists, and in this instance Edmund, I am convinced, is not an exception. Far from being merely a diatribe of the skeptic against superstition, the speech is a justifiable criticism of Gloucester, who immediately before had attributed to the late eclipses in the sun and moon not only the dissension in the royal family (assuredly due to the blindness of Lear) but also the "villainy" of his one loyal son, Edgar. The irony does not stop there. Although the first part of the soliloquy chiefly concerns weaklings in general, the term *adulterers* is peculiarly applicable in the play to Gloucester, who on his first appearance had boasted to Kent of his illicit relationship with Edmund's mother. That the accusations from Edmund are considerably more than unfair rationalizations of the villain for his own bestiality is evidenced, I believe, in the censorious speech of the virtuous Edgar against his dead father in the final act:

The gods are just and of our pleasant [sensual] vices  
Make instruments to scourge us.  
The dark and vicious place where thee he got  
Cost him his eyes. (V.iii. 170-173)

This is occasionally taken for unwarranted prudery on the part of the speaker, but it is more significantly a neat summary of the tragedy in the subplot. Gloucester, Edgar is saying, had committed adultery; the fruit of the act was Edmund; Edmund is responsible for the loss of the adulterer's sight. "The wheel", as Edmund instantly acknowledges, "is come full circle." Edgar's summary, then, throws new light on the wording of the latter part of Edmund's soliloquy. Within the scope of one brief sentence appear two terms most applicable to Gloucester: *whoremaster* and the Elizabethan equivalent of lecherous, *goatish*. Then Edmund, employing the totally unastrological term *Ursa Major*, I suspect, to avoid detracting from the central theme, refers directly to the actual act of adultery between his father and mother and his consequent nativity. The concluding assertion is that undoubtedly he would have been rough and lecherous "had the maidenliest star in the firmament twinkled on my bastardizing." If the speech in whole is intended to be no more than a rejection of astrology, why does the dramatist end it with terms like *maidenliest* and *bastardizing*? The point is, surely, as explicitly stated in Edgar's summary of the subplot, it was the illicit *compounding* of his unmaidenly mother and lecherous father that made the illegitimate Edmund the villain he is. The motif here presented is carried to its orthodox conclusion when at the end of the play Edmund is both thwarted in his own attempt to commit adultery (with Goneril) and bereft of his sinful life at the hand of the son who was born in holy wedlock. To assume that the play as a whole is "pagan" because of the invariable occurrence of the plural form *gods*, as is usually done, is to forget that near the time of writing, a Jacobean parliament passed the Act of Abuses forbidding spoken

<sup>35</sup> It was not surprising to discover that the first clergyman to edit *King Lear*, Bishop Warburton, devoted the better portion of three pages (VI, 20-22, n. 9) to enthusiastic approval of Edmund's speech.

reference to the Christian God on public stages. Hence the very passage which has been concentrated on most intently by the critics—as evidence either of Edmund's atheism, or (since the speaker is the villain) of the dramatist's acceptance of judicial astrology, or of Shakespeare's diplomatic way of presenting (in a speech of the villain) his own extraordinarily advanced philosophy without running counter to Elizabethan prejudice—contains not only an orthodox condemnation of a pagan superstition but also a Christian lesson against carnal sin.

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# Hamlet, the Pseudo-Procrastinator

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**I**N view of the countless "solutions" to the paradox of Hamlet's conduct, the reader may understandably suspect me of crass boldness in adding a further comment. I take heart, however, from my conviction that even the most thoughtful of recent criticisms have not departed completely from the nineteenth-century tradition which condones expedient evasions of one or more of the major facts. My purpose is to correlate these facts into an intelligible pattern of conduct. Neither the external problems that render close to impossible Hamlet's execution of vengeance upon Claudius nor the prince's bitter self-accusations blaming the delay wholly upon himself need be side-stepped or minimized; but the evasion or, at best, the distortion of one or the other has traditionally been the custom of the critics, since from the viewpoint of logic the two phenomena are strikingly incompatible. Dr. Ernest Jones, employing a tenet of modern psychoanalysis, goes so far as to argue that Hamlet procrastinates because of an Oedipus complex. Indeed, from the time of Goethe, the majority of critics have ascribed Hamlet's delay in avenging his murdered father to a weakness of character. But those more familiar with Elizabethan traditions have insisted that the delay is motivated by manifest external obstacles; they have stressed two main difficulties: Hamlet's orthodox doubt as to the veracity of the Ghost and, second, the complications of executing vengeance upon a heavily guarded monarch, against whom there is no tangible evidence of his crime. With the latter critics I concur in full, except for one thing—their custom of side-stepping or, at best, awkwardly explaining Hamlet's self-accusations of delay. The psychotic factors, I agree, are in no way responsible for Hamlet's delay in avenging his father; on the contrary, a not uncommon neurosis results from Hamlet's enforced inactivity and is the cause of his self-recriminations, which, in view of the external obstacles to vengeance, are clearly unwarranted. Yet, as I shall hope to prove, they are perfectly intelligible—in fact, so intelligible that Hamlet's conduct would appear obtuse and unnatural without them.

The two traditional schools of thought concerning the character of Hamlet are both unsound for the reason that each bases its interpretation on only a part of the important facts. The school that adheres to the principle that Hamlet's delay is internally motivated may be divided into three groups: the critics led by Goethe with his theory that Hamlet is weak-willed; those led by Schlegel and Coleridge, who maintained that the habit of meditation paralyzes the capacity for action; and those who have followed Hermann Ulrici's doctrine that Christian ethics, or moral scruples, are a deterrent to blood revenge. Whatever their basic differences of opinion, these critics have pursued a similar method of argu-

ment: they have ignored or minimized the external obstacles to vengeance and, citing those passages in which Hamlet upbraids himself for procrastinating, have concluded that the prince is by nature incapable of executing a ruthless deed. The opposing critics, following the lead of the Germans J. L. Klein and Karl Werder, have correctly pointed out the external obstacles to Hamlet's motive of revenge, but are embarrassed by his self-accusations of delay, and—Werder in part excepted—explain them oddly or ignore them. A third, more modern group, including Ernest Jones and Oscar J. Campbell, has attempted to compromise these viewpoints; these men recognize Hamlet as a youth capable of decisive action, but ascribe his failure in the particular motive of revenge to psychotic shortcomings. Professor Campbell's theory (*Yale Review*, December 1942) has aroused the fewest objections. He regards Hamlet as a manic-depressive, who vacillates between violent action and brooding inaction: "Adverse fate so times the rhythm of Hamlet's malady that at any given moment he is in the grip of the emotions which fit him least to deal with the situation confronting him."<sup>1</sup> One objection to Campbell's theory is that, in explaining Hamlet's failure to act at the proper moment, it depends too strongly on coincidence—as Campbell suggests, on "adverse fate". More important, although it recognizes that Hamlet is at times a man of action, it fails to consider in full the external obstacles confronting the motive of vengeance, a consideration which a complete account of the facts cannot evade.

Ernest Jones's argument that Hamlet suffers an Oedipus complex is the most ingenious attempt to solve the Hamlet problem. Like the arguments of his predecessors who have insisted that Hamlet's delay in exacting vengeance is internally motivated, it adequately explains those speeches, three in number, in which the prince reproaches himself for procrastination; but it also recognizes Hamlet as a man of action—a fact that the adherents of the "paralysis of doubt" theory have been obliged to overlook—and concludes that only in the matter of revenge is the prince incapable of action. This is explained by the fact that Hamlet, having inadequately repressed a desire to possess his mother, identifies himself with his intended victim, now espoused to his mother, and thus cannot, in clear conscience, bring himself to act against him. To accept the principle that an Oedipus complex deters Hamlet in his motive, we are asked to give credence to two hypotheses: first, that Shakespeare (who knew nothing of Freudian psychology) suffered from a marked Oedipus complex and, thus, depicted Hamlet in his own likeness as powerless to act against a man who had done away with his father and married his mother; second, that Hamlet's delay in the motive of vengeance cannot be adequately explained by external obstacles. The first hypothesis neither can nor need be refuted; Dr. Jones has convinced himself and a sizable minority of his readers that Shakespeare was the victim of an Oedipus complex in spite of the fact that Jones and his professional confrères are the first to emphasize the months of laborious probing and examination essential to the psychoanalysis of a patient. Shakespeare's "Oedipus complex" must, I think, remain a dubious hypothesis from now until Doomsday. The second hypothesis is simply a contradiction of the truth. Along with other critics, John Ashworth (*Atlantic Monthly*, April 1949) has emphati-

<sup>1</sup> Oscar J. Campbell, "What's the Matter with Hamlet", *Yale Review* (December 1942) XXXII (2), 313.



cally pointed out that we cannot expect an avenger to strike down his royal victim in full sight of a gathering of courtiers and bodyguards, by whom he is customarily attended. Such actions may result from desperation or mania, but not from calculated vengeance. Jones argues that the prince has an excellent opportunity to kill his uncle at the close of the play-within-the-play and points to only one reason for his failure to do so: namely, his so-called "Oedipus complex". But, one unavoidably asks, what would have been the outcome of such a public attempt at vengeance? Whether he succeeded or failed, Hamlet would almost assuredly have lost his own life. Even more distressing to a man of cherished honor, he—and not Claudius—would have been recorded by history as the blackguard; the reason for this is evident, even to the blind: of the large and influential assemblage of persons who are present, only Hamlet and indirectly Horatio have knowledge that Claudius is a murderer. To the others, the King's implied confession of guilt is meaningless. One marvels at the assumption—made by so intelligent a man as Dr. Jones—that the testimony of a ghost, delivered *in absentia*, is sufficient evidence to convict a king of fratricide.

Moreover, unlike many of my predecessors, some of them clearly ignorant of Elizabethan traditions, I cannot dismiss Hamlet's expressed doubts as to the veracity of the Ghost as mere talk and babble. The Protestant and consequently the Elizabethan belief, in contrast to the Roman Catholic creed, was that the souls of the dead went directly to Heaven or Hell, not to Purgatory, and could not return to this world. The Swiss Protestant Ludwig Lavater in *De Spectris* (1570) and King James I in *Daemonologie* (1597) upheld this viewpoint, maintaining that the Devil could assume either the shape or the dead body of a newly deceased person and thus give the illusion of a ghost; but the reality of ghosts was positively denied by both men. James argued that an intelligent Christian knows that "neither can the spirite of the defunct return to his friend, or yet an Angel use such formes."<sup>2</sup> Lavater, citing Tertullian as his authority, wrote: "Evil spirits do use this kind of deceyt, to fayne themselves to be soules of such as are deceased."<sup>3</sup> This attitude, both Protestant and Elizabethan, is expressed not only by Horatio and Marcellus but also by Hamlet as they gaze upon the apparition of the dead king. Horatio fears that it "may assume some other horrible form"; Marcellus, like Horatio, begs Hamlet not to follow it; and Hamlet supposes that it may be "a goblin damned". Nevertheless, he is undecided because of its "questionable shape" and consequently agrees to "call [it] Hamlet, / King, father". When alone with the Ghost, Hamlet has neither the will nor the rational power nor the courage to doubt its authenticity; for the moment, "the pales and forts of reason" are inundated completely under emotional predilection. Later, in a mood governed by reason rather than emotion, Hamlet expresses serious doubt concerning the authenticity of the Ghost: "The spirit that I have seen / May be the devil [who] . . . / Abuses me to damn me" (II.ii). It seems odd, of course, that he should not announce this renewed

<sup>2</sup> King James I, *Daemonologie* (1597), ed. G. B. Harrison (London, 1924), p. 61. An almost identical statement is found in William Perkins' *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (posthumously published in 1610): "[Contrary to] the opinion of the Church of Rome . . . dead men doe neither walke, nor appeare in bodie or soule after death" (p. 115). A well known Cambridge theologian, Perkins died in 1602.

<sup>3</sup> Lavater, *Of Ghostes and Spirits Walking by Night*, transl. into English by R. H., 1572; ed. by J. Dover Wilson and May Yardley (Oxford, 1929), p. 118.

doubt as to the Ghost until after he has arranged with the itinerant actors the play-within-the-play, the intent of which is to elicit some sort of confession from Claudius and thus prove, or disprove, the reliability of the Ghost. But only one day after this doubt is expressed, Hamlet makes it apparent that he had discussed his misgivings about the Ghost with Horatio at a time precedent to the Players' coming to Elsinore; careful to inform his friend that a play will shortly be staged "before the king", he explains:

One scene of it comes near the circumstance  
Which I have told thee of my father's death  
.  
.  
.  
If his [Claudius'] occulted guilt  
Do not itself unkennel in one speech,  
It is a damnéd ghost that we have seen,  
And my imaginations are as foul  
As Vulcan's stithy [forge]. (III. ii)

How long Hamlet has entertained a renewed doubt concerning the Ghost's identity, we are not told by the text of the play. It is, however, logical to believe that as soon as the emotional stimuli of coming face to face with the Ghost had worn off, the Protestant attitude, which denied the reality of ghosts, began to re-assert itself in Hamlet's mind. There can, furthermore, be little doubt that Hamlet's misgivings about the veracity of the Ghost are honest ones and not a "cogent" excuse, as Jones has insisted, for his failure to carry out promptly his motive of vengeance. Upon the very first opportunity of determining whether his informant is an honest ghost or a deceitful devil intent on his damnation, Hamlet acts with remarkable despatch and precision: only a single day elapses between his meeting with the Players and the performance of the play-scene; moreover, the speech which he has prepared to be inserted in the "Murder of Gonzago" is so deadly in its pointedness that the first six of its "dozen or sixteen" lines are sufficient to bring a tacit confession from Claudius. Thus, having fashioned an unexpected opportunity to his own purposes, Hamlet removes the paramount obstacle to his motive of vengeance, and consequently his most cogent reason *not* to slay Claudius, without an iota of evasion.

Once the uncertainty about the Ghost's identity has been removed—once Claudius, witnessing the satanic murder featured in the play-within-the-play, has cried, "Give me some light: away!"—Hamlet finds the King alone at prayers. Again, we must not forget the viewpoint of the Elizabethan; to him, repentance of past sins, however heinous, was tantamount to the soul's salvation.<sup>4</sup> To do away with Claudius while he is in the act of repentance would have

<sup>4</sup> Time and again Elizabethan writers attest to the absolute power of repentance to assure salvation. Two examples may be taken from Ulpian Fulwel's morality-interlude *Like Will to Like* (1568), printed in *Old English Plays*, ed. Robert Dodsley, 4th edition (London, 1874), vol. III. Virtuous Living, in an attempt to redeem the souls of several sinners, paraphrases a promise of Jesus:

Come unto me, ye that . . .  
with sin are heavily laden: . . .

Repent, repent, your sins shall be downtrodden. (P. 341)

Pierce Pickpocket, on the way to the gallows, hopes for salvation: "At the last to God let us call; / For he heareth such as are ready to repent, / And desireth not that sinners should fall" (p. 354). Wm. Perkins in *A Discourse of the Damned Art of Witchcraft* (written shortly before 1602) observes of witches, whom he considered more criminal than murderers: "If they repent, then God pardoneth their sin" (P. 253).

been, as Hamlet says, mere "hire and salary, not revenge." His father had been slain, to quote the Ghost, "with all my imperfections on my head: O horrible! O horrible! most horrible!" In Fletcher's *The Pilgrim*, revenge is put aside for the reason that the intended victim, a man who prays hourly, is too well prepared for Heaven. To the extent that the Elizabethan accepted the fact that King Hamlet (slain without benefit of repentance) was "confin'd to fast in fires", he was bound to understand that the prince could not slay Claudius "in the purging of his soul" without, in all likelihood, securing the salvation of his victim.

It is manifest, I think, that Hamlet was thwarted in the motive of vengeance by external obstacles. But the critics who have promulgated this theory have, with unfailing regularity, weakly interpreted or side-stepped his self-accusations of delay, the very passages on which the opposing school has built its thesis that the delay was internally motivated. In consequence, even the best criticisms of Hamlet's conduct have been unduly one-sided. Before I turn to an explanation of Hamlet's "admissions" of delay—his pseudo-procrastination—I wish to add one thought in support of the evidence that Hamlet's obstacles were external. In the saga of Amleth, as recorded by Saxo Grammaticus, the hero awaits, as he informs his mother, the "fitting hour" to avenge his slain father against Feng. This principle of the avenger's biding his time, of awaiting the appropriate opportunity, was later to be the almost invariable technique of Elizabethan tragedy. Hamlet as an avenger was the product of this and no other tradition. He is confronted by the normal number of external problems; what distinguishes him from his fellow avengers of the stage is his hypersensitive response to the delay imposed by these obstacles.

We come now to the apparent paradox of Hamlet's self-accusations of delay, which are clearly unwarranted. This paradox can in part be clarified by Elizabethan tenets that explain the functions of conscience and especially its morbid preoccupation with past sins and omissions. But, in so far as Shakespeare's insight into character went far beyond the scope of Elizabethan psychology, a more complete explanation of Hamlet's conduct must depend upon a modernization of these concepts. In the respect that the present-day concepts which best explain Hamlet's paradoxical conduct are basically identical to the Elizabethan tenets available to Shakespeare, they have a validity that is not shared by the Oedipus complex theory.

Tenets of Elizabethan psychology fully support the hypothesis that Hamlet's unwarranted self-reproaches are the outgrowth of a conscience that is preoccupied with some past sin or omission; but they do not contain an adequate explanation of the psychic origins of his guilt complex, a task that must depend on the help of those modern principles which explain the relation of the super-ego, or the conscience, to abnormal behavior. The Elizabethan physician Timothy Bright in his once-famous *Treatise of Melancholie* (1586) recognized "a molestation [that] riseth from conscience, condemning the guilty soul of those ingraven laws of nature, which no man is voide of."<sup>8</sup> . . . Neither is the guiltiness brought to us by foreine report, but the knowledge riseth from the conscience of the offender" (p. 196). Thirty-five years later, Robert Burton, restating the established Elizabethan causes of melancholy, wrote: "The last and

<sup>8</sup> Timothy Bright, *A Treatise of Melancholie* (1586), The Facsimile Text Society (New York, 1940), p. 193.

greatest cause of this malady is our conscience. . . . Our conscience . . . grinds our souls with remembrance of some precedent sins, makes us reflect upon, accuse and condemn our own selves. . . . This scrupulous conscience . . . tortures so many, [who] . . . accuse themselves and aggravate every small offence."<sup>6</sup> In fine, Bright and Burton have told us that a disquieting sense of guilt arises from the dictates of conscience when they are violated; second, that victims of conscience deal in self-accusations and, as Burton states, "out of a deep apprehension of their unworthiness . . . aggravate" every trivial sin or personal failure. That Shakespeare was keenly aware of the distempers that a violated conscience could evoke is frequently evident in his plays; Richard III, after the dream in which the ghosts of his victims appear, cries:

O coward conscience, how dost thou afflict me!

My conscience hath a thousand several tongues,

And every tongue brings in a several tale,

And every tale condemns me for a villain.<sup>7</sup>

The principles of Bright and Burton provide us with a broad formula outlining Hamlet's abnormal tendency to abase himself. His over-developed conscience is violated by something that he has done or, equally possible, by something that he has failed to do, which is—as is clear from the context of the play—his failure to avenge his father; in consequence, informed by his conscience of his "guiltiness", he falls into excessive and, in his case, unwarranted self-accusations.

A second important aspect that I believe underlies Hamlet's conduct is hinted at, but not clarified, by Elizabethan mental science. To counteract melancholy imposed by conscience, Burton advised "repentance", which he termed "a remedy . . . of our miseries" (p. 953). Burton meant "repentance to God"; but this does not preclude the probability that Shakespeare considered self-rebuke, certainly a major aspect of repentance, to be a potent means of inactivating the "molestation" which, as Bright maintained, "riseth from conscience".

The modern theory which recognizes the neurotic's "need to suffer"—a need that includes self-accusation and abasement—is not explicitly supported by Elizabethan mental science, which can explain Hamlet's tendency to indulge in self-accusations, but affords no sharply defined theory as to his need for doing so. Moreover, Elizabethan tenets cannot accurately define the psychic composition of the dictate, or "molestation", that stems from Hamlet's conscience and forces him into self-accusations which are clearly unwarranted. Indeed, until these two matters are clarified by modern psychology, a reader may have reasonable doubt that the basic source of Hamlet's mental tension is his conscience and not a habitual psychosis. All critics are agreed that Shakespeare's intuitive understanding explored depths of human nature far beyond the scope of Elizabethan principles of psychology. We are justified, consequently, in turning to modern tenets dealing with the conscience for a more complete understanding of Hamlet's conduct, especially of those aspects which are inadequately explained by Elizabethan science. The present-day theory of the structure and function of the

<sup>6</sup> Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, ed. by Floyd Dell and Paul Jordan-Smith (New York, 1948), pp. 942-943.

<sup>7</sup> *King Richard III*, V.iii; *The Histories and Poems of Shakespeare*, ed. by W. J. Craig (London, 1922), p. 838.

superego, or the conscience, differs from the earlier viewpoint in only one basic tenet: it insists that the dictates of conscience are implanted by the severity of our infantile moral training, whereas the Elizabethans believed that they stemmed directly from God. But this difference is not an irreconcilable one: the moral training that an infant receives from his parents and teachers may be interpreted as having its source in a higher law of nature. Shakespeare was aware of such an inseparable relationship; for one example, when Claudius reprimands Hamlet for his "unmanly grief", he immediately adds:

It shows a will most incorrect to heaven . . .  
An understanding simple and unschooled.

Shakespeare, in equating Hamlet's shortcoming to an affront against heaven, immediately blames the fault on a neglect in Hamlet's training; his manifest belief was that the laws of "heaven", or God, are made known primarily through the inculcation of moral discipline.

Two facts are clear: for external reasons Hamlet is unable to carry out his motive of vengeance; on the other hand, he violently upbraids himself for not doing so. So far, in relying on Elizabethan principles of conscience, I have made only a tenuous explanation of this enigma. The psychic origin and the ultimate structure of the dictate that tyrannizes over Hamlet's mind are not yet clear, nor has it been adequately shown *why* a conscience-stricken person has need to resort to self-accusation. Freud has argued that the superego, or conscience, takes its beginning from a threat of castration essential to suppress the infantile Oedipus complex. But this hypothesis, right or wrong, is hardly material to the actual existence of the superego, which, as psychoanalysts and many psychologists agree, is comprised of dictates acquired through moral discipline in childhood and, remaining thereafter "wholly or very largely unconscious",<sup>8</sup> has the duty of censorship over the conscious mind. Freud points out that the earliest and strongest of these dictates evolve from the child's relation with his parents, both from self-identification with them and their ideals and from their precepts; he also recognizes that a principal dictate acquired in childhood is that of filial obedience, which is expressed in a high regard by the child for his parents and without which the inculcation of further discipline would be all but impossible. Furthermore, the stronger has been a child's moral discipline, the more tyrannical, according to Freud, tend to be the dictates of the superego, which, in his interpretation, "the ego [consciousness] forms . . . out of the id".<sup>9</sup> That Hamlet, a prince and only child, has been subjected to the strictest kind of discipline, especially in regard for his parents, is not merely a logical hypothesis; it is a truth manifest throughout the play. His filial obedience is hinted at in his attitude toward his mother at the outset: "I shall in all my best obey you, madam." But far stronger are Hamlet's devotion and feeling of duty toward his dead father. This attitude, even before the Ghost has appeared to him, underscores his first soliloquy: "So excellent a king; that was, to this, / Hyperion to a satyr." When seconds later—having severely censured the queen's hasty remarriage—he sobs, "But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue", he is not stifling a

<sup>8</sup> Edmund S. Conklin, *Principles of Abnormal Psychology* (New York, 1937), p. 18.

<sup>9</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The Ego and the Id*, transl. by Joan Riviere (London, 1935), p. 52. Elsewhere, Freud states that the superego is formed out of the ego, but becomes a part of the "internal world".



jealousy for his mother and her "incestuous sheets", as the adherents of the Oedipus complex theory have insisted. On the contrary, so strong has been his moral training, so strong at present are the dictates of his offended conscience, that he is horrified at her infidelity to his father; his despair is made complete, and he is stunned into silence, by the knowledge that his words and actions are powerless to atone for his mother's immense sacrilege, which, as he describes it, "cannot come to good."<sup>10</sup> His accustomed esteem for his mother—and with it much of his moral outlook on life—has crashed about him, in irreparable fragments.

Shortly, Hamlet learns from the Ghost that his paramount responsibility is to avenge his father's murder. In a passion of filial obedience, he vows to "sweep to . . . revenge" on "wings as swift as meditation"; later, just after the Ghost has departed, he pledges: "Thy commandment all alone shall live / Within the book and volume of my brain." Once his conscious mind has reassured itself, Hamlet is fully aware that he is confronted by hazardous external obstacles, and hence plans to put on "an antic disposition" in order to conceal his motive. But his conscience, the "precipitate" of childhood years of strictest moral discipline, is not able to take account of such practical matters. Since it had been activated, while his reason was largely suppressed, during the encounter with the Ghost—a matter confirmed by his unqualified expressions of filial duty at that time—it has dedicated itself to an immediate course of vengeance which, although consistent with Hamlet's deep sense of loyalty, is independent of the commitments later resolved upon by his rational mind. That part of it, moreover, which is unconscious—according to modern theory, an overwhelmingly major portion—is completely isolated from the faculty of reason and has not the power even to comprehend Hamlet's rationally developed doubt as to the veracity of the Ghost. Hamlet's self is divided by two injunctions, one resulting from the precautions of reason, the other from the unconscious and insistent dictates of the superego. Consider, for example, the soliloquy ending Act II: it is sharply contradictory in substance for the reason that Hamlet's mind is at first engaged in response to the dictates of his conscience. This response, confirming the superego's unqualified acceptance of the duty imposed by the Ghost, takes the form of violent self-accusations for his failure to have avenged his father; then, with an obvious effort, he cries, "Fie upon 't, foh! About, my brain", and turns his mind to the world of reality and the practical consideration with which he is faced: the fact that the Ghost may be the Devil, and that therefore he has arranged the play-within-the-play, hopeful of proving to himself his *right* to slay Claudius. The phrase, "About, my brain", is clear indication of Hamlet's realization that he is confronted by two diametrically opposite criteria of values, the one unreasonable

<sup>10</sup> As A. C. Bradley (*Shakespearean Tragedy*, 1905) has pointed out, the morally sensitive Hamlet suffers a state of shock as the result of his mother's hasty remarriage. But I cannot agree with Bradley that this condition of shock persists throughout four acts of the play and that it is the reason which prevents Hamlet from promptly executing the motive of vengeance. (The motive of vengeance, in actuality, appears to lift Hamlet out of his state of shock by giving him a renewed purpose in life.) Bradley argues that Hamlet frequently emerges from the grip of stupefaction in order to greet old friends or the players, to marvel at his failure to kill the King, or to carry out the ruthless scheme which sends Rosencrantz and Guildenstern to their deaths. Therefore, the question arises as to why Hamlet, in one of his less oppressed moods, cannot find time to slay the King if, as Bradley feels, the task in itself is not a particularly difficult one.



in its demands and quite mystifying, the other realistic and understandable, and each completely isolated from the other.

Both the compelling nature of Hamlet's inner conscience and the fact that it has no information of the external obstacles that have deterred the motive of vengeance are irrefutably testified by the final appearance of Hamlet senior's ghost. Unseen and unheard by his mother, who is present, it speaks to him from the realm of the inner mind: "This visitation / Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose." The embodiment of Hamlet's conscience is ultimate proof of what has been tormenting him from the time of his first encounter with the Ghost—then a ghost of revenge—when he was intrusted with its "dread command". The longer Hamlet must delay in carrying out his pledge—first, for absolute proof of Claudius's guilt, later for the "fitting hour"—the more forcible are the demands of the superego that its dictate of prompt vengeance in obedience to his father be fulfilled. "The tension", wrote Freud (p. 49), "between the demands of the conscience and the actual attainments of the ego [whether misdeeds or 'unexecuted intentions'] is experienced as a sense of guilt", which, as he stresses elsewhere, is "contributed by a superego that has grown peculiarly severe and cruel".<sup>11</sup> It is inevitable, therefore, that Hamlet, whose conscience is unable to comprehend the problems imposed on him by the real world, falls victim to a marked guilt complex. Freud and other psychoanalysts have pointed out that only through abasement and self-injury can the neurotic's sense of guilt (described by them as basically unconscious) be relieved: "Self-torments of melancholiacs . . . are without doubt pleasurable."<sup>12</sup> Dr. Martin W. Peck is more explicit: The neurotic finds "relief from guilt by abasement and self-punishment"<sup>13</sup>—and, as he later states, "by self-depreciation". As Hamlet's guilt complex becomes unbearably strong, he relies instinctively on the only available remedy—abasement and self-torment. By undeservedly reproaching himself for weakness of character, in particular by transposing the causes that obstruct his vengeance from external obstacles to himself, Hamlet can temporarily assuage the painful sense of guilt and gain relief from it. He undergoes what Dr. A. A. Brill has termed an "emotional catharsis" that follows the fulfillment of the "need for punishment". His self-reproaches for not having avenged his father suggest that he becomes at times conscious of the precise nature of the superego's dictate; according to Freud and Brill, an awareness of this sort, though not found in most neurotic disorders, is not uncommon among melancholiacs: "In melancholia, the ego humbly submits to the criticism and tyrannical oppression of the superego and admits its guilt."<sup>14</sup> Hamlet's other methods of abasement—for example, his ludicrous appearance in "doublet all unbrac'd" before Ophelia—are less directly related to the demands of the conscience; but, like his self-accusations, they are means of satisfying a need for punishment and attest to a potent sense of guilt.

<sup>11</sup> Freud, *An Outline of Psychoanalysis*, transl. by James Strachey (New York, 1949), p. 75.

<sup>12</sup> Freud, *Collected Papers*, transl. by A. and J. Strachey (London, 1950), IV, 162.

<sup>13</sup> Martin W. Peck, *The Meaning of Psychoanalysis* (New York, 1950), p. 137.

<sup>14</sup> Brill, *Freud's Contribution to Psychiatry* (New York, 1944), p. 153. Freud and Brill recognize two types of melancholia: manic-depressive psychosis and narcissistic (or "involution") melancholia. Oppressed by the strong dictates of conscience, Hamlet suffers from the first and milder of these two types.

Hamlet's procrastination, consequently, is apparent, not real. Since circumstances—prior to his ruthless betrayal of the King's henchmen, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern—have rendered impossible the performance of a well-planned act of aggression against his father's murderer, he is forced to rely on self-incrimination to calm the storms of the superego, which, lying largely in the unconscious mind, is unable to evaluate the external problems and hence imposes an unreasonable dictate upon the ego, or consciousness. In this respect, it is noteworthy that Hamlet's most tempestuous self-accusation, climaxed by "Or ere this / I should have fatted all the region kites / With this slave's offal" (II.ii), precedes his outburst against his mother, which is an indirect aggression against Claudius. During and after the scene with his mother, he again reproaches himself for the failure to avenge his father, but less tempestuously: the demands of the superego, having found partial satisfaction in Hamlet's aggressive conduct, are now less strong and, therefore, less a threat to his sanity.

My purpose in this essay has not been to establish a new interpretation of Hamlet's character. I accept the thesis, first emphatically stated by Werder, that Hamlet is a man of action and that he is deterred in his motive of vengeance solely by the external obstacles, among which is the orthodox doubt as to the identity of the Ghost. My purpose has been to explain only the reasons behind Hamlet's self-accusations of delay. These self-reproaches are undoubtedly the factor chiefly responsible for the school which insists that Hamlet's failure in the revenge motive is the result of an innate weakness; on the other hand, the upholders of what has been termed the "external difficulty" theory have been compelled to ignore or to explain them awkwardly. The result, in almost every instance, has been a marked disproportion of criticism. In view of the apparent incompatibility between Hamlet's self-accusations of delay and the manifest external obstacles to his motive of vengeance, evasions or distortions of one or more of the major facts relating to his conduct have been inevitable. As I see it, only the tenets of "conscience"—those of the Elizabethans abetted by those of modern times—can adequately resolve this particular problem. Moreover, these tenets, although they stamp Hamlet as a neurotic, do not contravene the theory that he is a man capable of ruthless action. His failure to execute prompt vengeance upon Claudius does not stem from his neurosis; on the contrary, his neurosis—a potent but temporary guilt complex—is the effect of the inaction which is prolonged by the external problems, and for which he is brought to task by the predetermined and altogether illogical dictates of his conscience.

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## Reviews

*The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined.* By WILLIAM F. and ELIZABETH S. FRIEDMAN. New York and Cambridge (Eng.): Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. [xviii] + 303. 25s.

This book will, I believe, become a standard work of reference. It is unique in its comprehensive treatment of its subject. Judgment as to the correctness or otherwise of the solution of a cipher must depend on very considerable knowledge and experience in a highly technical field in which, for obvious reasons, such knowledge is confined to a small circle of specialists. I am happy to be able to testify to the authority of Mr. and Mrs. Friedman whom I knew well as valued associates in World War II.

It is indeed surprising to learn that as recently as 1944 it was still possible for a responsible person to get into print with a series of articles in support of the conclusions of Ignatius Donnelly's *The Great Cryptogram*. I do not think that in the future such people will take lightly the Friedmans' objective analysis of this and other cipher discoveries, more particularly in view of the temperate tone adopted by the authors.

The first chapter is a short general survey of the various "anti-Stratfordian" claims for authors of the plays other than Shakespeare. It is followed by a chapter entitled "Cryptology as a Science" in which are laid down in clear and simple form the tests by which the validity of a cryptanalytic solution is assessed. The authors rightly insist that "there is an art in devising ciphers and an art in breaking them down. But in setting out his results, a cryptologist is above all a man of science. The validity of his solutions depends on the same kind of objective tests as other scientists use, and the steps in his reasoning are subject to the same criteria".

In spite of the detail necessary for fair study of so many different attempts to find ciphers concealed in the First Folio (as well as the works of Bacon and many other printed books of the age of Shakespeare), the book makes on the whole easy and entertaining reading. Many of the attempts immediately fail to convince when the light of objective scrutiny is shed on them, but the authors have held to their aim of full and fair treatment for all. This attitude has not generally been the rule in replies by the orthodox to Baconian and other theories of authorship of the plays.

It is pathetic to read of the almost endless succession of "discoveries" (anagrams, acrostics, secret numbers, etc.), many of them mutually exclusive and many of them again suggesting that our superlative heritage of plays is really only a vehicle for a cipher. A good example of the kind of mentality that has gone into these discoveries is that of Arensberg, to whose activities Chapter X is devoted. A highly cultured man, he progressed from "The Cryptography of Dante" to "The Cryptography of Shakespeare" in which he began by rejecting all rival cipher theories, then went on to say that "acrostics . . . can be used quite rigidly and inflexibly" and finally could produce nothing better than numerous "anagrammatic acrostics" found by hunting through Shakespeare's plays for passages where the first letters of 3 or 4 successive lines begin for example with C, O, B, F, AN in order to discover the signature "F. Bacon". He was apparently just as satisfied with similar finds in Bacon's own works and was ready with an explanation of this improbable proceeding.

The Friedmans have spared us the following story which I repeat from memory and have not been able to verify. Sir E. Durning Lawrence (mentioned in the book among the numerologists) published *Bacon is Shakespeare* in 1910 and by suggestion attributed to Bacon a quite fantastic display of prophecy in pointing out that the intervening years since the publication of the First Folio in 1623 turned out once again to amount to 287, which, as readers will see, has been among the most persistent of the Baconian secret numbers.

Many will find the last third of the book the most interesting part. It is devoted to the Biliteral Cipher texts of Mrs. Gallup with whom the Friedmans were personally involved over a number of years. They have leant over backwards to be scrupulously fair to Mrs. Gallup but have been unable to withhold their condemnation of her millionaire sponsor, Colonel Fabyan, who was not above commissioning Goudy, one of the great names in type-design, to examine Mrs. Gallup's work and later suppressing his report because it didn't suit his own theories.

Cheltenham, England

BRIGADIER JOHN H. TILTMAN

*Shakespeare: Modern Essays in Criticism*. Ed. LEONARD F. DEAN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. Pp. 426. \$2.65.

In the brief introduction to this collection of modern critical essays on Shakespeare Professor Dean states his objectives clearly and modestly: "I looked for essays offering a fresh and thoughtful interpretation of the plays; and I had in mind the general reader as well as the student, teacher, and critic. The plan was to include a few general essays, at least one on each of the major plays, and as far as possible several essays on a play or group of plays in order to represent contrasting or complementary critical views." But, Professor Dean goes on to explain, most of the essays "finally selected and available for reprinting" (only a fellow-anthologist can guess what disappointments and last-minute substitutions are concealed by that demure phrase!) turned out to be of recent date, and hence bear witness to the interest of modern Shakespearians in "patterns of imagery, the structure of ironic drama, and other topics somewhat neglected by earlier critics". The timid reader will be glad to know that some more conventional topics, such as the Elizabethan theatre and Renaissance modes of thought, are also treated.

It would be pointless to chide Professor Dean, in view of this disclaimer, for not having undertaken to represent systematically the leading currents in modern criticism of Shakespeare. For one thing, in assembling his collection, he has in fact glanced at most of the themes of interest to either the general reader or the specialist. For another, even the most indulgent reader will scarcely maintain that all critical sub-species have equal right to immortality; there are some (not, of course, in Professor Dean's book or in this journal) that had better never been born. And, if the editor has passed lightly over certain schools and persuasions, he has at the same time introduced a device—the group of essays, mentioned above, providing contrasting or complementary views of a single work (Roy Walker, W. H. Clemen, and Maynard Mack on *Hamlet*, Stoll and Heilman on *Othello*)—that will furnish matter for many student essays and classroom discussions.

This said, however, it may still be asked whether these twenty-eight selections compose a book that will, two decades hence, seem as lively and informative as Mrs. Anne Ridler's *Shakespeare Criticism 1919-1935*, Harley Granville-Barker's and Professor G. B. Harrison's *Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, or the *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* remain to-day. Mrs. Ridler's little

book, in particular, suggests an interesting comparison with Professor Dean's anthology. Compiled in 1936, it includes essays by fifteen leading twentieth-century critics, from J. M. Robertson to George Rylands. (As in Professor Dean's book, Dover Wilson is omitted "because there was no suitable essay of his available".) Granville-Barker, Caroline Spurgeon, G. Wilson Knight, and E. E. Stoll alone appear in both collections. Among those who have not survived from Mrs. Ridler's book are Sir Walter Greg, L. L. Schücking, H. B. Charlton, J. Isaacs, and George Rylands. On the other hand, Professor Dean has introduced worthy specimens of the finest work of such critics as Mark Van Doren, O. J. Campbell, Harold S. Wilson, Wolfgang Clemen, E. M. W. Tillyard, M. C. Bradbrook, Northrop Frye, and E. K. Chambers. What has been gained does not, however, altogether compensate for what has been lost. It may be that the editor was more concerned than he entirely realized to exhibit the concern of the age with such subjects as Shakespeare's imagery, which in his book is the primary theme of eight essays but also figures to some extent in others. (For example, Professor Downer, in a valiant effort to pacify what he calls the critical armies of Shakespeare-as-a-dramatist and Shakespeare-as-a-poet, argues elaborately for a synthesis in which the dramatic value of imagery and the symbolic value of action can be reconciled.) Interesting as the studies of imagery may be when examined singly, in bulk they inevitably impress one as over-ingenious. (I am reminded of the critic who, when asked his opinion of a poem, replied: "I haven't solved that one yet.")

Professor Dean's book, to be sure, has its undeniable excellences. Mark Van Doren's luminous essay on *Antony and Cleopatra*, Alfred Harbage's eminently sensible and persuasive characterization of Shakespeare's audience, Northrop Frye's thoughtful discussion of Shakespeare's comedies in relation to classical comedy, O. J. Campbell's searching study of *Coriolanus* as tragic satire—these and others are ornaments of the criticism of Shakespeare in our time.

And yet the book as a whole is disappointing. Set it against a study such as Lord David Cecil's "Shakespearean Comedy", in his recent *The Fine Art of Reading*, and the reason becomes apparent at once. Criticism at its best is no handmaiden of literature but literature itself. Lord David's brilliant and beautiful essay is not merely a commentary on certain aspects of Shakespeare's comedies; it is a revelation of a sensitive and imaginative intelligence responding to the work of the greatest writer in our language. The correspondences between Shakespeare and Pope, Housman, and De la Mare to which Lord David calls our attention (in a footnote) return us to larger considerations of the nature and comprehensiveness of Shakespeare's poetic genius. In other words, we read "Shakespearean Comedy" not alone for what it tells us about Shakespeare but also for what it tells us about Cecil, just as we prize Johnson's criticism of Shakespeare both for its illumination of Shakespeare and because no one else could possibly have written it. It is wholly appropriate that Professor Dean's book be judged by the highest standards, for no writer has inspired better criticism in every age than has Shakespeare. The next such collection to be compiled may well take Lord David's essay as a worthy representative of the finest criticism of Shakespeare in our time.

Washington, D. C.

MILTON CRANE

*The Sonnets of Shakespeare—Shakespeare Szonettjei.* Bilingual ed.; transl. by PÁL JUSTUS. Budapest: Corvina Publishing Company, 1956. Pp. 344. \$2.00.

Since Hungary, culturally an integral part of the West through nine centuries, is ruled by a handful of Communists kept in power by Soviet occupation



forces, a Budapest prison cell is a proper place in which to plan literary endeavors linked to the free spirit of the West. The situation is by no means unprecedented; Hungarian prisons often served as literary workshops in time of earlier dictatorial regimes as well. The leader of the Hungarian revolution of 1848-49, Kossuth, was a political prisoner when he set out to translate *Macbeth* and learned English to a degree which was to evoke during his American tour in 1851-52 the admiration of Emerson and Longfellow, Greeley and Webster. It was likewise in jail a few years later that Madách prepared the first sketches of his towering dramatic poem (conveniently but inaccurately called by some the Hungarian *Faust*) in which Plato, appearing in a future totalitarian society as "Number 400", is sentenced to kneeling on hard peas because of neglect of menial duties, and exclaims: "Ah, even when I kneel on peas, I dream!"<sup>1</sup> Recently, a moving poetic work akin to Wilde's *Ballad of Reading Gaol* was born in a Budapest prison and published in the West after its author's flight there last fall,<sup>2</sup> and now another notable example of distressing connections between Magyar creative imagination and political imprisonment has come to us: a translation of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, prepared in jail by Hungarian Social Democrat theoretician Pál Justus.

It is axiomatic that the productivity and promise of the literature of any nation increases in direct proportion to the extent to which it allows Shakespeare to teach, inspire and impregnate. If the decisive factor is not breadth but depth, Shakespeare's effect on Hungarian literature has been great indeed. While space forbids a balanced listing of the many Hungarian classics influenced by him, it should be mentioned that the rise of his cult started relatively early, considering the country's geographic and linguistic isolation as well as its long Turkish occupation and Austrian oppression. It began only a few decades later than in Germany and France, at a time when Hungarian letters began to assume a new pattern of character, setting and style. Original Hungarian playwriting received dynamic impetus from some of Shakespeare's plays translated from German and not, as in Russia, from the French distortions of Ducis. By the eighteen-thirties, large segments of the public joined with leading personalities of literary and theatrical circles in a movement aimed at the translation, from the original, of all of Shakespeare's works. Eventually the nation's Garrick, Egressy, issued an electrifying "Manifesto" to the effect that the task be undertaken at government expense ("in view of the national interest involved") by the country's greatest poets: Arany, Petöfi and Vörösmarty. Appositely enough, Arany, contemplative giant of epic poetry, chose *Hamlet*; Petöfi, popular idol, later revolutionary leader and martyr, *Coriolanus*; and *King Lear* was rendered by Vörösmarty, poet of grand passion destined to die insane, who had declared exuberantly that "a good Shakespeare translation is worth at least half of a national literature". The majestic project of these men and others reached its completion in 1878 with a collected edition, on the basis of which annual Shakespeare Cycles came to be presented at the National Theatre.

By contrast, the *Sonnets* were late in donning full and sufficiently well tailored Hungarian attire. Much as they captivate the imagination by their splendor and the reason by their profundity, carrying a universal appeal through their projection of Love and Beauty, Time and Existence, Death and Eternity, the Hungarian demand for sonnets appeared adequately filled from domestic

<sup>1</sup> Imre Madách, *The Tragedy of Man* (Az Ember Tragédiája), (Engl. tr. by C. H. Mercer and P. Vajda), Budapest, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> Pál Ignóty, *Börtönnaplóm* (My Prison Diary), Munich, 1957.



supply. Only some of the elite of active and passive litterateurs gathered around the *Sonnets*; but again it was depth and not breadth that mattered, and in our own century the sublime verses became vehicles of noble contests between translators whose talents ranged from the outstanding (Kosztolányi, Áprily, Vas) to the superb (Babits, Szabó, Radnóti).

The latest contestant, Mr. Justus, author of two volumes of engaging poetry but heretofore unknown as a literary translator, is primarily a political figure who was arrested in 1949 and sentenced to life imprisonment as a co-defendant at the celebrated Rajk trial.<sup>3</sup> Released two years ago at the age of fifty, Justus can truly bear witness to "Art made tongue-tied by authority" (Sonnet LXVI).

Owing to the almost ultramundane position of the admirably colorful and flexible tool of art which the Finno-Ugrian language called Magyar constitutes, excerpts from the new translation and, for comparison, some of its predecessors would serve little useful purpose in these columns. The reviewer must submit summary findings without supporting evidence.

Unlike the pre-eminent Babits and the brilliant Szabó, both of whom rigorously adhered to the metre and nevertheless succeeded in conveying the sense as well as the emotional intensity of the original, Justus freely adds a syllable to the line in as many instances as are convenient to him. Since literary translation is necessarily a compromise—or, as has been said of diplomacy, "the art of the possible"—*poetica licentia* of this technical sort can hardly be branded an unforgivable transgression of poetic responsibility. Especially in the present important case, however, the physical gain, tantamount to the opposite of amputation, is an artistic loss which could and should have been averted.

A more consequential imperfection of the Justus version of the *Sonnets* is its insufficiency of charm. The translator's intellect is evidently much stronger than his artistic inspiration, a fact not unnatural in the light of his basic training and main life experience. His conscientiousness—solid enough to have prompted careful research into meanings and undertones of Shakespearean words in the setting of their time, the presentation of the original text of each piece along with its translation, and an informative compilation of certain ambiguities in the verses—is greater than his ability to be subtle.

Both Babits and Szabó were more successful than Justus or anyone else to date in applying a design of expression which reflects virtually every essential quality not only of the original text and mood but also of the uncanny freshness and directness of Shakespeare's spontaneity.

And yet, Justus can be genuinely spirited and quite graceful; he overcomes, often with impressive ease, most of the multitudinous difficulties of Shakespeare's lines and sense. Not the least of the virtues of his translation is that its assonances and pure rhymes almost invariably afford phonetic pleasure. Throughout his performance, deviations are limited enough not to do measurable harm, and considerable is the number of passages which impress with their power and eloquence.

The translator has emerged from the mysterious labyrinth of the *Sonnets* with a mirror which reflects a worthy likeness of the Bard and an effective tonal presence of his poems. Once again, a Budapest prison has been instrumental in the production of a flavorful fruit of love and labor which deserves to be called a valuable artistic creation. Hungarian Shakespeareana is the richer

<sup>3</sup> As the dictator Rákosi publicly acknowledged before his forced retirement in 1956 under the impact of "de-Stalinization", the trial, at which the accused individuals confessed to capital crimes, was based on manufactured evidence.

for it, and one hopes that Mr. Justus, at last in direct linguistic and spiritual touch with the Anglo-Saxon world, will increasingly exert his talents in that field.

Washington, D. C.

ANDOR KLAY

*Shakespeare's Wordplay.* By M. M. MAHOOD. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1957. Pp. 192. 18s.

When this book is going about its main business, it is excellent. The reader should not be thrown off by its occasional over-subtleties, or some pages which are little more than collections of particulars, which is inevitable in a book of the nature of this one, or by the notion that suicide is the unforgivable sin, or by the following: "Gertrude . . . seems, like Augusta Leigh, to have 'suffered from a sort of moral idiocy since birth'. Hamlet is attempting the impossible when, in the closet scene, he tries to make Gertrude see the enormity of her behaviour". Hamlet was *not* attempting the impossible here. He *did* make his mother see her soul's "black and grained spots". And let us at long last have done with the girlhood of Shakespeare's women. But these are not matters central to the book. There is a great deal to be learned from this book that cannot be found elsewhere.

This is a selective study of Shakespeare's wordplay. The book opens with a perceptive and sensible chapter on Shakespeare's multiple meanings, and it asserts that a study of them can take us to the central experience of the play as surely as such things as imagery and explicit statement. This is ably demonstrated by chapters on *Romeo and Juliet*, *Richard II*, *The Sonnets*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *The Winter's Tale*. There is a concluding chapter on the contemporary attitudes toward words and on what, assuredly, Shakespeare's attitudes were. "What's in a name?" is his questioning of one contemporary attitude, yet he knew, too, that words have a life of their own, and ". . . that a rose would not smell as sweet by any other name. Were it called a grump, it would smell as sweet as a rose only if the gardens of our childhood had been full of grumps and if poets had always likened their loves to red, red grumps." Miss Mahood's enthusiasm for her subject does not lead her to a deification of it. She does not consider wordplay out of context, or at least not often. She does not write of wordplay as though it were the whole thing, as image hunters are prone to do with images. She sticks to the total experience of the play, of which wordplay is an integral part. She enriches the text and shows us significances and foreshadowings we had not noticed before. Not all the levels of meaning in the wordplay of the earlier parts of *Romeo and Juliet* "are consciously present to the audience, but beneath the conscious level they connect with later images and quibbles and are thus brought into the play before the tragedy is over." There is no space here to demonstrate this, but Miss Mahood's chapter does. So too with *Macbeth*. The wordplay welds the themes together and helps preserve the plays theatrical vigor.

Nor does she over simplify. Her Shakespeare is still myriad minded. "So *The Winter's Tale* is a morality play; but its morality is wider, wiser and more humane than that of a Puritan inner drama of sin, guilt and contrition. Somethings is omitted in the attempt made here to allegorize the play. We have had to leave out the sunburnt mirth of Bohemia, the clown, Mopsa, the rogue Autolycus. . . ." And you cannot leave out Autolycus because his stud language shows up "The folly of regarding everything in nature as subject to moral judgment." Miss Mahood's Shakespeare is a living man, and wordplay is a

part of him. And her book is a book; you may shake it as hard as you can and it will not fall into a card catalogue. But there is a list of the words discussed, and you may also use the book as a glossary.

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EDWARD HUBLER

*Shakespeare Survey* 10. Ed. ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pages viii + 171. 21s.

Announcing the theme of this volume, J. C. Maxwell makes a discriminating estimate of scholarship and criticism on "Shakespeare's Roman Plays: 1900-1956". He points out that while Bradley did not give highest marks to the Roman tragedies, a deeper interest has been shown by later critics such as Granville-Barker, Wilson Knight, and Willard Farnham.

Four of the essays here printed were delivered as lectures at Stratford in 1955. In "Shakespeare's 'Small Latin'—How Much?" Dover Wilson agrees with Johnson and Farmer that Shakespeare fed very sparingly of the dainties that are bred in Latin books. Wilson argues for the paramount influence of Golding, rather than of Ovid, in the dialogue between Lorenzo and Jessica and in passages in *Richard II*, *As You Like It*, and *Henry V*, while he thinks that in *The Tempest* Shakespeare remembered Golding and then looked up Ovid's Latin. He simplifies the problem, however, by dismissing rather casually the evidence which has been presented by T. W. Baldwin and Virgil Whitaker.

T. J. B. Spencer, in "Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Romans", suggests that "Titus would easily be recognized as typical Roman history by a sixteenth-century audience." He believes that Shakespeare was well aware of conflicting opinions about Caesar and Brutus, for in his time "the problem was acknowledged to be a complicated and fascinating one"; and he remarks that "to write *Coriolanus* was one of the great feats of the historical imagination in Renaissance Europe". Hermann Heuer, carrying farther an important study which he published in *Anglia* in 1938, shows how Shakespeare made Coriolanus a nobler man and a profounder tragic mystery than he is in Plutarch.

"The Metamorphosis of Violence in *Titus Andronicus*" by Eugene M. Waith concludes that in this play "Ovid more than Seneca or the epic poets was the model for both characterization and style" and that Shakespeare's "rhetoric of admiration" presents Titus as "a man so worked upon that by sheer intensity of passion he ultimately transcends the normal limits of humanity." In "The Composition of *Titus Andronicus*" R. F. Hill gives reasons for believing that *Titus* is either Shakespeare's first play or else the work of more than one author. He observes that rhetorical figures are here used with less skill than in 2 and 3 *Henry VI* or the other early plays, so that if the play is all Shakespeare's he may have written it in its first form before 1590.

The vivid production of *Titus* at Stratford by Peter Brook was, as Richard David describes it in "Drams of Eale", one that "held the spectator spell-bound—spell-bound and yet quite unmoved." I had the same impression when I saw the play, that it was "a wonderful piece of work" in Enobarbus' sense, a triumph of art. Design and color, music and motion, conveyed the effect of a ballet. Olivier dominated the play as Titus, a Roman Sebastian pierced by the arrows of his enemies. Antony Quayle's Aaron was so full of energy that it made one wish to see him as Iago. But the play remained a dance of death, a pageant of speaking pictures.

One important article deals with Elizabethan staging: "Shakespeare's Use

of a Gallery over the Stage" by Richard Hosley. In an earlier article in *Shakespeare Quarterly* (1957) Hosley suggested that the gallery over the stage functioned primarily as a "Lords' room" for spectators, but that it was occasionally used at the same time as an upper-stage. Differing from the view of John Cranford Adams, he believes that Shakespeare used the gallery to represent an inner room only once, in the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*. In the rest of the thirty-five scenes in Shakespeare's plays which require a gallery, this represents a window or wall or other high place and the action is usually framed in the front opening of the gallery in conjunction with action on the stage below.

Two essays in criticism are concerned with tragic heroes. In "Lear's Questions" Mrs. Winifred M. T. Nowotny observes that Lear is "more truly the maker of his own tragedy, by virtue of the questions he himself raises, than any other Shakespearian tragic hero." The questions he asks are "more searching than the situation itself necessitates." When mad Lear confronts blinded Gloucester, the problems that have brought the king to madness are restated in their extremest form. To the great question, "What is Man?", Mrs. Nowotny sees the play as implying this answer: "Man is that creature whose inherent nature is such as to raise the questions Lear asks." This is better criticism than the misguided attack on Othello by Albert Gerard, "'Egregiously an Ass': The Dark Side of the Moor. A View of Othello's Mind." It seems the very error of the moon that makes this writer present an Iago's-eye view of Othello as an "erring barbarian and credulous fool", a "primitive type" with "obscure savage beliefs", who passes from "the happiness of a spoilt child" to "childish self-pity". How not to read Shakespeare is shown by the fantastic interpretation of "Chaos is come again", where "again" is solemnly revealed as "one of the most pregnant words in the whole tragedy". Contrast this with the comment by Richard David later in the volume: "Othello's tragedy is the tragedy of Adam, natural nobility enmeshed by experience."

Three brief articles are rather narrow in scope. "Classical Costume in Shakespearian Productions" by W. M. Merchant is illustrated with interesting pictures from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it mentions only one production since 1898. The launching of the Shakespeare Festival at Toronto in 1949 is described by its founder and director, Earle Grey. "Shakespeare in Schools" by J. H. Walker presents some helpful suggestions, but is unduly confined to the horizon of the British grammar school. The teaching of Shakespeare is so important a subject that it calls for more thorough treatment.

The year's contributions to Shakespeare study are reviewed by Kenneth Muir, R. A. Foakes, and James G. McManaway. Though 1955 was not a vintage year for criticism, it produced important editions of *Richard II* by Black, *The Merchant of Venice* by Brown, and *Julius Caesar* by Dorsch, textual studies by Hinman and others, and Kirschbaum's *Shakespeare and the Stationers*. The crowning work of the year, *The Shakespeare First Folio* by Greg, was discussed in the ninth volume of the *Survey*.

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MARK ECCLES

*Shakespeare's Globe Playhouse. A Modern Reconstruction with Scale Drawings.* By IRWIN SMITH. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956. Pp. [xxiv] + 240, 46 plates and scale drawings. \$7.00.

It was in 1942 that Dr. J. C. Adams published his book *The Globe Playhouse: Its Design & Equipment*. His object, one may suppose, was to disperse at long last all the webs of uncertainty and conjecture that had for so long be-

wildered this controversial subject, and by a gigantic effort to settle all outstanding problems and have done. The effort being made, his consequent reconstruction of the Globe was complete down to the last detail, even to the number of bricks used. Following this, with the aid of Mr. Irwin Smith, he constructed the beautiful model which is now to be seen in the Folger Library in Washington. Here, said Dr. Adams in effect, is the definitive and comprehensive solution to all the staging problems in all the Elizabethan texts, and it is so because it has been constructed, by an exhaustive method of collation and analysis, expressly with the solution of these problems in view. But alas, if it was indeed his object to allay controversy, Dr. Adams has so far failed. Controversy is now not the less but the greater as a result of his efforts, and the reason is perhaps not far to seek, since it derives from the method Dr. Adams was obliged to use to arrive at his solution. He took it for granted on the one hand that there was a general uniformity of method in the staging of all Elizabethan and Jacobean plays over the whole period, which uniformity was conditioned by a theatre-structure deriving from inn yards; and on the other, that stage conditions were referred to in a more or less consistent manner throughout the whole corpus of dramatic texts. But what emerges from between these two millstones turns out to be an altogether new, even revolutionary idea of Elizabethan stage methods, and it is therefore hardly surprising that it has been continuously and indeed increasingly attacked in academic circles. Now, by way of answer to these attacks, Mr. Irwin Smith, Dr. Adams' collaborator, has brought out another book on the subject in which, with very little variation, he restates Dr. Adams' theory and provides into the bargain a set of scale drawings of the Folger model, so beautifully made and printed, and so fascinating in themselves that it will be small wonder if the model is not very widely reproduced and the theory of staging that goes with it widely taught. And that is the trouble: for in fact, fascinating as it may be, the Adams/Smith theory of Elizabethan staging upon which the whole of this reconstruction depends is in many respects so unsatisfactory that question cannot be shrugged away, and the theory and the structure are so closely linked and interdependent that if any part of either is seriously discredited the whole thing collapses. Mr. Smith, in his devotion to the cause, may not have realized this, for he is himself so convinced of the exactitude of what he postulates that his book conveys hardly any sense of the depth of the stream of controversy upon which it floats. For example, take a typical passage like the following:

Historically, the platform was the first unit in the development of what eventually became the Elizabethan multiple stage. The second was the curtained recess at the rear of the platform. The third was the balcony, borrowed from the inn-yard. When the stage took final form, the last two units lay within the tiring-house, within the scenic wall, and they are therefore here referred to as the inner stages. . . . The inner stage at first-gallery level lay in back of the platform, separated from it only by the stage curtains, and uniting with it when the curtains were opened. That on the second level was directly over the inner stage below. They were similar in size, in arrangement, and in some of their functions; in others they were different, as later chapters will show. The lower inner stage is usually known nowadays as the rear stage or alcove or study, the upper as the chamber or (in connection with the tarras) as the balcony.

Given like that nothing could be simpler, and having accepted it we might then go on, as Mr. Smith does, to consider the problems of the visibility, the exact dimensions and the uses of the various parts of the postulated "multiple



stage". But the catch lies in the very first word: *historically* there is not in fact a shred of evidence for a word of it, not even for that favorite old war-horse about the derivation from the inn-yard, an intelligent but quite unsupported nineteenth-century brain-wave, the general and uncritical acceptance of which provides an object-lesson in the dangers of taking such things for granted. Too many theories—such as in fact part of Dr. Adams'—can be constructed upon an unwarranted supposition that it is right.

But a greater difficulty is just that very completeness and interdependence of the argument Mr. Smith advances, so that, as I suggested above, the shaking of any part of it is the shaking of the whole. For example it may be recalled that in 1951 Professor George F. Reynolds published an article in *Shakespeare Survey* in which he questioned Dr. Adams' postulation of a stage locality which he calls (and which he claims the Elizabethan actors called) the "tarras". Mr. Smith glances briefly at this attack in a footnote, adding, however, that Professor Reynolds "is arguing less against the existence of a tarras than against a too literalistic interpretation of the plays as a basis for reconstructing stage and stagecraft." But is this really the only purpose of the argument? "The question", says Reynolds, "has wider significance, because the arguments advanced for the tarras are typical of a distinctive point of view towards the whole of Elizabethan stagecraft, not to say of drama in general. Discussion of the tarras . . . leads to conclusions of broad significance." And in the discussion which follows he gives his opinion that "none of the evidence submitted to prove the existence of some special acting place, a tarras, does really do so or even make it probable." Now this, unless it can be rebutted in terms of evidence, which Mr. Smith does not do, is a criticism damaging to the whole reconstruction, since the acceptance of the Adams tarras is essential to the acceptance of the Adams upper stage (the so-called "Chamber"), as can be seen from *Romeo and Juliet*, IV.v, which by the terms of the Adams theory has got to take place "above" and can only do so with the aid of this tarras-walkway *in front of* the closed curtains. Therefore in this case, if no tarras, no "Chamber" above, and if no Chamber above for this particular scene, no absolute reason for it in any similar scene; and with that the logical basis for this important part of the Adams theory disappears; but this is in itself so closely interlocked with the complete Adams theory of Elizabethan staging that if there is no logical necessity in the part there is no logical necessity in the whole of it, and it falls to the ground. Like a balloon, if you can puncture it anywhere, you deflate it everywhere. This is a far cry from Mr. Smith's easy dismissal of Reynolds as merely arguing against a "too literalistic interpretation of the plays", etc.

But what is one to do? The fact is, as Dr. McManaway points out in his Introduction, that whereas a studious caution all defended with loopholes and alternative approaches is admirable in an academic paper, as soon as one sets out to build a model of the Globe one must commit oneself to an absolute statement. In doing so, however, one must also reconcile oneself to the fact that some degree of error is quite unavoidable. The only thing one can say for certain about it is that it is wrong, and the only scholarly reason for building it at all is to try to discover just how wrong it is, and where, and why. Therefore I do not quarrel with Mr. Smith's book because I think his model is erroneous but only because to the multitude of non-specialist students who will come to it seeking information, which they will find here in great and comprehensive detail, there is no adequate warning given as to the very controversial nature of this reconstruction. I feel it would have been better if Mr. Smith had indicated that this should all be regarded rather as an experiment than as a historical fact.



None the less it is important to remember that Dr. Adams and Mr. Smith did not set out with any revolutionary intention. Their method of seeking a co-ordinated arrangement of stage localities through the study of collated texts differs little from that employed by William Archer and Sir Edmund Chambers. Seeking what Archer called a "standardization of effects" they, too, tried very hard to tidy up the loose ends in the bewildering rag-bag of Elizabethan stage documents and plays, in the hope of reaching a neat solution. It was the cautious and scholarly Chambers who tried to break down the dramatic localities of plays into groups, labelling them as hall scenes, chamber scenes, threshold scenes and the like, and then trying to fit them to corresponding stage localities. That he failed to satisfy himself in this (his solutions are always very tentative) was chiefly, I think, because the material itself was simply not amenable to the orderly processes of his mind. He hoped to win through by logic and consistency. To him the scene in *Romeo and Juliet*, where, after Romeo has climbed down from her window and the Nurse has warned her that her mother is on the way to her room, the stage direction says of Juliet "she goeth downe from the Window" (thus implying that although she was up at a window one moment and down on the stage the next, she was to be supposed as being all the time in her bedroom), to him this is "difficult" because it is illogical. But at least in the end he accepts it. Mr. Smith, on the other hand, rejects it altogether. It will not fit. But surely it is just here that we touch upon the real nature of these productions. Nothing exactly fits. Nothing exactly matches. Nobody's theory will go right home without contradiction. Do you believe that action supposed to be in a room indoors took place within a so-called "inner stage"? I will produce stage directions about the bringing out of furniture onto the main stage and so forth, which show that you are wrong. Do I claim that no such "inner stage" as you postulate was ever used? You may confound me with one stage-direction from *The Book of Sir Thomas Moore*, if with nothing else. Since these absolute contradictions exist it is surely better to accept them as they stand, as part of the proper character of the Elizabethan stage, than to try to reconcile them. Certainly we shall not reach any satisfactory solution in terms of logic or consistency. This only leads in the end to a process of browbeating the evidence until it submits to a particular theory, while simply rejecting altogether those last fragments that refuse to conform. I personally believe that we shall get no further in unravelling the difficulties of Elizabethan staging until the practicability and effect of the many various solutions have been studied in the full-size shell of a building reconstructed from the Hope and Fortune contracts, but with changeable arrangements for the stage and tiring-house. Is it too much to hope that this may one day be done?

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C. WALTER HODGES

*Othello* (The New Shakespeare). Ed. ALICE WALKER and JOHN DOVER WILSON. Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. lxx + 246. \$3.00.

This is the first volume of the New Cambridge Shakespeare with which Miss Walker has been associated, and in view of her distinguished contributions to Shakespearian bibliography it has been awaited with considerable interest. She is responsible for the text and the notes, Professor Dover Wilson contenting himself with the introduction. The two editors have criticized each other's work, but on some matters where they have failed to reach agreement, it is Mr. Wilson who signs the minority report.

The introduction is a lively, but largely traditional, interpretation of the

play. Mr. Wilson rejects Eliot and Leavis politely but firmly, and restates the earlier view of the noble Moor. He argues again, in spite of Kittredge and Sprague, for the motiveless malignity of Iago; and he provides an eloquent defence of Double Time. Remembering Paul Robeson's performance as the Moor, he stresses the color question more than is usual on this side of the Iron Curtain. He has a short section on imagery, with references to Spurgeon, Clemen, and Morozov, but not to Heilman and Bethell. Nor does he refer to G. R. Elliott and J. I. M. Stewart, presumably because he thinks they impose their own views on the play; but one would have liked to have had a cogent refutation of Stoll. As always, Mr. Wilson impresses the reader with his gusto and youthfulness; and his interpretation (though I should quarrel with him on details) is valuable indeed.

Mr. C. B. Young provides his usual judicious section on the stage history of the play. It is a pity, however, that though he mentions the producer, he is silent on the name of Ion Swinley, whose Othello seemed to many of those who frequented the Old Vic in the period between the two wars to be magnificent, better than the Othellos of eight more recent actors whom Mr. Young mentions by name. No one since then has spoken the lines so superbly, no one has excelled him in nobility. He never received his due from dramatic critics because his first-night performances were always spoiled by nerves and lapses of memory.

Miss Walker's text, as Mr. Wilson claims, is "far cleaner" than "that printed by any previous editor"; and she deserves our admiration for her courage in emending. Since the Folio was printed from a corrected copy of the Quarto, and set mainly by the inaccurate compositor B, it follows that there are likely to be many errors common to the two texts, between 55 and 80 according to Miss Walker's estimate, apart from the inaccuracies of Compositor B and the sophistications of the sophisticator. Of course we don't know that the same man collated the texts of *Othello* and *Richard III*, and if there were two men the collator of *Othello* may have been more, or less, competent.

Miss Walker has dared to introduce 19 readings of her own, besides accepting 12 from Pope, 6 from Theobald, and a number of others. These changes are nearly all improvements on the existing text, and she convinces one reader that many of them, but not all, are restorations of what Shakespeare wrote. Sometimes, perhaps, she gives us what Shakespeare ought to have written, and it is a little alarming to find Miss Walker tidying the poet's grammar and smoothing his metre. The following examples will illustrate her methods:

I. i. 48. For nought but provender, and, when he's old, cashiered.

Miss Walker would like to emend to *when's*, but she refrains.

I. i. 53. Do well thrive by them; and, when they've lined their coats. . . .

Following Pope, Miss Walker emends *they have* of Q and F. The line is made smoother, but the change is hardly necessary.

I. i. 152.           the Cyprus wars,  
Which even now stand in act.

Following Pope again, Miss Walker emends *stands* (Q.F), although she admits that "wars" was often singular in meaning.

I. iii. 89. In speaking for myself. Yet, by your patience. . . .

Following Pope, Miss Walker omits "gracious" before "patience", not primarily to achieve a regular line, but because of its obsequiousness, and of its

awkwardness after "grace" in the previous line. As one can see how the error might have arisen, and the line is improved by the omission, Miss Walker is justified in making this change.

II. i. 205. In mine own comfort.

Again following Pope, Miss Walker emends *comforts* (Q,F), referring to l. 189. Although in the first passage Othello was referring to the joy of seeing Desdemona in Cyprus before him, he may in the second passage be referring to other joys as well; but, on the whole, the emendation is an improvement.

When Miss Walker has to choose between F and Q variants she does so with the fine judgment we should expect. In one place only she accepts a Quarto reading where the Folio is at least as good:

My downright violence and scorn of fortunes.

F reads *storne*; and this reading is supported by the fact that Shakespeare was echoing Lewkenor who speaks of the violence of his fortunes.

Miss Walker's low opinion of the Quarto has occasionally led her to prefer Folio sophistications. It would be easy to believe that Shakespeare wrote "bitter as coloquintida" if we did not have the Q reading *acerbe*. Miss Walker thinks that the common word is more appropriate to Iago, and that it was often used in conjunction with coloquintida. Mr. Wilson dissents, and his arguments carry conviction. The same thing has happened in two places in II. i. Miss Walker reads (11):

For do but stand upon the foaming shore,  
The chidden billow seems to pelt the clouds.

Mr. Wilson again dissents from his collaborator because *banning* (Q) "leads on to and explains the chidden billow". Miss Walker thinks the Q reading was suggested by the chidden billows, though the epithet is surely too good for a scribe, an actor, or a compositor. It would seem more likely that Shakespeare used *banning* in the double sense of "cursing" and "forbidding". If he willingly consented to the change, the less Shakespeare he. In the third passage Miss Walker reads (70):

The guttered rocks, and congregated sands,  
Traitors insteeped to clog the guiltless keel.

She has, perforce, to accept *clog* (Q) in preference to *enclogge* (F); but she rejects *enscarped* (sc. *enscarped*). She comments that "'congregated sands' can only be sandbanks, dangerous to navigation because they are hidden rather than because they are (somehow) 'scarped'". But *enscarped* could refer to the rocks as well as to the sands, and even if it referred to the sands alone they could be shelving and appropriately called scarped. Elsewhere Shakespeare speaks of "stairs of sand" (*M.V.*) and of "splitting rocks [that] cower'd in the sinking sands" (2 *Hen. VI*). The first quotation suggests that *enscarped* would be a suitable epithet; the second shows that both rocks and sands could be called traitors. *Enscarped* is a word which could easily be misread as *ensteeped*.

It should be mentioned that Miss Walker dismisses Mr. Hinman's recent argument that nearly all Act I was set, not by compositor B, but by an apprentice. She appears to think that the argument (*Studies in Bibliography*, IX, 1957, pp. 3-20) is based only on characteristic spellings. In fact "there are other ways of determining what he set, and in later plays he can . . . be distinguished from A or B independently of spelling tests". The tests Mr. Hinman does apply are types, quality of setting, and an unusual amount of press-correction.

The notes and glossary are admirable, though one requires a number of reference books at one's elbow to follow up some of Miss Walker's points. I doubt whether *letter* and *affection* should be glossed as "graft and favouritism". I suspect that II.i.155 is less innocent than Miss Walker's explanation of it. The Pontic Sea passage was indebted to three passages in Holland's Pliny, not merely to the one cited by Miss Walker; and she does not refer to Meyerstein's demonstration of the influence of the story of Caius Furius Cresinus on the phraseology of Othello's defence before the senate. But, in general, Miss Walker leaves the reader with a clearer understanding of the lines than any previous editor; and though, as has been indicated, it is possible to have textual and critical reservations about some points in this edition, as a whole it is excellent.

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KENNETH MUIR

*The Critical Works of Thomas Rymer Edited with an Introduction and Notes.* By CURT A. ZIMANSKY. Yale University Press, 1956. Pp. [liv] + 299. \$6.00.

Mr. Curt A. Zimansky has performed a service to scholarship in collecting in one volume all the critical writing of the redoubtable Thomas Rymer. He has provided texts transcribed from first editions, as well as elaborate annotations, textual notes, an analysis of the canon of Rymer's works, and a forty-page biographical and historical introduction.

Although Mr. Zimansky has not been able to assemble much information about Rymer's personal life, some of the facts we are given seem to be appropriate for this hard-hitting critic. His father, a minor official under the Puritan government, was hanged for complicity in a plot against the restored monarchy in 1663. Rymer's schoolmaster was an ardent royalist, but Rymer went on to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, where Cromwell had been a student. In 1673 he was called to the bar. His later years were spent not on poetry but upon the task of preparing for publication sixteen volumes of the treaties made by England with foreign nations.

Rymer's fame rests, of course, upon his assault on *Othello* in Chapter VII of his *Short View of Tragedy* (1693). But in his Preface to his translation (1674) of Rapin he bewailed Spenser's total misuse of his gifts; in *A Short View* he briefly ridiculed Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* and Jonson's *Catiline*; and in *The Tragedies of the Last Age* (1678) he offered detailed, hostile discussions of three plays by Beaumont and Fletcher and Massinger—*Rollo Duke of Normandy*, *A King and No King*, and *A Maid's Tragedy*.

As Mr. Zimansky shows, Rymer was very much indebted to the French critics, especially Rapin. It was perhaps because of the example of Rapin's strictures on French drama and his unexpected summary of faults in the great Greeks that Rymer felt free to damn the Elizabethans so heartily. But he did not imitate Rapin's apology for uttering heresy. Many another English critic—Dryden, Pope, Theobald, and Johnson—complained of Shakespeare's lapses. But none of these four critics is of a kind with Rymer. They all felt Shakespeare's genius; Rymer could not.

His main doctrines—rigid and traditional type-characterization, "poetical decency" (including rules concerning who may properly murder whom in a tragedy), disapproval of bloody action on stage, dislike of freely imaginative and luxuriant language (Shakespeare's "head was full of villainous, unnatural images" [p. 165], "poetical justice" (Rymer seems to have invented this phrase [p. 204]), the prime importance of a reasonable plot—these are not unique. But Rymer brutally forced into the open the discrepancies between the practice of

Elizabethan drama and the rules that his contemporaries had been taught to respect. Dryden was somewhat shaken by him at first but came around to recognizing, besides the validity of certain of his arguments, his "ill-nature and arrogance".

That Rymer's attack on *Othello* was deliberately hostile and perverse appears in the first complaint, which is noisily made against Shakespeare's altering of Giraldi Cinthio's label "the Moor" to "the Moor of Venice". After that, everything—plot, poetry, character, moral ideas—disgusts Rymer. *Gorboduc* and Seneca offer better poetry, and Iago, not being "an open-hearted, frank, plain-dealing Souldier", is no soldier at all. Mr. Zimansky places respectfully in the first paragraph of his preface Mr. T. S. Elliot's foolish remark that he has never seen a satisfactory answer to Rymer. One might interject that one has never seen a satisfactory answer to Mr. Eliot's assertion that *Hamlet* is an artistic failure. If poetic drama is to be judged by a narrow view of its logical structure, there is perhaps no answer to either critic. But if the ultimate test is the depth and breadth of suggestiveness in the work, the reply is everywhere. In spite of Eliot's analysis *Hamlet* survives, a drama of profound and universal appeal. And in spite of Rymer, as we learn from Charles B. Hogan, among Shakespeare's plays only *Hamlet* and *Macbeth* surpassed *Othello* in popularity in the theatre between 1700 and 1750.

Mr. Zimansky's notes give one plentiful help in assessing Rymer. His text seems generally accurate. But a comparison with first editions at hand discloses a few difficulties. Mr. Zimansky does not make the correction of "rot thee" for "rot the" (p. 43) which was requested in the Errata in *Tragedies of the Last Age* (1678) although on p. 272 he indicates that his policy is to make such corrections. In *A Short View* (1693) the Errata directs that one substitute "ingenieuses" in the phrase "penses ingenienses"; Mr. Zimansky's text, p. 89, reads "pensees ingeniuses". The 1693 reading "but that Musick", p. 19, in Zimansky's volume is "but the Musick", p. 94. The list, p. 275, of minor misprints corrected does not mention the substitution of VII, p. 131, in place of the incorrect V at the head of the 1693 chapter dealing with *Othello*.

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BENJAMIN BOYCE

# Queries and Notes

## A SUGGESTED READING IN *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*

PHILIP DREW

From line 88 of Act Three, Scene One, of *Measure for Measure*, F1 reads:

|  |    |
|--|----|
| <i>Isa.</i> . . . This outward sainted Deputie,<br>Whose settled visage, and deliberate word<br>Nips youth i'th head, and follies doth emmew<br>As Falcon doth the Fowle, is yet a divell: | 90 |
| His filth within being cast, he would appeare<br>A pond, as deepe as hell.   |    |
| <i>Cla.</i> The prenzie, <i>Angelo</i> ?   | 94 |
| <i>Isa.</i> Oh 'tis the cunning Liverie of hell,<br>The damnest bodie to invest, and cover<br>In prenzie gardes; . . .   | 97 |

The difficulty is that "prenzie" is not known elsewhere, and is presumably the corruption of another word which was used in line 94 and repeated in line 97. To explain this we need to find a word which

- (i) in manuscript could be read as "prenzie",
- (ii) is known to have been in current use, preferably Shakespearian, but might so defy recognition in manuscript by the compositor that he would prefer to print "prenzie", which would be nonsense to him,
- (iii) is a disyllable bearing the stress on the first syllable,
- (iv) can be used as a noun in line 94, thus preserving the F1 punctuation, and
- (v) can be used as an adjective in line 97 and affords some justification for Isabella's repetition of it. The later Folios read "Princely" in each instance; F4 omits the comma in line 94. Editors have made various conjectures including "priestly", "precise", "proxy", "prosne" and "primsie". None of these meets all the requirements above. Professor Sisson (*New Readings in Shakespeare*, Cambridge, 1956) summarizes the arguments and decides in favour of "princely".

Mr. Hotson (*T.L.S.*, 22nd November 1947) writes "There can be small question that the word is Shakespeare's spelling of the Italian *prenze*, meaning *prince*". He cites "county" (e.g. "the county Paris") as an analogy. He would thus retain the F1 reading.

The objections to this are two. First the analogy is far from exact, since "county" (= shire) was an existing English word whereas "prenzie" is completely new, and in any case "county" (= count) is not a Shakespearian coinage but is recorded as far back as 1550. Secondly Isabella's use of "prenzie" in line 97



would be most strained. The O.E.D. records "prince" as an adjective or an attributive noun only as the first part of compounds, all of which are nonce-words. Thus "prenzie-gardes" meaning "princely trappings" would be not only a nonce-word but one formed in a way seldom paralleled elsewhere. It would also be incomprehensible; it was presumably not understood by the editor of F2.

I suggest some form of the word "puisne", which meets all the conditions I have laid down.

- (i) The forms "puny", "punie", "punye", "punce", "pui'nee", "puiney", "pu'nee", "puney", "puisne" and "puisny" are all given by the O.E.D. as current before 1630, and there were various other spellings during the seventeenth century. Of the forms given, Shakespeare uses "punie" four times (once compounded), "puny" twice, and "puisny" once. I can see no very convincing explanation of the ductus literarum except by conjecturing that Shakespeare's "puisne" was misread by the compositor as "prensie" and set with a "z" substituted for "s": "prenzie".
- (ii) Though current as a legal term for many years the word may have come into literary circulation so recently that a compositor would not recognize it. The quotations in the O.E.D. indicate an increase in the currency of the word at about the turn of the century.
- (iii) However spelt, the word was apparently pronounced as the modern "puny".
- (iv) The word had been current in the sense of "a junior or underling" since 1548; "punies" was used as a synonym for "junior judges" in 1608. Used as a noun in line 94 it is thus an appropriate description of the Deputy, Angelo. As the word "Deputy" was used in line 88 Claudio would require a synonym. Fr punctuation is preserved, Shakespeare, however, does not use "punie" as a noun elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>
- (v) For the second "prenzie" the strongest word would be a flattering one like "priestly" or "saintly", but the passage makes almost equally good sense with a word like "sham" or "fair-seeming", since "gardes" itself in this context is sufficiently emphatic to convey the opposition between Angelo's vicious nature and his sober appearance. A word meaning "worthless" takes this contrast a stage farther, implying that the outward show is of little weight compared with the inward corruption. In Shakespearean usage "puny" usually suggests more than the modern senses of "weak" or "undersized", retaining something of the significance of the noun. For example it means variously "unqualified" (1 *Henry VI*, IV. vii. 36), "mock" (*Coriolanus*, IV. iv. 6), "inexperienced" (*As You Like It*, III. iv. 44), and "inferior" (*Richard II*, III. ii. 86).<sup>2</sup> Whether we recognize these overtones or take "puny" to mean simply "trifling", "ineffective" or "paltry" as in *M.V.* III. ii. 74, Isabella's picking up of Claudio's technical use of the word, which stresses Angelo's dignity, and bitter repetition of it in its derived sense, which stresses the deceptiveness of Angelo's appearance, are clearly very much in key with the rest of the scene.

<sup>1</sup> The form "puisne" is still in current legal use, especially as the designation of a junior judge.

<sup>2</sup> In 1 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 33 and *Othello* V. ii. 244, "puny" refers to a "substitute" or "deputy", suggesting that Shakespeare was conscious of the origins of the word. See also the notes in the Variorum editions of *As You Like It* and 1 *Henry IV* (loc. cit.).

I assume then an original form "puisne" and would emend F<sub>1</sub> accordingly. I suggest that editions in modern spelling should read "The puisne, Angelo?" in line 94, and "puny guards" in line 97.

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# RICHARD II or RICHARD III or ... ?

I. A. SHAPIRO

In his *Elizabethan Stage* (II, 194, n. 4) the late Sir Edmund Chambers assigned the composition of Shakespeare's *Richard II* to "1595 or thereabouts", and claimed to have found "confirmation" for this dating in a letter from Sir Edward Hoby inviting Sir Robert Cecil to an entertainment at his house in London. Chambers cited the modernized transcript of Hoby's invitation in the *Calendar of the Salisbury MSS.* (V, 487). Subsequently he printed a full diplomatic transcript of the letter and its address in the first number of *RES* (I, 76), and reprinted the letter in Appendix D of his *William Shakespeare* (II, 320). The text is as follows:

Sir, findinge that you wer not convenientlie to be at London to morrow night I am bold to send to knowe whether Teusdaie may be anie more in your grace to visit poore Channon rowe where as late as it shal please you a gate for your supper shal be open: & K. Richard present him selfe to your vewe. Pardon my boldnes that ever love to be honored with your presence nether do I importune more than your occasions may willingly assent unto, in the meantime & ever restinge

At your command,  
Edw. Hoby.

The letter was endorsed by Cecil's secretary "7 dec. 1595" and, in another hand, "readile", which latter has been assumed to indicate that Cecil accepted the invitation.

It might have been supposed that the text of the letter was itself enough to invalidate Chambers' interpretation of it, but his authority has apparently outweighed the intrinsic weakness of his argument. Editors have accepted it without question, even when they have reprinted Hoby's letter. A recent example is in the latest edition of *Richard II*, that in the new *Arden Shakespeare* (1956, p. xxix). An earlier example can be found in the New Cambridge edition of the play (2nd ed., 1951) where Dover Wilson asserts that "the earliest recorded performance was, in fact, a private one, and took place in Canon Row", and goes on to draw a vivid picture "of cooks and players (including no doubt Shakespeare) all agog for the great man's entertainment, waiting into the night for the porter's word of his arrival at the gate." Wilson even argues that "the terms of Hoby's letter suggest . . . that Cecil had heard of the play, and may have even perhaps expressed a desire to see it" (p. ix).

When we turn from these flights of fancy to the text of the letter itself, we are at once confronted (or should be) with the question of what Hoby meant by "K. Richard". Let us for the moment assume that the reference is to a play, and a play by Shakespeare. Is it *Richard II* or *Richard III* which is alluded to? I suppose that no scholar today would deny that Shakespeare's *Richard III* was

composed and performed, and was therefore known, earlier than his *Richard II*. May then Hoby be referring to Shakespeare's *Richard III*? Indeed, it might be argued that his bare reference to "King Richard" implies he was writing before Shakespeare's *Richard II* was known, for after it had been performed a few times it would presumably have been necessary to distinguish between Shakespeare's plays about the two Richards, as Francis Meres did in *Palladis Tamia* (1598). If then we are to refer Hoby's allusion to a Shakespearian play, it would be more reasonable to assume that *Richard III* is meant.

But what justification have we for assuming that Hoby's "K. Richard" was in either of Shakespeare's plays? If we assume that Hoby's "K. Richard" was a character in a play, we ought to consider all such plays as are known to have been in existence by December 1595, nor should we ignore the probability that there were others now unknown. Chambers (*William Shakespeare*, I, 352-353), and Dover Wilson (*Richard II*, p. lxv) are not the only scholars who have felt driven to postulate Shakespeare's use of a source-play in *Richard II*. Shakespeare's was not the first play about Richard III, nor is his the only extant play about Richard II. There is a "K. Richard" in the cast of the anonymous play usually known as *Thomas of Woodstock* (probably earlier than Shakespeare's *Richard II*), and in *The Life and Death of Jack Straw* (1593). How can we exclude the possibility that Hoby was referring to either of the last two plays?

It is already apparent, I hope, that we cannot use Hoby's letter as evidence for the date of *Richard II*. But we must go further and ask whether it is justifiable to assume that Hoby refers to performance of *any* play. The question is important because we know so little about Elizabethan presentations of plays in private houses, and Hoby's letter has been cited as "evidence" of the "practice". In fact the letter says only that Cecil may arrive for supper as late as he likes and that, however late, "K. Richard" shall present himself to Cecil's view. I find in this nothing which immediately, or even necessarily, implies any theatrical entertainment whatever.

Several equally plausible interpretations of the reference to "K. Richard" suggest themselves. Hoby was a first cousin of Sir Robert Cecil; the Salisbury MSS. at Hatfield contain many letters which demonstrate that he was high in the favor of his Cecil relatives, and especially intimate with Sir Robert. One possibility therefore is that "K. Richard" was someone's nickname. Another is that Hoby possessed a picture of one of the three kings Richard, and that Cecil had expressed a wish to see it; Hoby is known to have collected historical portraits (see *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1786, LVI, part i, pp. 5-6). It is equally possible, in view of what we know about Hoby, that "K. Richard" was something he had written, for in another letter to Sir Robert Cecil only five months later (31 May 1596), he wrote: "But what! I mean to come home again and play the wag once again. But no more writing of books" (*Calendar of Salisbury MSS.*, VI, 202). Hoby had early been distinguished for his learning, and had a ready pen. He was a friend of the historian Camden, who dedicated *Hibernia* (1587) to him. Long before he wrote to Cecil about "K. Richard" Hoby had published a translation of Mathieu Coignet's *Politique Discourse* (1586; S.T.C. 5486). He was to print another translation in 1597 (S.T.C. 17819), and after King James made theological polemics fashionable Hoby published several learned anti-Catholic pamphlets.

We need not consider other interpretations of Hoby's "K. Richard" that may suggest themselves, nor, for our present purpose, weigh which is most plausible. Here it is necessary only to recognize that Hoby's letter does not contain proof of performance of Shakespeare's *Richard II*, or of any other play.

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## GOSSON, OVID, AND THE ELIZABETHAN AUDIENCE

S. P. ZITNER

Of the numerous attacks against the Elizabethan stage, Stephen Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* (1579) and his *Playes Confuted* (1582) have had the most persistent influence on the later image of the Elizabethan audience. Excerpts from these works are reprinted as primary accounts of audience behavior in J. Dover Wilson's *Life in Shakespeare's England*. Alfred Harbage, in *Shakespeare's Audience*, quotes the same passages (p. 97) and, although he seeks to disprove their implications, does not deny that they are first-hand reports. In addition, Gosson's picture of the roistering lechery of Elizabethan theatre-goers is the salt and often the meat of "popular" introductions to the period. But despite Gosson's undoubted knowledge of the theatre, there is a question whether the *Schoole of Abuse* and *Playes Confuted* give us eyewitness accounts of the Elizabethan audience or only clever enlargements of satiric passages in Ovid's *Art of Love*.

In an age when fact was often distorted in the glass of authority, Gosson was particularly the master of patchwork citation. "Apparently Gosson never sat down to write without a collection of books at his elbow", states William Ringler, who estimates that Ovid's *Art of Love*, together with the *Metamorphoses*, Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* and two works by Sallust, was the source of perhaps one-fifth of the references and illustrations in the *Schoole of Abuse*.<sup>1</sup>

Almost all the references from the *Art of Love* are concentrated in Gosson's account of the audience. Ovid, on whom Gosson confers the rank of "high Martial" of Venus, is said in the *Schoole of Abuse* to deploy "his maine battell in publique assemblies", especially in the theatres, since Romulus himself had "buite his Theatre as a horse faire for hores."<sup>2</sup> This direct reference introduces Gosson's indebtedness to Ovid, specifically to the *Art of Love* (Bk. I, ll. 101-134).

Extended discussion of the behavior of the audience in the *Schoole of Abuse* begins with a juxtaposition of Gosson's immediate experience and the fruits of his reading. "*Experto crede*", he writes; "I haue seene somewhat, and therefore I thinke I may say the more." In the sentence following this, Ovid is invoked as the source of an account of Roman audiences, who

shew their double diligence to lifte the Gentlewomens robes from the ground, for soyling in the duste; to sweepe Moates from their Kirtles, to keepe their fingers in vre; to lay their hands at their backs for an easie stay; to look vppon those, whome they beholde; too prayse that, whiche they commende; too lyke euerye thing, that pleaseth them; to present them

<sup>1</sup> William Ringler, *Stephen Gosson* (Princeton, 1942), pp. 108, 105.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Gosson, *Schoole of Abuse*, ed. Edward Arber (London, 1868), English Reprints, No. III, p. 29.

Pomegranates, to pick as they syt; and when all is done, to waite on them mannerly too their houses. (Arber, ed., p. 35)

Gosson's description of the London Audience, presumably drawn from life, is a close parallel to his paraphrase of Ovid.

In our assemblies at playes in *London*, you shall see suche heauing, and shoouing, suche ytching and shouldring, too sitte by women; Suche care for their garments, that they bee not trode on; Such eyes to their lappes, that no chippes light in them: Such pillowes to ther backes, that they take no hurte; Such masking in their eares, I knowe not what: Such giuing them Pippins to passe the time: Suche playing at foote Saunt without Cardes: Such tickling, such toying, such smiling, such winking, and such manning them home, when the sportes are ended, that it is a right Comedie, to marke their behaiour. . . . (Arber, ed., p. 35)

The closeness of both Gosson's paraphrase and his supposed eye-witness account to Ovid's *Art of Love* is demonstrated by the following excerpt from the Mozeley translation for the Loeb Classical Library edition of the poem.

And if, perchance, as will happen, a speck of dust falls on your lady's lap, flick it off with your fingers; and if none fall, then flick off—none; let any pretext serve your turn. If her cloak hangs low and trails upon the ground, gather it up and lift it carefully from the defiling earth; straightway, a reward for your service, with the girl's permission your eyes will catch a glimpse of her ankles. Then look round to see that whoever is sitting behind you is not pressing his knee against her tender back. Frivolous minds are won by trifles; many have found useful the deft arranging of a cushion. It has helped too to stir the air with a light fan, or to set a stool beneath a dainty foot. (Bk. I, ll. 149-162, p. 23)

In literal translation of this sort there is an inevitable sacrifice of both dexterity and tone. To Gosson's credit it should be said that he writes his versions of Ovid with vivacity. However, he wholly mistakes the character of Ovid's satire, that delicious burlesque which in one stroke apes, mocks, and judges. It is the misreading of the *Art of Love* as serious description rather than sly fun which permits Gosson to imagine that he has both authority and historical precedent for his fears. To look on the *Schoole of Abuse* as solely an eyewitness account of the audience is to compound Gosson's error.

In addition to Ovid's *Art of Love*, a wholly different stimulus for Gosson's *Schoole of Abuse* is known. There is reason to believe that the pamphlet was written at the request of an agent of the City authorities, and that the relatively large run of the first edition is attributable to a subsidy. This should not cast doubt on the sincerity of Gosson's feelings about the dangers of theatre-going. But Ringer's observation that "perhaps without subvention he would not have gone so far as to attack the theater in print" (p. 29) does raise in another context the question of the degree of actual observation and the degree of elaboration of a "case". For Gosson's probable sponsors, the economic argument against the theatre resolved itself into identification of leisure with vice. Gosson's admission that no "filthynesse in deede is committed within the compasse" of the theatres (Arber, ed., p. 35) would hardly have satisfied the authorities had it been the primary impression conveyed by his picture of the audience.

Another pressure on Gosson to elaborate a conclusion rather than to adhere strictly to observation may be found in Gosson's style and tone. The *Schoole of Abuse* is, in Gosson's own words, "a pleasant invective"; Gosson is, for Harbage, "the one really likeable antagonist of the Elizabethan stage" (p. 90). The undeniable vigor and dexterity of his writing inevitably carry him beyond the cold fact to the "bold imagery and vivid phrasing of colloquial speech" (Ringer, p. 99).

These, then, are the reasons for believing that Gosson's account of the behavior of the Elizabethan audience is both something less and something more than an eyewitness account. If we believe what Gosson says about audience behavior we must believe it not because Gosson was an Elizabethan who attended the theatre and wrote about it, but because what he wrote accords with our understanding of human behavior. But even if we accept Gosson's account on this basis, we are forced to limit its applicability to individuals, and cannot employ it to characterize the audience as a whole. On this view the importance of Gosson's picture of the behavior of the Elizabethan audience is severely diminished. It loses the freshness and import implied by the word "eyewitness" and takes on a distinctly second-hand quality.

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#### OTHELLO AND THE ROSE-LIP'D CHERUBIN: AN OLD READING RESTORED

GEOFFREY S. IVY

It has long been accepted without question that the conclusion of Othello's speech concerning patience, IV.ii.63-65, is in need of emendation. In Folio 1, the lines read:

To knot and gender in. Turne thy complexion there:  
Patience, thou young and Rose-lip'd Cherubin,  
I heere looke grim as hell.<sup>1</sup>

"Turne thy complexion there" looks like a command addressed to patience. This is how Johnson took it, emending the subsequent *I* to *Ay*, as one must, if his interpretation is adopted:

At such an object do thou, *patience*, thyself *change colour*; at this do thou, even thou, *rosy cherub* as thou art, *look grim as hell*. The old editions and the new have it: *I here look grim as hell*. *I* was written for *ay*, and not since corrected.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, Theobald had already made this emendation and had also altered *heere* to *there*. If *I* is printed *Ay*, the emendation of *heere* to *there* is logical, though not absolutely necessary. Johnson's interpretation suggests that he read *heere*,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Facsimile of Folio 1 prepared by H. Kökeritz with introd. by C. T. Prouty (New Haven, 1955), p. 821, col. 2. All line references are to William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, ed. P. Alexander (London, 1951).

<sup>2</sup> *The Plays of William Shakespeare* (2nd ed., revised and augmented, London, 1778), X, 582.



but the text of his second edition tacitly incorporates Theobald's *there*.<sup>3</sup> Of recent editors, Professor Sisson and Professor Alexander convert *I* to *Ay* and Professor Sisson comments:

Theobald's *there* for *here* is generally read. Alexander, however, retains *here*, which seems difficult, especially in view of 'Turn thy complexion *there*' (1.62). The misreading of *h* for *th*, and vice-versa, is easy and frequent. READ: Ay, there look grim as hell.<sup>4</sup>

To leave the matter thus can hardly be regarded as satisfactory. Quartos 1 and 2 differ here in some particulars from the Folio, but combine with it to read *I* and *heere*. Moreover, the two emendations are plausible only when related, in isolation, to the customs and errors of Elizabethan printers: they do nothing to make the lines explicable in the context of the speech in which they occur. Before demonstrating this, I should like to put forward an alternative reading, which requires no emendation of the text whatever. *Turne*, instead of being in the imperative mood, may be conditional, as in, e.g. *Henry V*, I. i. 45-46:

Turn him to any cause of policy,  
The Gordian knot of it he will unloose.

It is easier to see *Turne* as conditional, if the punctuation of Folio 1, which has served most previous commentators on this passage, is discarded in favour of that of the Quartos, which both read:—

To knot and gender in: turne thy complexion there,  
Patience thy young and rose-lip'd Cherubin,  
I here looke grim as Hell.<sup>5</sup>

If *turne* is conditional, then *looke* becomes so too and it is impossible to emend *I* to *Ay* or, consequently, *here* to *there*. With the conditional apparatus written in prosaically, the passage reads:—

If you were to turn your complexion there, Patience your young and rose-lipped cherub, I here would look grim as Hell.

On the face of it, the original reading is less acceptable, because less straightforward, than that favored by the emendators. But it is proposed that the original should be restored, on the grounds that the best reading of these lines will be the one which best fits the context in which they occur. Nor is it of small consequence which reading we choose. The lines occur at the end of a long speech, of which they constitute the climax. They are spoken by Othello at a moment of great emotional tension, when a concentrated, elliptical utterance may be said to be congruous with his feelings. But Shakespeare is aiming at more than a vague impression of emotional conflict. Unless we can understand what Othello is saying here, and understand it correctly, we shall miss the point of his speech as a whole and, consequently, a significant stage in the unfolding of the tragedy.

<sup>3</sup> Neither editor is prepared to say what, precisely, is the antecedent of *there*. Theobald draws attention merely to his emendation of *I*, which he justifies on the grounds that, although it could be the first person pronoun, "in our Author's days, it likewise stood for the *Adverb* of affirming." *The Works of Shakespeare* (London, 1733), VII, 466.

<sup>4</sup> *New Readings in Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1956), II, 257.

<sup>5</sup> *Othello*. Facsimiles of Quarto 1 and Quarto 2, ed. C. Praetorius (London, 1885), p. 70.

The speech in which the lines occur derives its strength and movement from a varying use of contrasts. Othello is struggling to reconcile contradictions: on the one hand, feelings arising from his view of himself as a cuckold, on the other, his feelings of honor and love. By beginning on a hypothetical plane, without reference to the situation in hand, he is able to maintain his equilibrium in the first seven and a half lines. In Quarto 2, the speech reads:—

Had it pleas'd heaven  
To try me with affliction, had he rain'd  
All kindes of sores, and shames on my bare head,  
Steep'd me in pouerty, to the very lips,  
Giuen to captiuitie, me and my hopes,  
I should haue found in some part of my soule  
A drop of patience; . . .

He next appears to move from the hypothetical plane to the actual, by envisaging himself as the object of lasting ridicule, a traditional attribute of cuckolds:

but alas, to make me  
A fixed figure, for the time of scorne,  
To point his slow vnmoing finger at—oh, oh,  
Yet could I beare that too, well, very well.<sup>6</sup>

But a measure of detachment lingers in his failure to particularize his thought and in the implied subject of "to make me". Othello is still viewing himself remotely and partially, in the context of divine persecution. Shame and honor can still be reconciled, and he is thus able to regain his composure. From this point forward, his outlook changes. The situation he now seeks to grapple with is basically more complex than any of his foregoing hypotheses. It involves self-inflicted pain as well as persecution by others. He acknowledges that, in actuality, he is not simply a passive object, but also the source of his own vitality and disgust. With this goes a change in the manner and tempo of his speech. Contrasted terms become more sharply defined than before and the intervals that separate them are shorter. The movement of the speech hitherto can be compared to that of a pair of scales, wavering about a point of equilibrium. But from now on, the movement is more violent and irregular; like that of a ship beset by squalls:

But there, where I haue garner'd vp my heart,  
Where either I must liue, or beare no life,  
The fountaine from the which my currant runnes,  
Or else dryes vp, to be discarded thence,  
Or keepe it as a cesterne, for foule Toades  
To knot and gender in: turne thy complexion there,  
Patience thy young and rose-lip'd Cherubin,  
I here looke grim as Hell.

In its original form, the concluding line preserves till the very end of the speech the method of contrast, which knits together the whole. Cherubic patience is contrasted with the black Othello. In the form favored by the emendators,

<sup>6</sup> His tortuous language points to increased tension. Folio's "slow, and moing finger" looks like an attempt to rationalize the paradoxical reading preserved by Q2 (Q1, "slow vnmoing fingers").

this contrast is eliminated and what is substituted is ineffectual, despite its emphasis. Why should Othello, after endeavoring to reconcile contradictory feelings, conclude with a command to patience to *change colour*? Granted, it is possible to be grimly, as well as sweetly, patient, if that is what "turne thy complexion" means. But patience, however grim, can never be anything but patient, whereas the preceding movement of the speech has led one to suppose that Othello is about to reject patience altogether. He has envisaged calamities that he thinks he might bear with patience; "the present calamity", one expects him to continue, "is beyond endurance." This, in fact, is what he does say, but the full significance of his words can only be arrived at by detailed analysis. It has been suggested already that *turne* is conditional, not an imperative. *Complexion*, to Shakespeare, could be either abstract or physical or both. The abstract meaning was "quality" or "temperament", but it was connected with the physical meaning, "appearance of the skin", by the medieval science of humours. What is the antecedent of Othello's original *there*? It would seem to be the *cesterne* with foul toads copulating in it; an image of considerable underlying importance at this point. *Cherubin*, to Shakespeare, was a singular. The medieval attributes of cherubim were purity, knowledge, speed and fieriness.<sup>7</sup> It is the last which Chaucer emphasizes in the General Prologue to *The Canterbury Tales*, 623-624:

A Somonour was ther with us in that place,  
That hadde a fyr-reed cherubynnes face.<sup>8</sup>

Here, of course, any latent association with other cherubic attributes only makes for irony. In *Othello*, the phrase "young and rose-lip'd" brings to the fore the attribute of purity, but owing to the preceding mention of *complexion*, a suggestion of red, or fiery, cheeks is present as well. In the reading of the Quartos, all the words discussed form a remarkably compact train of association, which any slight alteration will disturb. The two meanings of *complexion* coexist, though first one meaning is to the fore and then the other. It is the quality or temperament of patience which Othello calls a "young and rose-lip'd Cherubin", thereby associating patience with purity and also bringing forward the physical meaning of *complexion*. The whole is framed in a condition and juxtaposed to the *cesterne* of foul toads ("turne thy complexion *there*"), which would become yet more nauseating if beheld, of necessity for some duration of time, by cherubic patience, i.e. simultaneously, "with patience" and "by a blushing cherub". Hence in the Quartos, *complexion* works in a similar way to "countenance" in the phrase "to countenance a certain thing or type of behaviour" (usually immoral or anti-social), the force of Othello's disgust being impaired, incidentally, if *cesterne* is printed *cistern*, as in modern editions. The balance of the images is disturbed by the Folio's reading, "Patience, thou young and Rose-lip'd Cherubin". In the Folio, if *complexion* is taken as the temperament of patience, the image of a cherub has the effect of an afterthought; the two meanings of *complexion* cancel and exclude each other, instead of coexisting as they do in the Quartos. It is easiest in the Folio to take *complexion* solely as the color of

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dante, *Paradiso*, Canto XXVIII. Cherubim are second only to Seraphim in the order of intellectual beings that, in the ninth Heaven, he sees circling the Divine Essence.

<sup>8</sup> *Works*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Cambridge, 1933), p. 26.

patience's cheeks. This reading is logical, but it reduces the writing from imaginative creation to mere synecdoche.

"I here looke grim as Hell" completes the movement described above and brings the whole speech to a satisfactory close. If, however, the line is emended to make Othello command patience to convert her looks from a cherub's to a fiend's, perhaps even to be impatient, then not only are his words intrinsically less effective, bordering on the absurd, but they lack significant relation to himself as well as to the rest of the speech. This may become clearer if comparison is made with *Romeo and Juliet*, II.iii.21: "Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied". In *Othello*, it is not the virtue, seen as temperamentally pure, a cherub, but the person who misapplied it, who would be converted from a man of honor to a devil. *Grim* can mean a number of things, such as hideous, relentless, savage, severe. But its context here, Othello and Hell, and contrast with the "rose-lip'd Cherubin" give *grim* an undertone of blackness, grime, as in *Othello*, III.iii.390-392:

Her name, that was as fresh  
As Dian's visage, is now begrim'd and black  
As mine own face.

By this means, *grim* here brings into play a major theme of *Othello*: the contrast and connection between physical and moral blackness and whiteness. Either, in exterior form, may conceal its interior opposite. The theme is common to many of Shakespeare's plays, but is pronounced in *Othello*, where the beauty of virtue and innocence, as well as the appearance of the hero, are dwelt on in emphatically physical terms.

To sum up. The interpretation put forward here has a number of advantages over the current one, which derives ultimately from Theobald. First, it requires no emendation of the text whatever, whether the Folio or Quarto is used, though the Quarto would seem to be superior. Secondly, it preserves to the end the method of contrast, on which the speech as a whole depends. Thirdly, it relates the lines firmly to the speaker and to the preceding movement of his thought. Othello has been struggling to reconcile contradictions. He decides that patience and his present situation are incompatible. It is a decision which brings his tragedy a step nearer.

*University of Durham*

## Notes and Comments

### GIFTS AND MEMBERSHIP FEES

The attention of members and friends is directed to the memorandum quoted below. It comes as a timely reminder that the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., is a non-profit educational and cultural organization and that membership fees in it and gifts to it may be deducted in the calculation of income taxes.

Gifts and membership dues in the Shakespeare Association have, since its inception, been considered tax deductible. About two years ago a question was raised by the Bureau of Internal Revenue as no formal application had been filed in view of the long existing practice. A request was therefore made and the Bureau has now ruled officially that gifts and dues are tax deductible, placing the Shakespeare Association on its official list of educational organizations.

The information is supplied by Mr. Donald F. Hyde, one of the Directors of the Association, who represented the Shakespeare Association.

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### FRONTISPIECE AND ILLUSTRATIONS

The Frontispiece is a print of the front cover of the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of Martin Billingsley's *The Pen's Excellencie*, with the arms of Augustine Vincent (1584?-1626), Windsor Herald. The same tool was used in stamping the cover of the copy of the Shakespeare First Folio, now also in the Folger, that was inscribed by Vincent as follows: "Ex dono Wilti Jaggard Typographi. a°. 1623." The fullest account of the relations of Jaggard and Vincent is in Dr. E. E. Willoughby's *A Printer of Shakespeare; The Books and Times of William Jaggard*. Two other writing books and leaves from a small atlas are bound in with the Billingsley. See pp. 140, 148, and 158.

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### SHAKESPEARE AWARDS

At its sixty-ninth annual reception and dinner, held at the National Arts Club, the Shakespeare Club of New York City presented its 1958 award to Joseph Papp, President of the New York Shakespeare Festival. The proceeds of the dinner were generously donated to the New York Shakespeare Festival. The Club is actively raising funds to help in the support of the Festival.

The Shakespeare Society of Washington, at its annual birthday dinner, presented its second-semester award for excellence in Shakespearian studies to Miss Nancy R. Sneed, a Senior at the University of Maryland.

The American Shakespeare Festival Theatre and Academy, through Mr. Lawrence Langner, presented five awards at the Waldorf-Astoria on 22 April:

to Sir Laurence Olivier, actor and manager, on stage and in film, for bringing Shakespeare to a popular audience;  
 to Miss Katherine Hepburn, for her personal accomplishments and her devotion to the idea of an American Shakespeare Company in Stratford, Connecticut, and on tour;  
 to B. Iden Payne, of the University of Texas, for continued service to the works of Shakespeare, as actor, director, and teacher;  
 to Miss Lyn Ely, for her personal accomplishments through Theatre in Education, Inc., in bringing Shakespeare to public school audiences;  
 and to Colonel William F. and Elizebeth Friedman, authors of *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined*.

### SHAKESPEARE IN THE SUTRO LIBRARY

While it may be known generally that the Sutro Library, a branch of the California State Library in San Francisco, has a copy each of the First, Second, Third, and Fourth Shakespeare Folios, scholars may not be aware of the fact that the Library has also duplicate separates of the First Folio plays, as well as several early Quartos (the Bartlett and Pollard *Census* of 1939 lists only a 1676 *Hamlet* with five-line imprint, a 1676 *Hamlet* (edition uncertain), and an *Othello*, 1687). Much more surprising is its ownership of the Shakespeare-Stratford MSS collected by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps.



## Contributors

PROFESSOR JOHN ARTHOS, of the University of Michigan, is the author of *On the Poetry of Spenser and the Form of Romances*.

PROFESSOR BENJAMIN BOYCE, of Duke University, is the author of several books and the editor of *The Adventures of Lindamira*.

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PROFESSOR MARK ECCLES, of the University of Wisconsin, is a prolific scholar in the Elizabethan field. Recently he edited *Twelfth Night* for Crofts.

C. WALTER HODGES is the author of *The Globe Restored*.

EDWARD LORENZO HUBLER is Associate Professor of English at Princeton. His most recent publication is an edition (with T. M. Parrott) of *Six Plays of Shakespeare and the Sonnets*.

DR. GEOFFREY S. IVY, who was Jane Eliza Procter Visiting Fellow at Princeton (1946-48), is Lecturer in English at the University of Durham.

PROFESSOR PAUL A. JORGENSEN, of the University of California at Los Angeles, is the author of *Shakespeare's Military World*.

DR. ANDOR KLAY, who has served as a Consul and Secretary in the American Diplomatic Service and is now assigned to the Department of State, has recently published *Daring Diplomacy: The Case of the First American Ultimatum* and a translation of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat*.

THE REVEREND MR. W. M. MERCHANT, the Senior Lecturer in English in University College, Cardiff, Wales, was in the autumn of 1957 a Fellow of the Folger Shakespeare Library. He has in press a book treating of the interrelations of Shakespeare productions, illustrations, and interpretation.

PROFESSOR KENNETH MUIR, of Liverpool University, has recently published Volume I of *Shakespeare's Sources*.

ROBERT R. REED, JR., Associate Professor of English at Pennsylvania State University, is the author of a number of poems, and of *Bedlam on the Jacobean Stage*.

L. G. SALINGAR is a Staff Tutor in English of the Board of Extra-Mural Studies in Cambridge, England.

I. A. SHAPIRO, long associated with the Shakespeare Institute at Stratford-upon-Avon, and recently a visiting lecturer in English literature at Cornell, is a member of the English staff of the University of Birmingham.

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PROFESSOR FREDERICK W. STERNFELD is a member of the Faculty of Music, the University of Oxford.

DR. MARK OLIVE THOMAS, of Milwaukee-Downer College, was a student at the University of Birmingham Summer School at Stratford-upon-Avon in 1948 and a Fulbright Fellow in Italy in 1949-1950.

BRIGADIER J. H. TILTMAN is a retired British Regular Army Officer. During World War II he made notable contributions to the design of ciphers for military purposes.

DR. SHELDON P. ZITNER, whose dissertation at Duke University dealt with the theatre audience after the Restoration, is a member of the English staff at Grinnell College.

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# Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography for 1957

PAUL A. JORGENSEN, Editor  
*University of California, Los Angeles*

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HE following bibliography, which includes only works directly relating to Shakespeare, attempts to list all items of interest to the scholar, the actor and producer, and the general reader. A number of books and articles which may be of use to those concerned with Shakespeare have therefore been included, even though they do not represent original contributions to knowledge or criticism. And although no attempt has been made to achieve exhaustive coverage of journalistic reviews of productions or books, there will usually be found a representative body of such selections—particularly those of foreign origin and those dealing with Shakespearian festivals. Similarly with new printings of previously issued editions or studies: these are recorded whenever there has been substantial revision or whenever they come from for-

oreign countries, where re-issues or editions and translations are significant indications of a continuing interest in Shakespeare. All reviews have been grouped under the books they deal with, even if these books have been included in previous bibliographies. In such instances, however, the description of the book has been given in short form. The year 1957 is always to be understood if no other year is mentioned.

The annotations are designed to indicate the subject matter or argument of the items listed. In no sense are they intended as criticisms of the books or articles which they describe. Certain significant works are not annotated because their titles sufficiently indicate their content. The length of the annotation is also no guide to the importance of the item. Some items are listed without annotation because they have not yet become available here.

Analytical entries in the Index are collected under the name of William Shakespeare.

Alan Crowne contributed substantially to the preparation of this bibliography. Appreciation for many courtesies is due the staffs of the University of California Library and the Huntington Library. Distinguished scholars from many countries, serving as members of the Committee of Correspondents, have contributed greatly toward broadening the scope of the bibliography and increasing its usefulness.

The editor would appreciate receiving notices of books, and offprints or summaries of articles and reviews dealing with Shakespeare, in order to insure as complete a coverage of the field as possible.

The following abbreviations have been regularly used:

|      |  |   |                            |
|------|--|---|----------------------------|
| CE   | —College English                                 | SNL   | —Shakespeare Newsletter    |
| DA   | —Dissertation Abstracts                          | SP  | —Studies in Philology      |
| EC   | —Essays in Criticism                             | SQ  | —Shakespeare Quarterly     |
| ES   | —English Studies                                 | SS  | —Shakespeare Survey        |
| JEGP | —Journal of English and Germanic Philology       | TLS   | —Times Literary Supplement |
| MLN  | —Modern Language Notes                           | VQR   | —Virginia Quarterly Review |
| MLQ  | —Modern Language Quarterly                       |   |                            |
| MLR  | —Modern Language Review                          | All's W., Antony, A.Y.L., Caesar, Cor., Cym., Errors, Ham., 1, 2 H. IV, H. V, 1, 2, 3 H. VI, H. VIII, John, Lear, L.L.L., Lov. Com., Lucr., Macb., Meas., Merch., Wives, Dream, Much, Oth., Pass.Pil., Per., Phoenix, R. II, R. III, Romeo, Shrew, Sonn., Temp., Tim., Titus, Troi., Twel., T.G.V., Venus, W.T. |                            |
| MP   | —Modern Philology                                | Shak.   | —Shakespeare               |
| N&Q  | —Notes and Queries                               | Shak.'s   | —Shakespeare               |
| PMLA | —Publications of the Modern Language Association |   |                            |
| RES  | —Review of English Studies                       |   |                            |
| RN   | —Renaissance News                                |   |                            |
| SB   | —Studies in Bibliography                         |   |                            |
| SJ   | —Shakespeare-Jahrbuch                            |   |                            |

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10. Fricker, Robert. "Sammelbericht", *SJ*, XCIII, 228-251.
11. Griffin, Alice (ed.). "Current Theatre Notes, 1955-1956", *SQ*, VIII, 71-89.  
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12. Harrison, G. B. "The Bard at Mid-Century", *Saturday Review*, Aug. 3, pp. 17, 28.  
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13. Hatlen, Theodore. "College and University Productions, 1955-1956", *Educational Theatre Journal*, IX, 134-137.  
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Marshall in *Books Abroad*, XXXI, 310; by J. W. Saunders in *EC*, VII, 282-294; by René Pruvost in *Etudes Anglaises*, X, 253-254; in *SNL*, VII, 46.

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55. *Antoine et Cléopâtre*. tr. by J. Lambin (Coll. Shakespeare). Belles Lettres. Pp. 274.
56. *Kažo vam drago* (A.Y.L.), tr. by Branko Gavella, *Teatar* (Zagreb), III, 17-48.  
With commentary and notes.
57. *The Comedy of Errors*, ed. by F[elicina] Rota (Scrittori Inglesi, Collezione diretta da G. Baldini). Rome: A. Signorelli (Tip. A. Castaldi). Pp. 84.
58. *Coriolanus*, ed. by V. de Sola Pinto. London: Macmillan. Pp. xxi + 197.
59. *The Tragedy of Cymbeline*, ed. by G. B. Harrison (Penguin Shakespeare). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. Pp. 160.  
Introduction gives details of source materials from Holinshed and Boccaccio. Notes and Glossary.  
Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Jun. 21, p. 387.
60. *Cymbeline*, ed. by J. M. Nosworthy (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1955.  
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- 60a. *Hamlet*, ed. by Stanislaw Helsztynski and tr. by Władysław Tarnawski. Breslau, 1955.  
Rev. by Witwold Chevalewik in *Komitet Neofilologiczny*, III (1956), 269-271.
61. *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, ed. by Tucker Brooke and tr. by Władysław Tarnawski. Yale Univ. Press. Pp. 222.  
Revised ed. (paperback).  
Rev. briefly in *Saturday Review*, Aug. 3, p. 28.
62. *The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmark*, ed. by Willard Farnham (Pelican Shakespeare). Baltimore: Penguin Books. Pp. 176.
63. *Hamlet* (Illustrerede Klassikere IV). Copenhagen, 1956. Pp. 48.  
Illustrated edition for children.
64. *Hamlet* englisch und deutsch i. d. Übersetzung von Schlegel u. Tieck, hrsg. v. L. L. Schücking. Mit einem Essay "Zum Verständnis des Werkes" und einer Bibliographie v. Wolfgang Clemen (Rowohlt's Klassiker der Literatur und der Wissenschaft, Bd. 19). Hamburg.
65. *Hamlet* [and six other plays] (separately issued in the New Simplified Shakespeare Series), ed. by Ian Stuart. Birmingham, Alabama: Vulcan Press, 1954.  
Rev. by Robertson Griswold in *SQ*, VIII, 121.
66. *Hamlet*, arranged by Henry S. Taylor (Shorter Shakespeare Series). London: Ginn. Pp. viii + 143.
67. *Hamlet* (RCA Victor, 2 LPs). Old Vic Company recording with Sir John Gielgud.  
Rev. briefly in *Time*, Dec. 9, pp. 114, 116.
68. *Supplement to Henry IV, Part I, A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, ed. by G. Blakemore Evans. [New York], 1956.  
Rev. by John Crow in *SQ*, VIII, 91-94; briefly in *SNL*, VII, 14.

69. *The First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, ed. by Tucker Brooke and Samuel B. Hemingway (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press. Pp. 169.  
New ed. (paperback or hard-bound).  
Rev. briefly in *Saturday Review*, Aug. 3, p. 28.
70. *The First Part of King Henry the Fourth*, ed. by M. A. Shaaber (Pelican Shakespeare). Baltimore: Penguin Books. Pp. 139.  
Rev. briefly by Wallace A. Bacon in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 308-309.
71. *The Second Part of King Henry the Fourth*, ed. by Allan Chester (Pelican Shakespeare). Baltimore: Penguin Books. Pp. 147.  
Rev. briefly by Wallace A. Bacon in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 308-309.
72. *Henrik IV.* (I in II. del), tr. by M. Bor. Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica. Pp. 293 + iii.  
Commentary and Notes by Bratko Kreft.
73. *Henry V, 1600*, ed. by Sir Walter Greg (Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles, no. 9). Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 62.  
Rev. in *Mercur de France*, Oct., p. 319; briefly in *SNL*, VII, 46.
74. *Life of King Henry the Fifth*, ed. by Dorothy Margaret Stuart and E. V. Davenport. London: Macmillan. Pp. xxvii + 158.
75. *The Life of King Henry the Fifth*, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund (Pelican Shakespeare). Baltimore: Penguin Books. Pp. 142.  
Rev. briefly by Wallace A. Bacon in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 308-309.
76. *The Second Part of King Henry VI*, ed. by Andrew S. Cairncross (Arden Shakespeare). London: Methuen. Pp. liv + 197.  
Based on the now generally accepted theory that *The Contention* is a report of the Folio text, abridged, but with an attempt to reconcile the abridgement with the mutilation theory. The reconciliation employs two arguments: that political and religious censorship occurred, and that the Folio text was in part printed from a corrected copy of the (bad) quarto. "Revision" thus shrinks to the rewriting by *Shak.* of two or three hundred lines objectionable to the censor. "Inconsistencies" are largely the result of the printing process. Introduction also interprets *Shak.*'s use of his historical material, and sees the play, in the perspective of the York tetralogy, as a carefully planned work.  
Rev. in *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 227-228; in *Seventeenth Century News*, XV, 24; briefly in *TLS*, Mar. 8, p. 151; by Pat M. Ryan, Jr., in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 312.
77. *King Henry VIII*, ed. by R. A. Foakes (Arden Shakespeare). London: Methuen. Pp. lxx + 215.  
Introduction takes up authorship problem, but does not regard it as deserving foremost attention; the play is all *Shak.*'s. Of greater critical importance is place of this history in context of later plays. Foakes also includes contemporary accounts of burning of Globe, as well as source passages from Holinshed and Foxe.  
Rev. briefly in *TLS*, May 17, p. 300; briefly in *Seventeenth Century News*, XV, 24; in *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 362-363; by Pat M. Ryan, Jr., in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 312; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCHII, 269-270.
78. *Julius Caesar*, ed. by T. S. Dorsch (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1955.  
Rev. by S. F. Johnson in *SQ*, VIII, 391-395.
79. *Julius Caesar*, ed. by Jes Skovgaard (Engelsk Laesning for Gymnasiet w. Notes). Copenhagen: Hirschsprung, 1955. Pp. 92 + 64.  
Edition with commentaries for the Gymnasium.
80. *Julius Caesar*, a modern revised version, ed. by Charles W. Cooper. Whittier, California: Whittier College 1950. Pp. [viii] + 87.  
An "experimental edition". No footnotes, but a substitution of modern words for those needing annotation. ("A soothsayer bids you beware the fifteenth day of March".)
81. *Julius Caesar in Modern English*: Adapted from Shakespeare's Play by

- Elsie M. Katterjohn. Chicago: Scott, Foresman. Pp. 120.  
Rev. (from an invited letter by Miss Katterjohn) in *SNL*, VII, 45.
82. *La Tragédie de Jules César*. Texte Français de Georges Beaume. *Paris Théâtre*, no. 112 (1956), pp. 20-57.  
Includes photographs of the production at the Baalbeck Festival.
83. "Scènes de Jules César de Shakespeare", tr. by Yves Bonnefoy, *Mercure de France*, CCCXXIX, 193-208.  
Scenes in French from the version of *Caesar* to appear in *Oeuvres Complètes de Shakespeare* of the Club Français du Livre. (See 1955 Bibl., no. 54.)
84. *The Tragedy of King Lear*, ed. by Tucker Brooke and William Lyon Phelps (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press. Pp. 202.  
New ed. (paperback).  
Rev. briefly in *Saturday Review*, Aug. 3, p. 28.
85. *King Lear*, ed. with an Introduction and Notes by F. E. Budd. London: Macmillan. Pp. xxv + 186.
86. *King Lear*, ed. by R. E. C. Houghton (New Clarendon Shakespeare Series). Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 256.
87. *King Lear*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (Arden Shakespeare), 8th edition. London: Methuen. Pp. lxiv + 258.
88. *King Lear*, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Virginia L. Freund. New York: Pocket Books. Pp. xliii + 125, with 125 unnumbered note pages facing the text.  
First title in the Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare series. Introduction covers *Shak.* the man, publication of his plays, theatre, and the history, quality, and text of this play. Fifteen Elizabethan illustrations from the Folger.  
Rev. by Gordon Ross Smith in *SNL*, VII, 4; briefly in *Seventeenth Century News*, XV, 24; by Hubert Heffner in *Educational Theatre Journal*, IX, 359-360.
89. *King Lear*, in *Eight Great Tragedies*, ed. by Sylvan Barnet, Morton Ber- man, and William Burto. New York: Mentor, pp. 133-227.  
Includes an introduction, pp. 133-136.
90. *William Shakespeare, König Lear*, tr. by Theodor von Zeynek. Salzburg, 1956.  
Rev. briefly by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIII, 279.
91. *Love Poems and Sonnets of William Shakespeare*. New York: Doubleday.  
In ornamental white binding, with color plates by Vera Bock. Includes *Venus, Lucr., Sonn.*, and verses from the plays.
92. *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598), ed. by Sir Walter Greg. (Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles, no. 10). Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 84.  
Reproduced from the copy in the British Museum (C.34, 1.14: Heber-Daniel).  
Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Oct. 25, p. 647; briefly in *SNL*, VII, 46.
93. *Macbeth*, ed. by Alfred Harbage (Pelican Shakespeare). Baltimore, 1956.  
Rev. by Alice Griffin in *Theatre Arts*, Ap., p. 62; briefly by Gordon Ross Smith in *SNL*, VII, 4; by John Russell Brown in *SQ*, VIII, 550-551; briefly by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIII, 272-273; briefly by Wallace A. Bacon in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 308-309. (All these reviews, except the last, cover other 1956 volumes of the Pelican *Shak.*)
94. *Macbeth*, ed. by Kenneth Muir (Arden Shakespeare). London: Methuen. Pp. lxxiv + 201.  
Eighth ed. reprinted with minor corrections and new appendix.
95. *Macbeth*, ed. by G. C. Rosser (The London English Literature Series). Univ. of London Press. Pp. 158.  
Intended for students preparing for the Ordinary level of the General Certificate in English; full introduction and notes.  
Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Oct. 11, p. 615.
96. *The Tragedy of Macbeth*, ed. by Eugene M. Waith (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press. Pp. 138.  
Rev. ed. (paperback).  
Rev. briefly in *Saturday Review*, Aug. 3, p. 28.
97. *Macbeth* (Classics Illustrated, no. 4). New York: Gilberton and Company. Illustrated.

- Adapted, pictorial version for children.
98. *Macbeth*, adapted by Elsie Katterjohn and Esther W. Currie. Chicago: Scott, Foresman.
  99. *Mesure pour Mesure*, trad., intro. et notes par Michel Grivelet (Collection bilingue). Editions Montaigne. Pp. 288.
  100. *Mjer za mjeru (Meas.)*, tr. by Josip Torbarina. Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska. Pp. 200.  
Croatian translation, with Introduction and Notes.
  101. *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by John Russell Brown (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1955.  
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  102. *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Virginia L. Freund. New York: Pocket Books. Pp. xxxvii + 94, with 94 unnumbered note pages facing the text and an added "Key to Famous Lines and Phrases".  
Third title in the Folger Library General Reader's Shakespeare series.
  103. *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. by Jacob Alsted and V. Østergaard (Engelske Forfattere for Gymnasiet). Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1955. Pp. 148.  
Annotated edition for the Gymnasium.
  104. *Le Marchand de Venise*, raconté par Jean Muray. Ideal-Bibliothèque, 124. Pp. 186.  
Illustrations by Jean Reschofsky.
  105. *The Merchant of Venice* (Caedmon, 2 LPs). Recording with Michael Redgrave as Shylock.  
Rev. briefly in *Time*, Dec. 9, p. 116.
  106. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, ed. by G. B. Harrison (Penguin Shakespeare). Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. Pp. 128.
  107. *Le allegre comari di Windsor*, tr. by Cesare Vico Lodovici (Piccola biblioteca scientifica letteraria, n. 79). Torino: G. Einaudi (novara, Tip. La Stella Alpina). Pp. 162.
  108. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. With a New Introduction by Sir Ralph Richardson. Designs in Colour by Oliver Messel. London: Folio Society. Pp. 88.  
Eight plates in full color reproduce Messel's designs for the costumes and sets of the pre-war Old Vic production. Text in two colors; binding in green Sundour.
  109. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. by Ian Stuart (New Simplified Shakespeare). Birmingham, Alabama: Vulcan Press, 1956. Pp. 159.  
(Both paperback and cloth).
  110. *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice*, ed. by Tucker Brooke and Lawrence Mason (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press. Pp. 188.  
Revised ed. (paperback).  
Rev. briefly in *Saturday Review*, Aug. 3, p. 28.
  111. *Othello*, ed. by Alice Walker and John Dover Wilson (New Shakespeare). Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. lxi + 246.  
Rev. in *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 228-229; briefly in *Theatre Notebook*, XI, 148; briefly in *SNL*, VII, 14; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIII, 270-271.
  112. *The Tragedy of Othello, the Moor of Venice*, ed. by Louis B. Wright and Virginia L. Freund. New York: Pocket Books. Pp. xxxviii + 128, with 128 unnumbered note pages facing the text.  
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  113. *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, ed. by J. C. Maxwell (New Shakespeare). Cambridge Univ. Press, 1956.  
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  114. *Richard the Second*, ed. by Matthew W. Black (New Variorum Shakespeare). Philadelphia, 1955.  
Rev. by Kenneth Muir in *MLR*, LII, 96-97; by Peter Ure in *RES*, n.s., VIII, 290-293; by S. F. Johnson, in *JEGP*, LVI, 476-483; briefly in *SNL*, VII, 14; by T. W. Baldwin in

- MLN, LXXII, 374-382; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIII, 269.
115. *The Tragedy of King Richard the Second*, ed. by Matthew W. Black (Pelican Shakespeare). Baltimore: Penguin Books. Pp. 131.  
Rev. briefly by Wallace A. Bacon in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 308-309.
116. *King Richard II*, ed. by Peter Ure (Arden Shakespeare). London, 1956.  
Rev. in *Seventeenth Century News*, XV, 14-15; by Donald FitzJohn in *Drama*, Spring, pp. 38-39; by Pat M. Ryan, Jr., in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 311-312.
117. *Richard III*, tr. by J. Delcourt (Coll. Shakespeare). Belles Lettres. Pp. 274.
118. *La tragedia di Re Riccardo III*, tr. with text printed on the opposite page by Gabriele Baldini (Le opere di Sh. i versione italiana con testo e fronte a cura di G. Baldini, n. 2). Rome: A. Signorelli (Tip. Castaldi). Pp. 278.
119. *The Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet*, ed. by Richard Hosley (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press. Pp. 174.  
Revised ed. (paperback).  
Rev. briefly in *Saturday Review*, Aug. 3, p. 28.
120. *Romeo und Julia* englisch und deutsch i. d. Übersetzung v. Schlegel u. Tieck, hrsg. v. L. L. Schücking. Mit einem Essay "Zum Verständnis des Werkes" u. einer Bibliographie v. Wolfgang Clemen (Rowohlts Klassiker der Literatur und der Wissenschaft, Bd. 4). Hamburg.
121. *Romeo and Juliet*. RCA Victor long-play recording. The Old Vic Company.  
Rev. in *Educational Theatre Journal*, IX, 51.
122. *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Printed after the Praetorius Facsimile ed. from the copy of the First Quarto, 1609, in the British Museum. Limited autographed ed. Lexington: Anvil Press, 1956. Pp. 85.
123. *Sonnets*, version française par Pierre Jean Jouve. Club Français du Livre, 1956. Pp. 318.
124. *Shakespeares Sonette*, übersetzt von Richard Flatter. Wien, München, Basel.  
Rev. by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIII, 277-279.
125. *Shakespeares sonette* in deutscher Sprache und italienischer Versform von Hans Hübner. Rostock, 1956. 2. Aufl.
126. Strong, L. A. G. *The Body's Imperfection*. London: Methuen. Pp. 164.  
Contains a short cycle of *Shak's Sonn.*
127. *La Sauvage Apprivoisée (Shrew)*, lithographies originales de Paul Aizpiri. Les Francs-Bibliophiles. Pp. 149.
128. *The Tempest*, ed. by S. C. Boorman (The London English Literature Series). Univ. of London Press. Pp. 153.  
Intended for students preparing for the Ordinary level of the General Certificate in English; full introduction and notes.  
Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Oct. 11, p. 615.
129. *The Tempest*, arranged by Henry S. Taylor (Shorter Shakespeare Series). London: Ginn. Pp. viii + 88.
130. *Troilus and Cressida*, ed. by Jackson J. Campbell (Yale Shakespeare). Yale Univ. Press, 1956.  
Rev. by C. G. Thayer in *Books Abroad*, Winter, p. 83; by Jiro Ozu in *SQ*, VIII, 242-243.
131. *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by Baldwin Maxwell (Pelican Shakespeare). Baltimore, 1956.  
For reviews see no. 93.

## BOOKS AND ARTICLES RELATING TO SHAKESPEARE

132. Adam, R. J. "The Real Macbeth: King of Scots, 1040-1054", *History Today*, VII, 381-387.  
Study of the hostile legends that have gathered about the historic figure of Macbeth.
133. Afanasieva, Olga and Alexander Vasiliev. "Behind the Scenes at the Moscow Theatre", *USSR*, no. 9, pp. 48-53.  
Stanislavsky influenced production of *W.T.* in Moscow.



134. Allen, R. T. "How a Teen-Ager's Dream Came True at Stratford", *Maclean's Magazine*, Oct. 12, pp. 28-29, 75-79.
135. Allen, William. "Atlantic Surprise: Cuttyhunk", *Travel*, Jun., p. 60.  
Advances the theory that Cuttyhunk, Mass., is the scene of *Temp*. Cites two contemporary accounts of voyages, John Brereton's *Brief and True Relation* and Gabriel Archer's *Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage*, as possible sources.
136. Andersen-Rosendal, Jørgen. "Var Geniet Shakespeare i Virkelig-heden 7 Andre?" ("Was the Genius Actually 7 Other Persons?"), *Dagens Nyheder* (Copenhagen), XC (1955), 13/8.
137. "Angleterre-Titus Andronicus", *Paris Theatre*, no. 124, pp. 10-12.  
Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh in the London *Titus*.
138. "Antony and Cleopatra", *Theatre World*, Ap., pp. 13-17.  
Photographs of the Old Vic production.
139. "Antony and Cleopatra at the Old Vic", *Plays and Players*, May, p. 12.  
Photographs.
140. Appleby, John. *The Stuffed Swan*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1956. Pp. 191.  
A novel, with Queen Elizabeth as the author of *Shak*'s plays.  
Rev. in the *Sunday Times* (London), Nov. 4, 1956.
141. Arnold, Aerol. "The Function of Brabantio in *Othello*", *SQ*, VIII, 51-56.  
Brabantio's function is a dramatic one: to motivate, by his traits of the miser-father, the crucial scene in the council-chamber (I.iii).
142. Arnold, Paul. *Esotérisme de Shakespeare*. Paris, 1955.  
Rev. by Glenn H. Blaney in *SQ*, VIII, 239-240.
143. *Ashland Studies in Shakespeare* (A book of articles, prints, and suggestions for projects: designed to accompany classwork in the Field Course established by the English Department of Stanford University in collaboration with the Oregon Shakespeare Festival of 1955). Ashland, Oregon, 1955. Folios [v] + [79] + [ix] + vi. Mimeographed.  
Rev. briefly by J. M. Yoklavich in *SQ*, VIII, 243.
144. Ashley, Leonard R. N. "The Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane, 1711-1716, Under Colley Cibber, Barton Booth, and Robert Wilks", *DA*, XVII, 625.  
Includes data and interpretation concerning *Shak*. performances.
145. "As You Like It at Stratford-on-Avon", *Plays and Players*, May, pp. 20-21.  
Photographs.
146. Aubrey, John. *Aubrey's Brief Lives and a Life of John Aubrey*, ed. by Olivier Lawrence Dick. Foreword by Edmund Wilson. Univ. of Michigan Press. Pp. 448.  
Includes life of *Shak*.
147. Auden, W. H. "The Dyer's Hand: Poetry and the Poetic Process", *The Anchor Review*, no. 2, pp. 255-301.  
Wide-ranging essay inquiring, "What is poetry about? What is the poetic subject?" Includes sections "Oedipus Rex and Macbeth" and "Othello's Final Speech".
148. Auden, W. H. "Music in Shakespeare", *Encounter*, Dec., pp. 31-44.  
General discussion of the dramatic functions of music. Instrumental music and songs in *Shak*.
149. Austin, Warren B. "Concerning a Woodcut", *SQ*, VIII, 245.  
The man shown in the woodcut reproduced from a 17th-century ballad (*SQ*, VII, 442) had appeared in 1596 in *Have With You to Saffron-Walden* as a supposed picture of Harvey. Nashe had made the imposture as "an outrageous bit of spoofing".
150. Avén, Göran. "Hamlet på Kungl. teatern 1819", *Skrifter utg. av Föreningen Drottningholmsteaterns vänner*, no. 12, pp. 161-185.  
A thorough study of the first Swedish *Ham*. in the Royal Theatre. Illustrations from a contemporary sketchbook offer details of decorations and costumes.
151. B., G. "La Galerie", *Paris Theatre*, no. 123, p. 2.  
Olivier and Leigh in *Titus*.
152. Babler, O. F. "Shakespeare's 'Midsummer Night's Dream' in Czech and Slovakian", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 151-153.

- Surveys the translations of *Dream* by Frantisek Doucha, Josef V. Sládek, Bohumil Štěpánek, Erik A. Saudek, and Jirí Valja into Czech, and that of Pavel Országh Hviezdoslav into Slovakian.
153. Baker, Arthur E. *Shakespeare Commentary*. Dates of composition and first publication; sources of the plots and detailed outlines of the plays; together with the characters, place-names, classical, geographical, topographical and curious history and folk allusions, with glosses; to which are added appendices giving extracts from Holinshed, Plutarch, and the various romances, novels, poems and histories used by Shakespeare in the formation of the dramas. Reissue. New York: Ungar. Two volumes. Pp. 482, 484-964.
154. Baldini, Gabriele. "Ruzanta e Falstaff", in *Studi in onore di Pietro Silva*, ed. by the Facoltà di Magistero of Rome Univ. Firenze: F. Le Monnier (Tip. Ariani), pp. 9-15.
155. Baldini, Gabriele. *Le tragedie di Shakespeare*. Torino: Editrice ERI. Edizioni Radio Italiana (Tip. Iltet). Pp. 199, with portrait.
156. Baldwin, T. W. *Shakespeare's Loves Labor's Won*. New Evidence from the Account Books of an Elizabethan Bookseller. Southern Illinois Univ. Press. Pp. 50.  
*Shak.*'s authorship of a play by this name is evidenced by two account sheets in the binding of a 17th-century book of sermons. Collotype reproductions of the discovery, with type transcriptions and notes.  
 Rev. in *SNL*, VII, 25.
157. Barber, C. L. *The Idea of Honour in the English Drama, 1591-1700* (Göthenburg Studies in English, III). Göteborg. Pp. 362.
158. Barbour, Thomas. "Revivals and Revisions: Theatre Chronicle", *Hudson Review*, X, 261-269.  
 Survey of the year's major productions in *Shak.* and other Elizabethan drama.
159. Barnes, T. R. "Cold Vic", *Journal of Education* (London), XXXIX, 260 ff.  
*Merch.* and *Antony* at the Old Vic.
160. Barnes, T. R. "Cutting Shakespeare", *Journal of Education* (London), XXXIX, 395-396.  
 Suggestions for staging and acting.
161. Barnet, Sylvan. "George Stevens, Editor", *SNL*, VII, 2.  
 Personality sketch of the 18th-century editor.
162. Barnet, Sylvan. "Recognition and Reversal in *Antony and Cleopatra*", *SO*, VIII, 331-334.  
 In a play usually thought to be loosely structured, the Aristotelian concepts of recognition and reversal can be applied to the manner in which *Shak.* has shaped the deaths of the two principals and of Enobarbus.
163. Barrett, Mary Ellen and Marvin Barrett. "Theatre: Shakespeare in the Summer", *Good Housekeeping*, Jul., p. 60.  
 Survey of the season's *Shak.* productions and festivals.
164. Barrol, John Leeds III. "Shakespeare and Roman History", *DA*, XVII, 626-627.  
 Approach to *Antony and Caesar* in terms of renaissance attitudes towards the relevant episodes in Roman history.
165. Bastian, F. "George Vargis, Constable", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 11.  
 Verges in *Much* may have been inspired by George Vargis, a country constable in the Surrey town of Horsely.
- 165a. Battenhouse, Roy. "Shakespearean Tragedy", in *The Tragic Vision and the Christian Faith*, ed. by Nathan Scott. The Association Press, Chapter II.
166. Baugh, Albert C. *History of the English Language*, 2nd ed. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. Pp. 550.  
 Chapter VIII: The Renaissance, 1500-1650.
167. Beaton, Cecil. "Princes of Players", *Theatre Arts*, Dec., pp. 32-33, 95-96.  
 Biographical notes on Alec Guinness, Sir John Gielgud, Paul Scofield, and Sir Laurence Olivier.
168. Beck, Martha Ryan. "A Comparative Study of Prompt Copies of 'Hamlet'"

- Used by Garrick, Booth, and Irving (Volumes I and II)", *DA*, XVII, 1472.  
The prompt-books reveal much about the techniques and personalities of the respective actors, as well as telling much of contemporary taste.
- 168a. Beecham, Sir Thomas. *John Fletcher* (Romanes Lecture). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. 23.  
Reaffirms Fletcher's claim as part-author of *H. VIII*.  
Rev. briefly by Clifford Leech in *MLR*, LII, 626.
169. Behrens, Ralph. "Some Observations on Rationality vs. Credulity in Shakespeare", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 420-421.
170. Bejblík, Alois. "Hviezdoslavův překlad Hamleta" ("Hviezdoslav's translation of *Hamlet*"), *Slovenská literatúra* (Bratislava), IV.  
Stylistic analysis of *Ham.* in the translation of the greatest Slovak national poet, P. O. Hviezdoslav (1849-1921).
171. Belmont, Eleanor Robson. *The Fabric of Memory*. New York: Farrar, Straus & Cudahy. Pp. 311.  
Reminiscences of the crusading actress, one of whose roles was Juliet.  
Rev. by Helen Beal Woodward in *Saturday Review*, Nov. 23, p. 36.
172. Bennett, Paul E. "The Statistical Measurement of a Stylistic Trait in *Julius Caesar* and *As You Like It*", *SQ*, VIII, 33-50.  
The trait is repetitiveness of words—here common nouns—and the premise is that authors betray their individuality by such repetitiveness. This preliminary study achieves positive results.
173. Bensley, Gordon E. "Use of Shakespeare Films at Phillips Academy", *Audio-Visual Guide*, XXII (1956), no. 8, p. 35.
174. Bentley, Eric. *The Dramatic Event*. New York, 1954.  
Rev. by Roy Walker in *Drama*, Spring, p. 35.
175. Bentley, Eric. *What Is Theatre? A Query in Chronicle Form*. London: Dennis Dobson. Pp. x + 273.  
For help in answering the "query" (in the title essay of the collection), Bentley goes back to seasonal myths in *Shak.*  
Rev. in *TLS*, Oct. 4, p. 595; by E. J. West in *Educational Theatre Journal*, IX, 258-260.
176. Bentley, Gerald Eades. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage: Plays and Playwrights*. Vols. III-V. Oxford Univ. Press, 1956.  
Rev. by C. J. Sisson in *MLR*, LII, 257-258; by Godfrey Davies in *English Historical Review*, LXXII, 323-325; by G. B. Harrison in *MLN*, LXXII, 444-446; by Allardyce Nicoll in *JEGP*, LVI, 486-487; briefly by James G. McManaway in *SQ*, VIII, 397-398; by R. C. Bald in *The Library*, XII, 283-285.
177. Bergman, Gösta M. "Världspremiären på Trettondagsafton" ("The first night of *Twelfth Night*"), *Teatern* (Norrköping), XXIII (1956), h. 3, pp. 3-4.  
On Leslie Hotson and the arena stage.
178. Berkeley, David S. Letter to the Editor, *CE*, XVIII, 286-287.  
Defends, in answer to a protest, his "unromantic view" of Antony.
179. Bernard, M. A. "Paradox of Shakespeare's Golden World", *Philippine Studies*, IV (1956), 441-458.  
*A.Y.L.* differs from the rest of *Shak.*'s plays not so much in structure and style as in tone and atmosphere. No local identifications can be made with Arden Forest.
180. Berry, Francis. "Shakespeare's Directive to the Player of Caliban", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 27.  
Preference for the original spelling of "yee" in *Temp.* I.ii.320. By this spelling, *Shak.* intended Caliban to address Prospero alone.
181. Beyer, Edvard. *Problemer omkring oversettelser av Shakespeares dramatik*. With English Summary (Historiskantikvarisk rekke, no. 3). Bergen: A. S. John Briegs Boktrykkeri, 1956. Pp. 64.  
Emphasizes Norwegian translation—hitherto neglected—but makes comparison with the most important Danish and Swedish versions. Discusses problems facing the translator,

- including choice of text, differences between Scandinavian and Elizabethan English, allusions, style, imagery, symbolism, puns, and blank verse.
182. Birch, Marguerite I. "Drama in Sydney", *Australian Quarterly*, XXIX, 123-127.  
Paul Rogers' *Ham.* at the Elizabethan Theatre in Sydney, Australia.
183. Blackburn, Thomas. "Othello's Dream", *New Statesman and Nation*, Mar. 9, p. 312.  
A poem.
184. Blagden, Cyprian. "The Accounts of the Wardens of the Stationers' Company", *SB*, pp. 69-93.  
Reconstructs, with tables and analyzed items, the Wardens' Accounts from Jul. 19, 1557, to Jul. 15, 1596. Incorporates much material omitted by Arber.
185. Blau, Herbert. "Language and Structure in Poetic Drama", *MLQ*, XVIII, 27-34.  
With reference to *Caesar*, argues for the functional, rather than the superimposed, role of verse in the drama. It must "continually function in structure rather than flare forth at points of intensity".
186. Blayney, Glenn H. "Dramatic Pointing in the 'Yorkshire Tragedy'", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 191-192.  
Similarities in the use of dramatic punctuation by the author of the *Yorkshire Tragedy* and by *Shak.* in such passages as Pistol's leek-eating speech in *H. V*, V. i.
187. Bloom, Ursula. *The Elegant Edwardian*. London: Hutchinson. Pp. 224.  
Reminiscences, by the daughter of J. Harvey Bloom, of the Stratford Festival and of Marie Corelli.
188. Blum, Margaret Morton. "The Fool in 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock'", *MLN*, LXXII, 424-426.  
Eliot meant not Polonius, nor a generalized fool, but Yorick.
189. Boas, Guy. "Shakespearean Tempo", *English*, XI, 169.  
Discusses the difficulties of *Shak.* production.
190. Bowden, William R. "The Human Shakespeare and *Troilus and Cressida*", *SQ*, VIII, 167-177.
- Although *Shak.* recognized the vulnerability of characters who nobly defy reason, such characters—notably *Troilus* and *Hector*—always appear more admirable than the strictly reasonable ones. *Troi.* does not glorify reason.
191. Bowers, Fredson. *On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists*. Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1955.  
Rev. by Roy Stokes in *JEGP*, LVI, 142-144; by J. C. Maxwell in *RES*, n.s., VIII, 293-298.
192. Bowers, Fredson (ed.). *Studies in Bibliography*, VII, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1955.  
Rev. by Herbert Davis in *RES*, n.s., VIII, 215-217.
193. Bowers, Fredson (ed.). *Studies in Bibliography*, VIII, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1956.  
Rev. by Hugh G. Dick in *SQ*, VIII, 98-101; by A. N. L. Munby in *MLR*, LII, 250-251; by Herbert Davis in *RES*, n.s., VIII, 454-456.
194. Bowers, Fredson (ed.). *Studies in Bibliography*, IX, Charlottesville, Virginia: Bibliographical Society of the Univ. of Virginia. Pp. 273.  
Contains 8 articles dealing with the textual problems of *Shak.* and his contemporaries.  
Rev. in *TLS*, May 3, p. 280; in *SNL*, VII, 15; by Leo Kirschbaum in *SQ*, VIII, 544-546.
195. Bowling, Lawrence E. "Duality in the Minor Characters in *Antony*", *CE*, XVIII, 251-255.  
The major theme in *Antony* is the idea that every organism or organization must attain a perfect unity to succeed. Pompey, Lepidus, Octavia, and Enobarbus each occupies an intermediate position between *Antony* and *Caesar*, and each fails because of this duality.
196. Bowman, Thomas D. "Antony and the 'lass unparallel'd'", *SNL*, VII, 47.  
The stage action of *Antony*, IV. i, the scene in which Cleopatra helps to arm Antony, should convey a sense of Cleopatra's apprehensive courage.
197. Boyle, Walden P. *Central and Flexible Staging. A New Theatre in the Mak-*

- ing. Univ. of California Press, 1956.  
Rev. by Kathleen Suggs in *Books Abroad*, Winter, p. 86.
198. Bradbrook, F. W. "Shylock and King Lear", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 142-143.  
In Cordelia's opening speech in *Lear* there is a reference to the bond between Antonio and Shylock in *Merch*.
199. Bradbrook, M. C. *The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy*. London, 1955.  
Rev. in *Thought*, XXXII, 291-293; by Harold S. Wilson in *Queen's Quarterly*, LXIV, 295-297; by William Sharp in *Educational Theatre Journal*, IX, 261.
200. Bradley, A. C. *Shakespearean Tragedy* (St. Martin's Library). London: Macmillan. Pp. xv + 432. (Originally published 1904).
201. Brahms, Caryl. "Money's Worth", *Plays and Players*, Sep., p. 9.  
*Temp.* at Stratford-upon-Avon.
202. Brahms, Caryl. "Stove Pipe and Crinoline", *Plays and Players*, Mar., p. 15.  
Old Vic production of *T.G.V.*
203. Brahms, Caryl. "Taking the Mickey out of Macbeth", *Plays and Players*, Oct., p. 13.  
*Macb.* at Theatre Workshop, London.
204. Branam, George C. *Eighteenth-Century Adaptations of Shakespearean Tragedy*. Univ. of California Press, 1956.  
Rev. by George W. Stone, Jr., in *MLN*, LXXII, 451-452; by Arthur H. Scouten in *SQ*, VIII, 547-548; by John Loftis in *PQ*, XXXVI, 319-320.
205. Braun, Hanns. "Shakespeare als Nothelfer der Kritik", *SJ*, XCIII, 82-88.  
*Shak.* as aid to the critic.
- 205a. Brecht, Bertolt. "Hamlet", tr. by Helmut W. Bonheim, *CE*, XIX, 82.  
Poem.
206. Brecht, Bertolt. "On Shakespeare's Play 'Hamlet'", *Adam and Encore*, no. 254 (1956), p. 9.  
Poem.
207. Bridges-Adams, W. *The Irresistible Theatre*. Vol. I: From the Conquest to the Commonwealth. London: Secker and Warburg. Pp. xiv + 446. Illustrated.
- Critically examines, from the standpoint of a man of the theatre, current theories of the Elizabethan stage.  
Rev. in *TLS*, Jul. 5, p. 412; by Ivor Brown in *The Observer*, Jun. 23; by Richard Findlater in *Twentieth Century*, Sep., pp. 275-276; by Gerald Meath in *The Tablet*, Aug. 10, pp. 113-114; by Jan Bussel in *Drama*, Autumn, pp. 40-41; briefly by John Cournois in *The Key Reporter*, Oct., p. 4; by Douglas Hewitt in *Manchester Guardian*, Jul. 23, p. 4; by T. C. Worsley in *New Statesman*, Aug. 3, p. 151; in *Booklist*, LIV, 69; by Alfred Harbage in *New York Times Book Review*, Sep. 15, p. 4.
208. Briggs, K. M. "The English Fairies", *Folklore*, LXVIII, 270-287.  
*Dream* seen as a reflection of the mild and cheerful temper of English fairylore.
209. Brinton, Clarence Crane (ed.). *Portable Age of Reason Reader*. Viking, 1956.  
Includes "On Shakespeare, Voltaire, and Others", by G. E. Lessing, pp. 526-533.
210. Brix, Hans. "Hamlet Søn af Kongen", *Berlingske Aften* (Copenhagen), 7/7.
211. Brock, Elizabeth. "Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*: A History of the Text from 1623 through 1821", *DA*, XVII, 847.  
Extended discussion of the *Ft* text, followed by an examination of the treatment of the text by 17th- and 18th-century editors.
212. Brodersen, Chr. N. "Omkring 'En Skaersommernatsdrøm'", *Vendysse Tidende* (Hjörning, Denmark), 12/7.  
*Dream*.
213. Brocker, Harriet Durkee. "The Influence of *Othello* in Jacobean and Caroline Drama", *DA*, XVII, 2005-2006.  
In *Oth. Shak.* gave his successors many useful detachable scenes. The figure of vice in the form of a Machiavellian villain masquerading as a malcontent honest soldier, and the extended treatment of a jealous husband, were widely used by *Shak.*'s followers.
214. Brøgger, Niels Christian. "Det er vi som er Kong Lear" ("*We are King*").

- Lear"), *Vinduet* (Oslo), XI, 75-80.
- The great tragedies deal, "not with ordinary humans, but with heroes, demigods" or "archetypes". As Hamlet was the hero of the introspective generation between the wars, Lear is the fitting archetype of our own embattled age.
215. Brown, A. D. Fitton. "Two Points of Interpretation", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 51.
- A vocal pause after "greatly" in *Ham.*, IV.iv. 53 produces a necessary contrast between the two definitions of greatness.
216. Brown, Ivor. *Dark Ladies*. London: Collins. Pp. 319.
- Includes essays on *Shak.*'s Dark Lady and on Cleopatra.
- Rev. in *New Statesman and Nation*, Mar. 23, p. 390; in *Scotsman*, Mar. 7.
217. Brown, Ivor. *Shakespeare*. London: Collins. Pp. 254. Paperback.
- Revised and abridged for inclusion in Comet Books.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Jun. 28, p. 402.
218. Brown, Ivor. *Shakespeare Memorial Theatre 1954-56*. London, 1956.
- Rev. briefly by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIII, 276; by Stanley Richards in *Players Magazine*, Dec., p. 64.
219. Brown, Ivor. "Shakespeare og Danmark", *Berlingske Tidende* (Copenhagen), 21/5.
220. Brown, Ivor. *Theatre, 1955-6*. With Contributions by William Douglas Home, Sir Ralph Richardson, Thomas Quinn Curtis, and Henry Sherek. London: Max Reinhardt.
- Rev. briefly by D. M. S. in *English*, XI, 161; by Stanley Richards in *Players Magazine*, Nov., pp. 46-47.
221. Brown, John Russell. *Shakespeare and his Comedies*. London: Methuen. Pp. 208.
- An essay in interpretation, rather than appreciation or criticism, aiming to define the "meaning", ideas, or themes of the comedies up through *Twel.*
- Rev. in *TLS*, Oct. 11, p. 610.
222. Browne, Ray B. "Shakespeare in the Nineteenth-Century Songsters", *SQ*, VIII, 207-218.
- Quotes from forty songs taken from popular songbooks, which show in their easy, familiar, and often irreverent treatment that *Shak.* was still a playwright of the people.
223. Brunner, Karl. *William Shakespeare*. Tübingen. Pp. 232.
224. "Brush Up on Your Shakespeare", *Grail*, May, pp. 29-31.
225. Bryant, J. A., Jr. "The Linked Analogies of *Richard II*", *Sewanee Review*, LXV, 420-433.
- In *R. II Shak.* for the first time wrote tragedy with a universal application. Hence, *R. II* marks an important transition in *Shak.*'s writings.
226. Bryher (pseud. Annie Winifred Ellerman). *The Player's Boy: a Novel*. London: Collins.
- Acting companies in Southwark in the time of James I.
227. Bull, Francis. "The Influence of Shakespeare on Wergeland, Ibsen and Björnson", tr. from the Norwegian by E. M. Huggard, *Norseman*, XV, 89-95.
- Shak.*'s influence seen not so much in specific analogues as in a pervasive dramatic conception.
228. Bullough, Geoffrey (ed.). *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, Vol. I: Early Comedies, Poems, *Romeo and Juliet*. Columbia Univ. Press. Pp. xx + 532.
- Rev. in *TLS*, Nov. 29, p. 716.
229. Burnim, Kalman A. "Some Notes on Aaron Hill and Stage Scenery", *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 29-33.
- Notes Hill's 1723 production of *H. V.* and adaptation from *Shak.*
230. Bush, Geoffrey. *Shakespeare and the National Condition*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1956.
- Rev. by Pat M. Ryan, Jr., in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 204-205; by R. A. Foakes in *English*, XI, 150; by Peter Alexander in *SQ*, VIII, 384-387.
231. Byrne, Muriel St. Clare. "The Shakespeare Season at The Old Vic, 1956-57, and Stratford-upon-Avon, 1957", *SQ*, VIII, 461-492, with 4 pages of illustrations.
232. Byrne, M. St. Clare. "The Tempest at



- Stratford-on-Avon", *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 85-29.
- Part of a complete survey of Old Vic, Stratford-upon-Avon seasons to appear in *SQ*. Discussion of Gielgud's interpretation of Prospero.
233. Cairncross, Andrew S. "Coincidental Variants in *Richard III*", *The Library*, XII, 187-190.
- Walton's "indifferent variants" prove what they were to disprove—that the First Folio is dependent on Q6 copy, and, for a certain number of readings, on Q1 and Q3.
234. Cairncross, Andrew S. "The Quartos and Folio Text of *Richard III*", *RES*, n.s., VIII, 225-233.
- The Folio text of *R. III*, set up by the two compositors, A and B, was printed from three of the six Quartos then available, Q1, Q3, and Q6.
235. "Canada's Shakespeare Capitol", *Theatre Arts*, Jul, p. 78.
- Stratford (Ontario) *Shak.* Festival and theatre.
236. Cannaday, Robert Wythe, Jr. "French Opinion of Shakespeare from the Beginnings through Voltaire, 1604-1778", *DA*, XVII, 2605-2606.
- Shak.* had inauspicious beginnings in France, but by the death of Voltaire he had a small, but enthusiastic group of adherents. Adduces evidence to show that even Voltaire may have altered his originally unfriendly attitude during his old age.
237. Cantrell, Paul L. and George Walton Williams. "The Printing of the Second Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet* (1599)", *SB*, 107-128.
- Notes differences between speech prefixes in Q2 and Q1. Because Compositor A was faithful to known copy, the Q2 changes must have resulted from use of an independent manuscript.
238. Carson, R. A. G. "The Ides of March", *History Today*, VII, 141-146.
- Includes references to the kind of authenticity *Shak.* achieved in *Caesar*.
239. Carson, William B. "As You Like It and the Stars: Nineteenth Century Prompt Books", *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 117-127.
- Study of the alterations made by 19th-century actors and managers in *A.Y.L.*, both to better show off actors' talents and to suit public taste. Includes a chart showing scene order in the prompt books of numerous actors and managers.
240. Cecil, David. *The Fine Art of Reading. And Other Literary Studies*. London: Constable. Pp. 221.
- Includes "Shakespearean Comedy".
- Rev. in *TLS*, Sep. 13, p. 546; by Carlos Baker in *Saturday Review*, Sep. 28, pp. 22-23, 36; by Harold C. Gardiner in *America*, Jun. 29, p. 368; by C. V. Wedgewood in *Time and Tide*, Aug. 3, pp. 968-969; briefly in *English Journal*, XVI, 525.
241. Chabrier, Victor. "Coriolan aux Nuits de Bendor", *Cahiers du Sud*, no. 337 (1956), n.p. (B 1').
242. Challen, W. H. "Sir George Buck, Kt., Master of the Revels", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 290-292, 324-327.
- Numerous notes on payments for court performances by *Shak.*'s company.
243. Chambers, H. A. (ed.). *A Shakespeare Song Book*. Three centuries of music settings for Shakespeare's Plays. (With score and music.) London: Brandford Press. Pp. 62 + 24.
- Rev. in *Musical Opinion*, LXXX, 599.
244. Chambrun, Clara Longworth de. *Shakespeare: A Portrait Restored*. London, 1956.
- Rev. by Paul E. McLane in *America*, Nov. 16, pp. 219-221.
245. Chapman, John Jay. *The Selected Writings of John Jay Chapman*, ed. with an introduction by Jacques Barzun. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Cudahy. Pp. 294.
- Includes four *Shak.* criticisms.
- Rev. by William Hudson Rogers in *English Journal*, XLVI, 589; by Melvin H. Bernstein in *Nation*, Nov. 9, p. 328.
246. Charney, Maurice. "Shakespeare's Antony: A Study of Image Themes", *SP*, LIV, 149-161.
- The symbolic conflict between the values of Egypt and Rome is "deeply rooted" in the play's imagery, notably in these themes: sword and armor, vertical dimension, and dissolution.

247. Chesterton, G. K. *G. K. Chesterton. An Anthology*, with an Introduction by Wyndham Lewis (The World's Classics). Oxford Univ. Press. Pp. 235.  
Contains a 12-page critical discussion of *Dream*.  
Rev. in *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 321; by John Raymond in *New Statesman and Nation*, Mar. 23, pp. 384-385; in *Saturday Night* (Canada), Jul. 6, p. 24.
248. Christ, Henry I. "Macbeth and the Faust Legend", *English Journal*, XLVI, 212-213.  
Six main parallels seen, especially through the possible influence of Marlowe.
249. Chute, Marchette. *Shakespeare of London* (Dutton Everyman Paperbacks). New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.
- 249a. Clare Immaculate, Sister. "The Problem of Suffering in Shakespeare's *Othello*", *Catholic Educator*, XXVII, 178-180.
250. Clarke, Mary. *Shakespeare at the Old Vic*. London: Hamish Hamilton, for the Old Vic Trust. Pp. 105. Illustrated.  
Pictorial record of recent productions with a commentary.  
Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Dec. 20, p. 779.
251. Cleeve, B. T. "The Lost 'Hamlet'", *Studies*, Winter, pp. 447-456.  
Attempts to reconstruct the plot of Kyd's lost play from discrepancies and obscure allusions in *Shak.*'s version. *Shak.* was re-working an old play for contemporary taste, and emerged with the same outline, but vastly altered tone.
252. Clemen, Wolfgang. *Clarences Traum und Ermordung*. Munich, 1955.  
Rev. briefly by Aerold Arnold in *SQ*, VIII, 117.
253. Clemen, Wolfgang. *Kommentar zu Shakespeares Richard III*. Interpretation eines Dramas. Göttingen. Pp. 356.
254. Clurman, Harold. "On Banning Shylock", *Nation*, Nov. 9, p. 311.  
Reply to Leon Fram's letter protesting the presentation of *Merch.* (See no. 350).
255. Clurman, Harold. "Theatre", *Nation*, Feb. 16, p. 146.  
Phoenix production of *Meas.*
256. Clurman, Harold. "Theatre", *Nation*, Jul. 6, p. 18.  
Sir Laurence Olivier's *Titus* and Douglas Seale's *R. III*.
257. Clurman, Harold. "Theatre", *Nation*, Aug. 3, pp. 58-59.  
*Merch.* and *Oth.* at Stratford, Conn., with a critical discussion of *Merch.*
258. Clurman, Harold. "Theatre", *Nation*, Aug. 31, pp. 98-99.  
Central Park *Shak.* festival. Productions of *T.G.V.* and *Macb.*
259. Coe, Charles Norton. *Shakespeare's Villains*. New York: Bookman Associates—Twayne Publishers.  
Discusses 11 *Shak.* villains.
260. Coghill, Nevill. "University Contributions to Shakespeare Production in England," *SJ*, XCIII, 175-185.  
Commencing with the efforts of William Poel and Granville-Barker, the alliance of scholarship with production has been realized through the combined contributions of the Oxford and Cambridge undergraduate dramatic societies.
- 260a. Coleman, Hamilton. *Shakespeare and the Bible*. New York, 1955. (Reprint.)  
Rev. briefly in *SNL*, VII, 28.
261. Coles, Blanche. *Shakespeare's Four Giants*. Rindge, N. H.: Richard R. Smith Publishers, Inc. Pp. 126.  
Rev. briefly in *SNL*, VII, 22.
262. Colin, Saul. "Plays and Players in New York", *Plays and Players*, Sep., pp. 16-17.  
*Oth.*, *Much*, and *Merch.* at Stratford, Conn.
263. Collins, P. A. W. "Shaw on Shakespeare", *SQ*, VIII, 1-13.  
Shaw brought invigorating theatrical and moral sense to his criticism of *Shak.*, but lacked the temperament to appreciate his poetry, diversity, and lack of social or religious didacticism.
264. Conklin, Paul S. *A History of Hamlet Criticism 1601-1821*. New York, 1947.  
Rev. by Thomas Hogan in *The*

- Spectator*, Aug. 23, pp. 252-254; by C. V. Wedgwood in *Time and Tide*, Aug. 31, pp. 1081-1082.
265. Coton, A. V. "Without the Prince", *Spectator*, Sep. 27, p. 399.  
John Neville in *Old Vic Ham*.
266. Craig, Gordon. "The First Time I Played Hamlet", *The Listener*, Jan. 3, p. 19.
267. Craig, Gordon. *Index to the Story of My Days; Some Memoirs, 1872-1907*. New York: Viking. Pp. 308.  
Rev. in *Booklist*, LIV, 37; by Harold Hobson in *Christian Science Monitor*, Oct. 17, p. 11; in *Kirkus*, XXV, 578; by Norman Shrapnel in *Manchester Guardian*, Oct. 4, p. 9; by John Piper in *New Statesman*, Oct. 5, p. 436; by Brooks Atkinson in *New York Times*, Oct. 13, p. 3; in *TLS*, Oct. 25, p. 642.
268. Cross, Gustav. "More's 'Historie of Kyng Rycharde the Third' and 'Lust's Dominion'", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 198-199.  
Notes the indebtedness of *Lust's Dominion* to *Titus*.
269. Culp, James William. "The Judgement Denouement of Renaissance Comedy", *DA* XVII, 621.  
Renaissance comedy can be analyzed in terms of three stages of development, as characterized by the works of Marston, Middleton, and Jonson. In the Marston stage the *persona ex machina* still figures in the judgment denouement. In Middleton it is based on the Christian ethic, and in Jonson the denouement grows from the actions of the characters.
270. Cumming, Isobel. "Shakespeare's Birthday, Stratford-upon-Avon", *English*, XI, 166.  
Poem.
271. Curry, John V. *Deception in Elizabethan Comedy*. Loyola Univ. Press, 1955.  
Rev. by Ray L. Heffner, Jr., in *SQ*, VIII, 117-119; by Moody E. Prior in *MP*, LIV, 275-276; by Erwin W. Geissman in *Thought*, XXXII, 145-146.
272. Custodio, Alvaro. "Poesía y Realismo Dramáticos", *Excelsior* (Mexico City), Oct. 6, p. 3.  
Comparison between Spanish realistic poetry, the Greek classics, and *Shak*.
- 272a. Cutts, John P. "Music for Shakespeare", *SNL*, VII, 28.  
Pleads not only for a use of Elizabethan music but for research into the records of Elizabethan dramatic music.
273. "Cymbeline", *Theatre World*, Aug., pp. 30-32. Photographs of Stratford-upon-Avon production.
274. "Cymbeline at the Old Vic", *Plays and Players*, Dec., 1956, p. 12.
275. Daiches, David. "Guilt and Justice in Shakespeare", in *Literary Essays*. Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1956, pp. 1-25.  
Considers the concepts in terms of their subtlety and ambiguity and in the light of *Shak*'s various modes of dramatic expression. Emphasizes the complex role of "innocence" and the persistent perception that evil cannot be undone, even by action.
276. Dain, Neville E. "Notes on the Editing and Collecting of Shakespeareana", *The Librarian*, Sep., 1956, pp. 149-153.
277. Danks, K. B. "Are There Any Meritorially Reconstructed Texts in the Shakespeare First Folio?", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 143-144.
278. Danks, K. B. "Is Fr 'Macbeth' a Reconstructed Text?", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 516-519.
279. David, Richard. "Drams of Eale", *SS* 10, pp. 126-134.  
Review of recent productions, with special reference to *Titus* (Stratford, 1955), *Ham*. (Phoenix, 1955), *Troil*. (Old Vic, 1956), and *Oth*. (Stratford, 1956). Four plates.
280. Davies, Robertson. "Stratford 1957: Magnificent, Masterful", *Saturday Night* (Canada), Jul. 20, pp. 8-9, 35.  
*Ham*. and *Twel*. at Stratford, Ontario.
281. Davies, Robertson. "Stratford Revisited: Amazing Festival", *Saturday Night* (Canada), Sep. 1 (1956), pp. 14-15.  
H. V. and *Wives* at Stratford, Ontario.

282. Davies, Robertson. "Stratford's Critical Season Opens", *Saturday Night* (Canada), Jul. 7 (1956), pp. 7-8.  
H. V. and Wives at Stratford, Ontario.
283. Davies, Robertson, Tyrone Guthrie, Boyd Neel, and Tanya Moiseiwitsch. *Thrice the Brinded Cat Hath Mew'd*. Toronto, 1955.  
Rev. by B. Iden Payne in *SQ*, VIII, 123-124.
- 283a. De Villiers, Jacob. "The Tragedy of *Othello*", *Theoria*, VII (1955), 71-78.
284. Dean, Leonard F. (ed.). *Shakespeare: Modern Essays in Criticism*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press. Pp. viii + 426.  
Anthology intended to include "a few general essays, at least one on each of the major plays, and as far as possible several essays on a play or group of plays in order to represent contrasting or complementary critical views". Many of the essays are recent, and tend to reflect "contemporary interest in poetic language, the aesthetics of drama, the Elizabethan theater, and Renaissance modes of thought".  
Rev. in *VQR*, XXXIII, lxxxviii; by Wallace A. Bacon in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 310-311; briefly in *SNL*, VII, 22; briefly by William Frost in *CE*, XIX, 88-89.
- 284a. Dent, A. "*Othello*, Russian Film", *Illustrated London News*, Jul. 13, p. 82.
285. Desmonde, William H. "The Ritual Origin of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*", *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, XXXVI (1955), 61-65.
286. Dickey, Franklin M. *Not Wisely but Too Well: Shakespeare's Love Tragedies*. San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library. Pp. ix + 205.  
While not discounting the nobility of much love in *Shak.*, this study attempts to right the balance in favor of the nonromantic view, taking quite seriously the stated opinions of Elizabethan poets, moralists, and literary critics. Focuses on *Romeo, Troi.*, and *Antony*.
287. Dickamp, Leo. "Die Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, im Berichtsjahr 1956/57", *SJ*, XCIII, 285-289.
288. Diether, Jack. "*Richard III: The Preservation of a Film*", *Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television*, XI, 280-293.  
The sound track of the Olivier film provides not only a durable version of the uncut film but a means for studying the musical score as a vital and co-operative part of the artistic whole.
289. Dobson, Willis Boring. "*Edward the Third: A Study of its Composition in Relation to its Sources*". Univ. of Texas diss., 1956. Pp. xxxiv + 456. Abstracted by Jack R. Brown in "Dissertation Digest", *SNL*, VII, 19.
290. Docens, P. T. "*Merchant of Venice Revised to Date*", *Catholic Educator*, XXVII, 573-575.
291. Dodd, E. M. "Autolycus and Odysseus", *TLS*, Nov. 22, p. 705.  
Corrects a *TLS* reviewer (Nov. 1) by pointing out that Autolycus was the maternal grandfather, not the father, of Odysseus.
292. Downer, Alan S. "Shakespeare in the Contemporary Theater", *SJ*, XCIII, 154-169.  
Interpretative survey of several distinct styles now being formulated across the country. *Shak.* "updated" may best be illustrated by Tyrone Guthrie's 1956 production of *Troi.* for the Old Vic, and by the Shakespeare-wrights. On the other hand, "Elizabethan" *Shak.* is the goal of the academic *Shak.* festivals held at Ashland, Oregon; San Diego; and Antioch, Ohio. More radical experiments have been staged at Baylor Univ. with its 1956 *Ham.*, and at the Theater De Lys in New York with Henry Hewes's conception of *Ham.*
293. Draper, John W. *The Tempo-Patterns of Shakespeare's Plays* (*Angl. Forschungen*, Heft 90). Pp. 180.
294. Draper, R. P. "Timon of Athens", *SQ*, VIII, 195-200.  
In its clash between the ideal and real, and in the growing awareness that man must be a part of restorative nature, *Tim.* is a play transitional between tragedies and last plays.
295. Driver, Tom Faw. "An Eyeful", *Christian Century*, Feb. 6, p. 172.  
Performance of *Troi.*

296. Driver, Tom Faw. "The Sense of History in Greek and Shakespearean Dramatic Form", *DA*, XVII, 1748-1749.  
*Shak.* shared with the Greeks the ability to discover meanings by abstracting from history, and was not merely a chronicler of events.
297. Duncan-Jones, E. E. "Forlorn" in *Cymbeline* and *1 Henry VI*", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 64.  
"Forlorn", in addition to its usual connotation, describes "men who perform their duty at the imminent risk of life".
298. Dunnington, Stephen. "Shakespeare's Stratford", *English Journal*, XLVI, 595.  
Reviews the color filmstrip and accompanying long-play record.
- 298a. Durrant, G. H. "Prospero's Wisdom", *Theoria*, VII (1955), 50-58.
- 298b. Durrant, G. H. "What's in a Name? A Discussion of *Romeo and Juliet*", *Theoria*, VIII (1956), 23-36.
299. Dyne, Nicholas. "Master Will: A Comedy in One Act", *The New Plays Quarterly*, no. 38, p. 16 ff.
300. Eagle, Roderick L. "The Death of Falstaff", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 240.  
Prefers the reading "on a table of green field" to Theobald's "and 'a babbled of green fields". Notes the similarity in the order of the symptoms of Falstaff's death to that in Hippocrates' *Prognostica*.
301. Eagle, Roderick L. "Shakespeare and Catullus", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 521-522.  
Echoes of Catullus in *Shak.*'s plays.
302. Eastman, Arthur M. "In Defense of Dr. Johnson", *SQ*, VIII, 493-500.  
Johnson, as editor, was not guilty of the extensive and conscious plagiarism recently charged against him (see 1956 Bibl., no. 647). Much of his indebtedness was the result of "a large, impatient mind, irritably ranging over a huge and uncomfortable task".
303. Eckhoff, Lorentz. *Shakespeare: Spokesman of the Third Estate*. Oslo, 1954.  
Rev. briefly in *SNL*, VII, 14.
304. Eckhoff, Lorentz. "Stoicism in Shakespeare . . . and Elsewhere", in *Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie*, LXV (Studies in English Language and Literature presented to Prof. Dr. Karl Brunner on the occasion of his seventieth Birthday, ed. by S. Korninger. Wien-Stuttgart), pp. 32-43.
305. Edinborough, Arnold. "Canada's Permanent Elizabethan Theatre", *SQ*, VIII, 511-514.  
The physical theatre at Stratford, Ontario, and the recent performances in it.
306. Edwards, Mark, Rev. "Shakespeare in High School with an Assist from A-V", *Catholic Educator*, XXVII, Ap., 546-549.  
Practical and graded approach to the teaching of 5 *Shak.* plays in the 12th year, combining analysis, composition, and the use of specific audio-visual aids.
307. Ehrl, Charlotte. *Sprachstil und Charakter bei Shakespeare* (Schriftenreihe d. Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, N.F. Bd. 6). Heidelberg. Pp. 200.
308. Eisenstein, Judith. "Thersites and the Abstraction", *Westwind*, Fall, pp. [17]-[19].  
Thersites, the disengaged skeptic, does not require a personal bias or social involvement for his bitterness.
309. Ekeblad, Inga-Stina. "King Lear" and 'Selimus', *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 193-194.  
Reminiscences of *The First Part of the Tragical Raigne of Selimus* in *Lear*. These are found in both verbal echoes and parallel situations and ideas. Adduces the blinding, acted on the stage, of one of Selimus' followers.
310. Eliot, T. S. *On Poetry and Poets*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy. Pp. xii + 308.  
Includes three essays which make frequent reference to *Shak.*: "The Music of Poetry", "Poetry and Drama", and "The Three Voices of Poetry".  
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311. Elling, Johnny. *Hamlet-skikkelsen i forskjellig lys* ("The Hamlet figure in various lights"). Oslo Univ. Press. Pp. 29.  
A presentation volume containing the text of a lecture on various in-

- terpretations of Hamlet's character from Goethe and Coleridge to the present day.
312. Elliott, G. R. *Flaming Minister: A Study of Othello*. Durham, N. C., 1953.  
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313. Engberg, Jytte. "Om Shakespeare" ("About Shak."), *Dansk Udsyn* (Copenhagen), XXXV (1955), 243-255.
314. Evans, G. B. "Dering Ms.' of Shakespeare's *Henry IV* and Sir Edward Dering", *Univ. of Illinois Studies by Members of the English Dept. in Memory of John Jay Parry*.  
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315. Evrard, Claude. "Apollinaire et Shakespeare", *Revue des Sciences Humaines*, LXXXIV (1956), 461-465.  
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316. *An Exhibit of Shakespeare Books from the Collection of Mr. Sidney Fisher of Montreal*. Montreal, Canada: Halcyon Press, 1956. Pp. 38.  
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317. Fairfield, R. "New Theatre at Stratford", *Food for Thought* (Canada), XVII, 173-174.
318. Falkenberg, H. G. "Zur Bühnen- und Übersetzungsgeschichte von 'Antoni' und Cleopatra'", *Blätter des deutschen Theaters in Göttingen* (Göttingen), Heft 89 (1955-1956).
- 318a. Farmer, A. J. "Harley Granville-Barker (1877-1946)", *Etudes Anglaises*, X, 304-309.
319. Farnham, Willard. *The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy*. First ed. reprinted with corrections. Oxford: Blackwell. Pp. xiv + 487.
320. Farrison, W. Edward. "Horatio's Report to Hamlet", *MLN*, LXXII, 406-408.  
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321. Fedde, Ove. "Ett porträtt av Shakespeare", *Karlstadstidningen* (Karlstad), Mar. 6, 13.
322. Fehrman, Carl. "The Study of Shakespeare's Imagery", *Moderna språk* (Stockholm), LI, 7-20.  
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323. Feldman, A. Bronson. "The Yellow Malady: Short Studies of Five Tragedies of Jealousy", *Literature and Psychology*, VI (1956), 38-52.  
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324. Felheim, Marvin. "Landmarks of Criticism: 'The Hero as Poet', Thomas Carlyle", *SNL*, VII, 20.
325. Felheim, Marvin. "Landmarks of Criticism: 'How Many Children Had Lady Macbeth?', L. C. Knights", *SNL*, VII, 37.
326. Felheim, Marvin. "Landmarks of Criticism: 'On the Faults of Shakespeare', William Richardson", *SNL*, VII, 45.
327. Felheim, Marvin. "Landmarks of Criticism: 'Shakespeare and the Language of Poetry', Otto Jespersen", *SNL*, VII, 5.
328. Felheim, Marvin. "Landmarks of Criticism: 'Shakespeare in America', Ashley Thorndike", *SNL*, VII, 10.
329. Felheim, Marvin. "Landmarks of Criticism: 'Shakespeare; or, the Poet', Ralph Waldo Emerson", *SNL*, VII, 20.
330. Felheim, Marvin. *The Theatre of Augustin Daly*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1956.  
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331. Felhoelter, Sister M. Clarita. "Proverbialism in *Coriolanus*". Catholic Univ. diss. Abstracted by Jack R. Brown in *SNL*, VII, 12.
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333. "Le Festival Shakespeare de Stratford-



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339. Fisher, Peter F. "The Argument of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*", *SQ*, VIII, 307-310.  
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346. Foster, Margaret. "To Shakespeare Triumphant (On the opening of the Walsingham tomb at Chislehurst)", *English*, XI (1956), 121.  
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347. Fox, C. A. O. "A Crux in *The Tempest*", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 515-516.  
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348. Fox, C. A. O. *Notes on William Shakespeare and Robert Tofte*. Valley House, Bishopston, Swansea, Wales: The Author. 2nd ed., corrected and enlarged. Pp. 60.  
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Rev. briefly in *TLS*, May 10, p. 294.

349. Foxon, David. "The Chapbook Editions of the Lambs' *Tales from Shakespeare*", *The Book Collector*, Spring, pp. 41-53.
350. Fram, Leon. "On Banning Shylock", *Nation*, Nov. 9, p. 311.  
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351. Fraser, Russell A. (ed.). *The Court of Venus*. Duke Univ. Press, 1955. Pp. [x] + [168].  
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352. French, Joseph N. "'Hamlet'—An Emendation", *TLS*, Jun. 21, p. 381.  
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354. Friis, Niels. "En Skaersommernatsdröm i Sit Rette Element" ("Dream in Its Element"), *Fyns Stiftstidende* (Odense, Denmark), 2/7.
355. "From Stratford, Ontario", *English Speaking World*, Sep., pp. 29-32.  
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357. Gardner, Helen. *The Noble Moor*. Annual Lecture of the British Academy (1955), 1956.  
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358. Garland, H. B. "El teatro de versuo de los Estados Unidos en 1957", *El Universal* (Mexico City), Oct. 6, pp. 6, 11.  
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363. Gerard, Albert. "Egregiously an Ass: The Dark Side of the Moor. A View of Othello's Mind", *SS* 10, pp. 98-106.  
Stresses *Oth.*'s barbarous traits—lack of acumen, insight, and common sense—as cause of his tragedy.
364. Gerstner-Hirzel, A. *The Economy of Action and Word in Shakespeare's Plays*. Diss., Basel (The Coopers Monographs on English and American Language and Literature, 2). Bern: Francke. Pp. 134.
365. Gibbs, Wolcott. "Measure for Measure", *New Yorker*, Feb. 2, pp. 72-73.  
Reviews the production of *Meas.* by the American *Shak.* Festival Theatre and Academy at the Phoenix Theatre in New York.
366. Gibbs, Wolcott. "Of War and Lechery", *New Yorker*, Jan. 5, pp. 50 ff.  
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368. Gillie, Christopher and F. W. Bateson. "Critical Forum: Banquo and Edgar—Character or Function", *EC*, VII, 322-325.  
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369. Glick, Claris. "An Analysis of Granville-Barker's Criticism of Shakespeare". Univ. of Texas diss., 1956. Pp. xi + 342. Abstracted by Jack R. Brown in "Dissertation Digest", *SNL*, VII, 19.
370. Goldberg, S. L. "Art and Freedom: The Aesthetic of *Ulysses*", *ELH*, XXIV, 44-64.  
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373. "Grand Season for Shakespeare: the Poet's Comic Plays Are Summer Hits", *Life*, Aug. 26, pp. 124-128.  
Photographs from year's productions of the comedies.
374. Granville Barker, Frank. "*Antony and Cleopatra*", *Plays and Players*, Ap., pp. 13, 15.
375. Granville Barker, Frank. "*As You Like It*", *Plays and Players*, May, p. 13.  
Stratford-upon-Avon production.
376. Granville Barker, Frank. "*Julius Caesar*", *Plays and Players*, Jul., p. 11.  
Stratford-upon-Avon production.
377. Granville Barker, Frank. "Lone Wolfit", *Plays and Players*, Mar., p. 13.  
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378. Granville-Barker, Harley. *Preface to Hamlet* (Dramabooks Series). New York: Hill and Wang. Pp. 284.  
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380. Greenberg, Robert A. "Shakespeare's *Richard II*, IV, i, 244-250", *Explicator*, Feb., 29.  
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381. Greene, Thomas M. "Montaigne and the Savage Infirmity", *Yale Review*, XLVI, 191-205.  
On Montaigne's successful acceptance of the natural life. For *Shak.* parallels, see pp. 192, 203.
382. Greer, Clayton A. "More About the Actor-Reporter in 'The Contention' and 'True Tragedy'", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 52-53.  
Challenges the Peter Alexander and Madeleine Doran theory that the quarto versions of *The Contention* and *True Tragedy* were reported by actor memory from 2 *H. VI* and 3 *H. VI*, respectively. Adduces that the placing of the stage directions is too accurate, compared to the body of the text.
383. Greg, W. W. "Hamlet", IV. vii. 58", *TLS*, Jun. 28, p. 397.  
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384. Greg, W. W. *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History*. Oxford Univ. Press, 1955.  
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385. Gregory, Kenneth. "Stratford 1957", *Tatler*, Mar., pp. 588-590.
386. Grey, Earle. "Shakespeare Festival, Toronto, Canada", *SS* 10, pp. 111-114.

- An account, following the completion of the first eight years of the Festival, of how this Festival came into being, what its principles were, and how far they have been followed.
387. Griffin, Alice. "New Trends in American Theater", *Perspectives USA*, XIV (1956), 130-146.  
Includes comments on Hofstra Shak. Festival.
388. Griffin, Alice. "Shakespeare in New York City, 1956-1957", *SQ*, VIII, 515-519.  
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389. Griffin, Alice. "The Stratford Story", *Theatre Arts*, Sep., pp. 68-73.  
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390. Griffin, Alice. "Theatre, U.S.A.", *Theatre Arts*, Ap., pp. 59-61.  
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391. Griffin, Alice. "Theatre, U.S.A.", *Theatre Arts*, Jul., pp. 70-72, 93.  
*A.Y.L., H. VIII, Oth., Per., T.G.V.*, at the Ashland, Oregon, Shak. Festival. Numerous other community and college performances.
392. Griffin, Alice. "Theatre, U.S.A.", *Theatre Arts*, Aug., pp. 71-83, 87.  
A summary, arranged by states. Includes numerous college and community performances and productions.
393. Griffin, Alice. "Theatre, U.S.A.", *Theatre Arts*, Sep., pp. 57-59, 95-96.  
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394. Grinstein, Alexander. "The Dramatic Device: A Play within a Play", *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, IV (1956), 49-52.  
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395. Groom, Bernard. *The Diction of Poetry from Spenser to Bridges*. Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1956.  
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396. Gross, Harvey. "From Barabas to Bloom: Notes on the Figure of the Jew", *Western Humanities Review*, XI, 149-156.  
With references to Shylock, in a discussion of the Jew as outsider.
397. Grotjahn, Martin. *Beyond Laughter*. New York: McGraw-Hill. Pp. 285.  
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398. Guidi, Augusto. "Le fasi del 'Pericles'", in *Studi in onore di Pietro Silva*, ed. by the Facoltà di Magistero of Rome Univ. Firenze: F. Le Monnier (Tip. Ariani), pp. 107-117.
399. Guidi, Augusto. "L'ultimo Shakespeare: 'Cymbeline'", *Idea*, no. 31, pp. 1-4; no. 32, p. 4; no. 33, p. 4; no. 34, p. 4; no. 35, p. 3.
400. Guidi, Augusto. "L'ultimo Shakespeare: 'The Tempest'", *Idea*, no. 43, p. 4; no. 44, p. 4.
401. Guidi, Augusto. "L'ultimo Shakespeare: 'Winter's Tale'", *Idea*, no. 35, p. 3; no. 36, p. 4; no. 40, p. 4; no. 41, p. 4; no. 42, p. 4.
402. Guth, Hans P. "Shakespeare unter den Sternen Oregons", *Die Neueren Sprachen*, Heft 9.
403. Guthke, Karl S. "Johann Heinrich Füssli und Shakespeare", *Neophilologische Mitteilungen*, LVIII, 206-215.
404. Gyller, Harald. "Shakespeare och Marlowe", *Bonniers litterära magasin (BLM)* (Stockholm), XXV (1956), 138-140.
405. No entry.
406. Hainfield, Harold. "The Bard of Avon Makes Good on TV", *Audio-Visual Guide*, XXII (1956), 35 ff.
407. Halio, Jay Leon. "Traitor in *All's Well* and *Troilus and Cressida*", *MLN*, LXXII, 408-409.  
Traitor could mean "a light woman, a harlot"—thus providing a pun in *All's W.* II. i. 97-101 and mak-

- ing intelligible the use of the word in Pandarus' epilogue.
408. Halliday, F. E. *The Cult of Shakespeare*. London: Duckworth. Pp. xiii + 218, with 16 pp. of plates.  
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412. "Hamlet at the Old Vic", *Plays and Players*, Dec., pp. 18-19.  
Photographs.
413. "Hamlet at the Old Vic", *Theatre World*, Nov., pp. 21-24.  
Photographs.
414. "Hamlet Goes on Record", *Plays and Players*, Nov., p. 13.  
Review of H.M.V.'s complete recording.
415. Hammerle, Karl. "Transpositionen aus Shakespeares King Lear in Thomas Hardys Return of the Native", *Wiener Beiträge zur Englischen Philologie* (Wien-Stuttgart), LXV, 58-74.
416. Hanawalt, Lloyd A. "Character Foils in Shakespeare's Comedies and Histories", *DA*, XVII, 1328-1329.  
Examines the extent of *Shak.*'s practice of having characters set one another off dramatically. Finds that *Shak.* is less apt to do this with minor characters, but as his dramatic technique developed his plays were more likely to become highly complex constructs of interwoven relationships, in which no character is without his foil.
417. Hansen-Skovmoes, Jørgen. "Nøglen til Shakespeare" ("Key to *Shak.*"), *Kristeligt Dagblad* (Copenhagen), 18/1, 1956.
418. Harbage, Alfred. *Theatre for Shakespeare*. Univ. of Toronto Press, 1955.  
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419. Harrison, G. B. *En Introduktion til Shakespeare*, tr. by Jørgen Sinding. Copenhagen: Wangel (Prisme-Bogerne), 1955. Pp. 130.
420. Harrison, G. B. "A New Shakespeare Allusion", *SQ*, VIII, 127.  
Letter of William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Salisbury, dated Jan. 29, 1627/28, alluding to 1 H. IV, III. i. 96.
421. Harrison, Thomas P. "Shakespeare and Marlowe's Dido, Queen of Carthage", *Univ. of Texas Studies in English*, XXXV (1956), 57-63.  
In the management of nonclassical situations involving the protagonists, Marlowe's *Dido* was an influence on *Shak.*'s plays, notably *Antony*.
422. Hartley, Anthony. "Without the Prince", *Spectator*, Sep. 27, p. 399.  
Old Vic Ham.
423. Hartnoll, Phyllis. *The Oxford Companion to the Theatre*. Second ed. Oxford Univ. Press. Illustrated. Pp. 984.  
Contains a new Supplement and 4 pages of additional bibliography. Sup-

- plement includes 154 illustrations, covering a history of the theatre from the earliest times.  
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424. Hastings, William T. "Shakespeare in Providence", *SQ*, VIII, 335-351.  
A diverting chronicle of the public and private readings and productions of the plays, mainly in the last 60 years, with reproductions of playbills and illustrations.
425. Haviland, Frank. "Great Shakespeareans of Fifty Years Ago", *Illustrated London News*, Nov. 9 (1956), p. 24.  
Drawings from life by Frank Haviland of noted *Shak.* actors of the early 20th century.
426. Hayes, Richard. "The Climate of Illyria", *Commonweal*, Feb. 22, p. 538.  
Reviews a production of *Twel.* by the Shakespearwrights, a Catholic college group. Sees the play as what Hazlitt called a "comedy of nature".
427. Hazlitt, William. *Hazlitt on Theatre*, ed. by William Archer and Robert Lowe, with an Introduction by William Archer (Dramabooks). First American ed. New York: Hill and Wang. Pp. 256.  
Includes selections from *View of the English Stage* and other essays on the theatre and famous actors (including Kean and Mrs. Siddons) of the early 19th century.
428. Hazlitt, William. *The Round Table and Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* (New Everyman ed.). London: Dent.  
New Introduction by Catherine Macdonald Maclean.
429. Heaven, Sidney. "Henry IV, Part 2", *Plays and Players*, Jun., p. 15.  
Michael Croft production of 2 H. IV at the Youth Theatre, Toynbee Hall, London.
430. Hegenbarth, Josef. *Zeichnungen zu fünf Shakespeare-Dramen*. Berlin: Rütten & Loening. Pp. 305.
431. Heilbrun, Carolyn. "The Character of Hamlet's Mother", *SQ*, VIII, 201-206.  
Acknowledges Gertrude's lust as her tragic flaw, but defends her otherwise—notably as intelligent, penetrating, and gifted in pithy speech.
432. Heilman, Robert B. *Magic in the Web: Action and Language in Othello*. Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1956.  
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433. Herman, G. "Macduff's Boy: A Reply to Professor Syrkin", *The Use of English*, IX, 40-42.  
See no. 829.
434. Herrey, Hermann. "Shakespeare-Interpretation auf der Bühne," *SJ*, XCIII, 114-127.  
Two extremes to be avoided in a successful interpretation of *Shak.* staging.
435. Heuer, Hermann. "From Plutarch to Shakespeare: A Study of Coriolanus", *SS* 10, pp. 50-59.  
Examines particularly climactic scene between Coriolanus and his mother. *Nature*, in *Shak.*'s version, becomes the by-word, and the protagonist is presented almost as a force of nature.
436. Heun, Hans Georg. *Shakespeare in deutschen Übersetzungen*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag. Pp. 74.
437. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: Master Hamlet and Saint Viola", *Saturday Review*, Jul. 20, p. 26.  
Christopher Plummer in *Ham.* and Siobhan McKenna in *Twel.* are promising young performers in fresh interpretations of these plays at the Stratford, Ontario, Festival.
438. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: Much Ado on the Range", *Saturday Review*, Aug. 24, p. 24.  
Stratford, Conn., production is set in frontier-day Texas.
439. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript: 'Othello'—Take Three", *Saturday Review*, Jun. 29, p. 23.  
Earle Lyman and Alfred Drake in *Oth.* at Stratford, Conn.
440. Hewes, Henry. "Broadway Postscript:



- Shylock Achieved", *Saturday Review*, Jul. 27, p. 22.
- Morris Carnovsky a striking Shylock in the Stratford, Conn., Festival.
441. Hewes, Henry. "How to Use Shakespeare", *Saturday Review*, Jul. 13, pp. 10-13.
- Twenty-one directors' opinions concerning *Shak.* texts, criticism, productions, types of stage, and paraphrase. (An adaptation of this article is to be found in *SNL*, VII, 30.)
442. Hewes, Henry. "Long Play the Bard!" *Saturday Review*, Nov. 23, p. 33.
- Comments on the new Gielgud *Ham.* album (RCA Victor LM-6404).
443. Hicks, Eric. "Thames-side Theatrical Traditions", *P.L.A. Monthly*, Jan., pp. 24-27.
444. Highfill, Philip, Jr. "Biography in Brief: Charles Macklin", *SNL*, VII, 21.
445. Highfill, Philip, Jr. "Biography in Brief: David Garrick, Actor-Manager", *SNL*, VII, 11.
446. Highfill, Philip, Jr. "Biography in Brief: James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips", *SNL*, VII, 38.
447. Highfill, Philip H., Jr. "Horace Howard Furness", *SNL*, VII, 44.
- Brief life of the New Variorum editor.
- 447a. Highfill, Philip, Jr. "Susannah Cibber", *SNL*, VII, 30.
- Brief life, emphasizing her *Shak.* roles.
448. Hill, R. F. "The Composition of *Titus Andronicus*", *SS* 10, pp. 60-70.
- First in a series of studies aiming to discover what elements of *Titus* are uncharacteristic of *Shak.*'s early manner. This essay finds much that is uncharacteristic, at least unusually early, but does not claim to be "an essay in disintegration".
449. Hilpert, Heinz. "Antonius und Cleopatra—heute", *Blätter d. deutschen Theaters in Göttingen* (Göttingen), Heft 89 (1955-1956).
450. Hinman, Charlton. "The Prentice Hand in the Tragedies of the Shakespeare First Folio: Compositor E", *SB*, pp. 3-20.
- Describes damaging influence of this inept compositor—who was probably never allowed to set from MS—on the printing not only of *Titus*, *Romeo*, and *Troi.*, but also of *Ham.*, *Lear*, and *Oth.* Adduces further evidence and implications of setting from formes. (See 1955 Bibl., no. 377.)
451. Hobson, Harold. *International Theatre Annual*, No. 2. Introduction by John Osborne. London: John Calder. Pp. 220.
- Contains accounts of the drama in Paris, New York, Italy, Australia, Dublin, as well as a survey of the work done in London and the English provinces.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Nov. 15, p. 695.
452. Hocky, Dorothy C. "Notes Notes, Forsooth . . .", *SQ*, VIII, 353-358.
- The various themes of *Much* (as indicated by the Elizabethan pronunciation and punning of the title) are unified by the dramatization of mis-noting.
453. Hoeniger, F. D. "Dowden Marginalia on Shakespeare", *SQ*, VIII, 129-132.
- Notes on *All's W.*, *Tim.*, *Oth.*, and *Cym.* from Dowden's copies of the original Arden—now at Folger.
454. Hoeniger, F. D. "Two Notes on *Cymbeline*", *SQ*, VIII, 132-133.
- I. The tale by Bandello which supplied main sources for *Much* also suggested one or two passages in *Cym.* II. The *commedia dell'arte* *La Innocentia Rivenuta* may have had an indirect influence on *Cym.*
455. Hoffman, Gerhard. "Das Gebet im ersten englischen Drama von der älteren Moralität bis zu Shakespeare". Univ. of Göttingen diss. Abstracted by Jack R. Brown in *SNL*, VII, 12.
- Deals with prayer as a structural element of drama.
456. Hogan, Charles Beecher. *Shakespeare in the Theatre 1701-1800*. A Record of Performances in London 1751-1800. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xii + 798.
- Rev. in *TLS*, Jul. 26, p. 458; by Allardyce Nicoll in *Theatre Notebook*, XII, 36-37; briefly in *SNL*, VII, 46.

457. Holden, William P. *Anti-Puritan Satire, 1572-1642*. Yale Univ. Press, 1954.  
Rev. briefly by Roger Sharrock in *MLR*, LII, 137; briefly by J. E. Neale in *English Historical Review*, LXXII, 171.
458. Holland, Norman N. "Cuckold or Counsellor in *Twelfth Night*, I.v. 56", *SQ*, VIII, 127-129.  
A new reading of the passage, in the light of Feste's dramatic character, justifies *cuckold*.
459. Holland, Norman. "Do' or 'Die' in *Measure for Measure*", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 52.  
The reading of "do" for "die" by the Folio compositor can be explained by handwriting. Prefers the "die" reading.
460. Holland, Ruth. *La Vie Passionnée de William Shakespeare*. Paris: Inter-continental du Livre, 1956.  
French translation, by Abeth de Beughem, of *One Crown with a Sun* (1952).
461. Holmes, Charles Shively, Edwin Fussell, and Ray Frazer (ed.). *Major Critics*. New York: Knopf.  
Includes "Shakespeare's Judgement Equal to his Genius", "Shakespeare as a Poet Generally", and "Character of Hamlet", from *Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism*; Dr. Johnson's "Preface to Shakespeare".
462. Holmes, Martin. "Portrait of a Celebrity", *Theatre Notebook*, XI, no. 2, 53-55.  
A Derby porcelain statuette, thought to be of Garrick in the role of Richard III, resembles in attitude Hayman's portrait of Garrick, but the face is that of Garrick's lesser known successor, John Philip Kemble. See also nos. 589, 591.
463. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Theatre", *Time and Tide*, Oct. 26, pp. 1333.  
Old Vic production of *H. VI*; three parts on two evenings.
464. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Theatre. Stratford—at Home and Abroad", *Time and Tide*, Jul. 13, pp. 878-879.  
Olivier's *Titus* and Peter Hall's *Cym*.
465. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Theatre. *The Tempest*: at Stratford", *Time and Tide*, Aug. 24, p. 1050.
466. Hope-Wallace, Philip. "Two Gentlemen of Verona", *Time and Tide*, Feb. 2, p. 127.  
Old Vic production.
467. Horn, Robert D. "Shakespeare at Ashland, Oregon, 1957", *SQ*, VIII, 527-530.
468. Hoskins, Frank L. "Misalliance: A Significant Theme in Tudor and Stuart Drama", *Renaissance Papers*, 1956, pp. 72-73.  
Survey of the treatments of the upstart, or "new man", in marriage, including a discussion of the Malvolio plot in *Twel*.
469. Hosley, Richard. "The Gallery over the Stage in the Public Playhouse of Shakespeare's Time", *SQ*, VIII, 15-31.  
Considers the nature of the gallery, its simultaneous function as a raised production-area and as a Lords' room, and the problem of its terminology.
470. Hosley, Richard. "Quarto Copy for Q2 *Romeo and Juliet*", *SB*, pp. 129-141.  
Examines the complex implications of the theory (see Hosley's ed., 1954 *Bibl.*, no. 92) that the compositor set Q2 directly from *Shak*'s foul papers, with consultation of an editorially unaltered Q1.
471. Hosley, Richard. "Shakespeare's Use of a Gallery over the Stage", *SS* 10, pp. 77-89.  
Partly statistical, partly descriptive account of how the gallery was used, assuming that each of *Shak*'s plays was intended for a theatre with "a gallery over the stage essentially similar to the Lords' room shown in the Swan drawing". Argues against the "chamber" theory and defends "exterior" action.
472. Hotson, Leslie. *The First Night of "Twelfth Night"*. London, 1954.  
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473. Hotson, Leslie. "What Wood Is the Ship Made of?" *TLS*, Nov. 8, p. 673.  
The stock answer to this saw, current in *Shak*'s time, was a sick "O—O—Oak!"

474. Houseman, John. "America's Stratford: Progress and Growing Pains", *Theatre Arts*, Jul., pp. 76-77.  
Stratford, Conn., *Shak.* Festival.
475. "How Well Do You Know *Macbeth*?" *English Journal*, XLVI, 354.  
"Special Test" designed for teachers by a high school class.
476. Howell, Wilbur Samuel. *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700*. Princeton Univ. Press, 1956.  
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477. Hoy, Cyrus. "The Shares of Fletcher and His Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon (II)", *SB*, pp. 143-162.  
Continues differentiation begun in *SB*, VIII, 129-146. (See 1956 Bibl., no. 410.)
478. Hubler, Edward. *The Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Princeton Univ. Press, 1952.  
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479. Hulme, Hilda. "Three Notes on the Pronunciation and Meaning of Shakespeare's Text", *Neophilologus*, 275, ff. Cor. I. ix. 46; *Ham.* III. iv. 169; *John* III. iv. 2.
480. Hulme, Hilda. "Three Shakespearian Glosses", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 237-238.  
"Accommodate" in *Lear* IV. vi. 81 means "maintain itself in patience and resolution when confronting".
481. Hulme, Hilda. "Wit, Rage, Mean: Three Notes on *The Merchant of Venice*", *Neophilologus*, Jan., pp. 46-50.  
Offers some new interpretations of words and passages emended by 18th-century editors.
482. Hulme, Hilda M., Peter Ure, and F. W. Bateson. "The Critical Forum: A Table of Green Fields", *EC*, VII, 222-226.  
Further discussion of the controversy aroused by Miss Hulme's proposed "indecent connotations" of *nose*, *pen*, *table*, and *green*. (See 1956 Bibl., nos. 411, 412.)
483. Hunnings, Neville March. "Elizabethans from Down Under", *Plays and Players*, Ap., p. 5.  
The story of the establishment of the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust.
484. Hunter, G. K. "Isocrates' Precepts and Polonius' Character", *SQ*, VIII, 501-506.  
The commonplace quality of the precepts (from *Ad Demonicum oratio paraenetica*) was not intended, as recently alleged (*SQ*, IV, 3-9), to cheapen Polonius' advice. They appear with dignity in works contemporary with *Ham.* In a play where all advice was unlucky, *Shak.* chose the precepts "with a tragic awareness of their inadequacy".
485. Hunter, G. K., E. M. W. Tillyard, and R. A. Foakes. "The Critical Forum: Atavism and Anticipation in Shakespeare's Style", *EC*, VII, 450-457.  
Commentaries on Ernest Schanzer's article, no. 751.
486. "If Our Drama is Unoriginal, So Was Most of Shakespeare", *Saturday Evening Post*, Feb. 16, p. 10.  
A facetious defense of literary pilfering. Cites *Shak.*'s use of Holinshed, etc.
487. Illsley, W. A. *A Shakespeare Manual for Schools*. Cambridge Univ. Press. Pp. 96.
488. Ilyin, Eugene. "How Stanislavsky and Gordon Craig Produced *Hamlet*", *Plays and Players*, Mar., pp. 6-7, 21.  
Story of the Stanislavsky and Craig production of *Ham.* at the Moscow Art Theatre in 1908. Includes a conversation, transcribed by L. A. Soolergitsky, between Craig and Stanislavsky.
489. Ilyin, Eugene. "Two Centuries of Russian Shakespeare", *Plays and Players*, Dec., pp. 10-11.  
Story of *Shak.*'s introduction into Russia through the adaptation of *Ham.* by the poet Soumarokov. Many of the plays were distorted to suit the propaganda purposes of those adapting them.
490. Isaacs, J. *Shakespeare's Earliest Years in the Theatre* (Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1953). London, 1955.

- Rev. briefly by Harold S. Wilson in *SQ*, VIII, 399.
491. Isaacs, J. (ed.). *William Poel's Prompt-Book of Fratricide Punished*. London: The Society for Theatre Research. Pp. xx + 35. Paperback.
- Introduction takes up the relationship of the German play to *Ham.*, as well as English players on the Continent in the 17th century.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, July 12, p. 431.
492. Isham, Sir Gyles. "Bernard or Barnard", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 338-339.
- There is only a remote possibility that any *Shak.* papers which might have been in the possession of Sir John Bernard's family have survived.
493. Izon, John. "Bartholomew Griffin and Sir Thomas Lucy", *TLS*, Ap. 19, p. 245.
- The author of the poems in *Pass. Pil.* may have been the Bartholomew Griffin who—judging from a discovery in the Public Record Office—was a "Schoolmaster" in Holy Orders in the household of Sir Thomas Lucy and who, as tutor to Lucy's granddaughter, helped bring about her scandalous marriage to John Sambach, a former servitor in the house.
494. Jackson, William A. (ed.). *The Records of the Stationers' Company, 1602 to 1640*. London: The Bibliographical Society.
- Rev. in *TLS*, May 3, p. 280.
495. Jackson, W. A. "Variant Entry Fees of the Stationers' Company", *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, LI, 103-110.
- Summary of Stationers' Company rates, with reference to Holinshed's *Chronicles* and North's *Plutarch*.
496. Jaffa, H. V. "Limits of Politics: An Interpretation of *King Lear*, Act I, Scene 1", *American Political Science Review*, LI, 405-427.
- Lear* is the greatest of *Shak.*'s kings, for at the beginning of the action, Britain is stronger than any of *Shak.*'s other English kings have been able to make it.
497. "A Japanese Macbeth: Kurasawa's 'Throne of Blood'", *Sight and Sound*, Spring, pp. 196-197.
- Photographs.
498. Jayne, Sears and Francis R. Johnson. *The Lumley Library: The Catalogue of 1609*. Published by the Trustees of the British Museum.
- Rev. by R. George Thomas in *English*, XI, 233-234.
499. Jenkins, Harold. *The Structural Problem in Shakespeare's Henry the Fourth*. London, 1956.
- Rev. by Donald FitzJohn in *Drama*, Spring, pp. 38-39; by R. Davril in *Etudes Anglaises*, X, 52-53; by H. Edward Cain in *SQ*, VIII, 542-544.
500. Jensen, Thit. "Var Shakespeare en Kvinde (Elizabeth I)?" ("Was *Shak.* a Woman?"), *Politiken* (Copenhagen), 6/10, 1955.
501. Jewkes, Wilfred Thomas. "Act Division in Elizabeth Plays", *DA*, XVII, 1073.
- Theatre practice in public playhouses was responsible for the lack of act and scene division in plays written before 1607. After 1607 theatre practice may have changed, necessitating act and scene divisions.
502. "John Neville's Scrapbook", *Plays and Players*, Sep., p. 8.
- Photographs of Neville in five *Shak.* roles.
503. Johns, Eric. "Keith Michell and the Australian Theatre", *Theatre World*, May, pp. 10-11.
- Tribute to the Australian actor, noted for *Shak.* interpretations.
504. Johnson, Albert E. "Greatest of Juliets", *Theatre Arts*, Aug., pp. 63-64, 95-96.
- The life of Lilian Adelaide Nielson, noted for her interpretations of Juliet, Viola, and Rosalind.
505. Johnson, Charles Frederick. "San Diego National Shakespeare Festival", *SQ*, VIII, 531-534.
- Included two *Shak.* plays: *Lear* and *Temp.*
506. Johnson, Samuel. *Notes to Shakespeare*. Vol. II. Histories, ed. with an Introduction by Arthur Sherbo (Augustan Reprint Society, nos. 65-66). Los Angeles: William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Univ. of California. Pp. 123.
507. Johnson, Samuel. *Preface to Shake-*

- peare, with Proposals for Printing the Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare. Oxford Univ. Press. Pp. iv + 63.
508. Jones, Ernest. *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*. Vol. III, The Last Phase, 1919-1939. New York: Basic Books, Inc. Pp. xvi + 537.
- Shak.* criticism and theories of authorship, pp. 425-430.
509. Jorgensen, Paul A. *Shakespeare's Military World*. Univ. of California Press, 1956.
- Rev. by Robert Adger Law in *EGP*, LVI, 483-484; by Michel Poirier in *Etudes Anglaises*, no. 1, pp. 54-55; by J. Max Patrick in *Seventeenth-Century News*, XV, 15; by S. F. Johnson in *RN*, X, 42-43; by John W. Draper in *SQ*, VIII, 395-396; by William G. McCollom in *Educational Theatre Journal*, IX, 357-359; by C. G. Thayer in *Books Abroad*, XXXI, 83; in *The Humanist* (British), Feb., p. 26; briefly in *SNL*, VII, 14; briefly in *Theatre Arts*, Ap., p. 94.
510. Jud-Schmid, Elisabeth. *Der Indefinite Agens von Chaucer bis Shakespeare*. Die Wörter und Wendungen für "man". Bern: Francke, 1956. Pp. 128.
- Rev. by Friedrich Schubel in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Jul., p. 613.
511. "Jules César" au Palais de Chaillot", *Etudes Anglaises*, X, 90-91.
512. "Julius Caesar", *Theatre World*, Jul., pp. 17-19.
- Photographs of the Stratford-upon-Avon production.
513. "Julius Caesar at Stratford-on-Avon", *Plays and Players*, Jul., p. 7.
- Photographs.
514. Kahn, Sholom J. "Enter Lear mad", *SQ*, VIII, 311-329.
- Comprehensive survey—including textual, critical, and stylistic arguments—of the timing of Lear's madness. Conclusion: "the full portrayal of the mad Lear is reserved for IV. vi".
515. Kapteyn, James. "Producing Shakespeare in School", *Senior Scholastic*, Nov. 22, p. 11-T.
- Suggestions for editing, casting, making props in secondary school *Shak.* productions.
516. Kaufman, Helen A. "Trappolin Supposed a Prince and Measure for Measure", *MLQ*, XVIII, 113-124.
- Trappolin*, Sir Aston Cokain's English version of a commedia dell'arte performance of 1632, helps to bring into new perspective the farce elements of *Meas.*
517. Kaufman, Wolfe. "Broadway Postscript: International Theatre Festival", *Saturday Review*, Aug. 3, p. 21.
- Outstanding production of this year's Paris Theatre Festival was Peter Brook's *Titus*, with Olivier, Leigh, and Quayle.
518. Keen, Frances. *Phoenix: An Inquiry into the Poems of Robert Chester's "Love's Martyr" (1601) and the "Phoenix Nest" (1593) in Relation to Shakespeare's "Sonnets" and "A Lover's Complaint"*. London: Author. (Broadsheet.)
519. Keil, Harry. "Scabies and the Queen Mab Passage in *Romeo and Juliet*", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVIII, 394-410.
- The "rough little worm" in the maid's finger refers to the *acarus* or mite, cause of human scabies. Cleanliness of maids or serving girls was often the concern of Queen Mab, who would punish offenders by pinching. Folk source probable.
520. Kendall, Paul Murray. *Richard the Third*. London, 1955 and 1956.
- Rev. briefly by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIII, 264-265.
521. Kendall, Paul Murray. *Warwick the Kingmaker*. New York: Norton. Pp. 408.
- A biography attempting to give substance and clarity of line to the fifteenth-century figure (influential in *H. VI*), "so well known and so little known about".
- Rev. by Garrett Mattingly in *Saturday Review*, Nov. 23, p. 43.
522. Kent, William, and Others. *Edward De Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, the Real Shakespeare*. London: The Shakespeare Fellowship. Pp. 32. Paperback.
- Enlarged second ed. of the work which appeared in 1947.
- Rev. briefly in *TLS*, Sep. 27, p. 582.

523. Kermode, Frank. "A Crux in 'The Tempest'", *TLS*, Nov. 29, p. 728.  
For F1 reading (III.i.16) "Most busie lest, when I doe it", proposes "Most busilest when I doe it". See letter by H. W. Jones (Dec. 6, p. 739), affirming that he had reached the same conclusion in *N&Q*, Jul. 8, 1950.
524. Kerr, S. Parnell. "The Constable Kept an Account", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 167-170.  
The Constable of Castile, leader of Philip III's 1604 embassy to England, made an expenditure of 4780 reales to "boatmen, musicians, and players", etc., some of which may have gone to the King's Company.
525. Kiley, Frederick S. "Teaching Guide for *Twelfth Night*", *English Journal*, XLVI, 582-585.  
Advance review of William Nichols' TV adaptation, starring Maurice Evans. Includes "Topics for Discussion".
526. "King Henry VI Parts 1, 2, and 3 at the Old Vic", *Theatre World*, Dec., pp. 30-34.  
Pictures by Angus McBean.
527. "*King John* at Stratford-on-Avon", *Plays and Players*, Jul., p. 10.  
Photographs.
528. Kirschbaum, Leo. "Banquo and Edgar: Character or Function?" *EC*, VII, 1-21.  
These two roles, like many others, exist less as independent character studies than as functional elements in the total drama. See also nos. 368, 538.
529. Kirschbaum, Leo. *Shakespeare and the Stationers*. Ohio State Univ. Press, 1955.  
Rev. by S. F. Johnson in *RN*, X, 43-44.
530. Kitto, H. D. F. *Form and Meaning in Drama. A Study of Six Greek Plays and of Hamlet*. London, 1956.  
Rev. by Edward B. Partridge in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XLIII, 314-315; briefly by Edwin B. Benjamin in *CE*, XIX, 89; by Hermann Heuer in *SJ*, XCIII, 255-258; by Roy Arthur Swanson in *Classical Journal*, LIII, 139-142; by A. José Axelrad in *Etudes Anglaises*, X, 458-459.
531. Klein, David. "Elizabethan Acting", *PMLA*, LXXI (1956), 280-282.  
Comments on and gives further evidence for position taken by Marvin Rosenberg (1955 *Bibl.*, no. 484).
532. Klein, David. "Shakespeare in France", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 336.  
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636. "Much Ado About Nothing at the Old Vic", *Plays and Players*, Jan., p. 12.  
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- 648a. Neilson, Francis. "Shakespeare and *The Tempest*", *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, XVI, 89-103, 177-193, 309-326, 421-429. See also 1956 Bibl., no. 549.
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781. Sibirtsev, Gennadi. "How a Film Star is Made: Alla Larionova", *USSR*, no. 4 (1956), pp. 54-56.  
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782. Siegel, Paul N. *Shakespearean Tragedy and the Elizabethan Compromise*. New York Univ. Press, 1956.  
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786. No entry.
787. Sjögren, Gunnar. "Shakespeare och Trettondagsafton" ("*Shak.* and *Twelfth Night*"), *Nerikes Allehanda* (Örebro), Nov. 9 (1956).
788. Slocumb, Paul. "Players on Record", *Players Magazine*, Jan., p. 83.  
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789. Smith, Gordon Ross. "Good and Evil in Shakespearean Tragedy", *DA*, XVII, 358-359.  
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790. Smith, Gordon Ross. "Shakespeare Bibliography", *SNL*, VII, 36.

- Request for help in supplying clues to elusive material in a projected *Shakespeare Bibliography 1936-1956*.
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- 791a. Smith, Lisa Gordon. "All's Well That Ends Well", *Plays and Players*, Sep., p. 10.  
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742. Snipes, Wilson Currin. "An Analysis of the Critical Principles in Coleridge's Shakespearean Criticism, With Some Attention to Their Background and Development", *DA*, XVII, 2601.  
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793. Sorell, Walter. "Shakespeare and the Dance", *SQ*, VIII, 367-384.  
Comprehensive account of the Elizabethan dance spirit and dance modes in the plays.
794. Sørensen, Aage. "Kobmanden i Venedig" ("Merch.") *Fyns Tidende* (Odense, Denmark), 16/3, 1955.
795. Sørensen, Poul. "Det Menneskelige Umenneske" ("The Human Brute"), *Politiken* (Copenhagen), 11/2, 1955.
796. Speaight, George. *The History of the English Puppet Theatre*. New York: John de Graff, [1956]. Pp. 350.  
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797. Speaight, George. "The M. W. Stone Collection", *Theatre Notebook*, II, 62-63.  
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798. Speaight, Robert. "The Dream in South Bend: Shakespeare in the Middle West", *Tablet*, Ap. 27, pp. 393-394.  
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799. Speaight, Robert. *Nature et Grace dans les Tragédies de Shakespeare*. Editions du Cerf.
800. Speaight, Robert. *Nature in Shakespearean Tragedy*. London, 1955.  
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801. Speaight, Robert. "The Pioneers", *SJ*, XCIII, 170-174.  
William Poel and Granville-Barker are credited with bringing about the break between the 19th-century stage traditions established by Sir Henry Irving and today's "new" methods of production. Both Poel and Barker insisted on the dramatic intention of the plays as they were first performed, and viewed *Shak.*'s plays as "products of the Renaissance mind".
802. Spencer, Terence. *Fair Greece Sad Relic*. Literary Philhellenism from Shakespeare to Byron. London, 1954.  
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803. Spencer, T. J. B. "Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Romans", *SS* 10, pp. 27-38.  
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804. Sperry, Stuart M. "Madeline and Ophelia: A Source for The Eve of St. Agnes", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 29.
805. Spivack, Bernard. "Falstaff and the Psychomachia", *SQ*, VIII, 449-459.  
Evolution of the morality play from its martial origins in the struggle for man's soul into the complex tempter as the substitute for militant violence. Falstaff emerges as a composite of the morality Vice.

806. Sprague, Arthur Colby. *Shakespearean Players and Performances*. Harvard Univ. Press, 1953.  
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807. *Stage Design throughout the World since 1935*. Texts and Illustrations Collected by the National Centres of the International Theatre Institute Chosen and Presented by René Hainaux and Yves-Bonnat. With a Sketch to Serve as a Foreword by Jean Cocteau. Preface by Kenneth Rae. London: Harrap. Pp. 219. Illustrated.  
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808. Stamm, Rudolf (ed.). *Die Kunstformen des Barockzeitalters* (Sammlung Dalp, Vol. LXXXII). Berne: Francke, 1956. Pp. 467.  
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810. Stavrou, Constantine N. P. "Hamlet as Existentialist", *SNL*, VII, 13.  
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811. Steele, Oliver L., Jr. "Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, II. iii. 64", *Explicator*, XIV (1956), no. 59.
812. Stephen, Sir Leslie. *Men, Books, and Mountains*. Introd. by S. O. A. Ullman. Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1956.  
Includes "Did Shakespeare Write Bacon", pp. 74-80.
813. Stephens, Frances. "Edinburgh Festival 1957", *Theatre World*, Oct., pp. 26-27, 30-32.  
Gielgud's *Shak.* recital.
814. Stephens, Frances. "The Merchant of Venice", *Theatre World*, Jan., p. 15.  
Old Vic production.
815. Stephens, Frances. "Old Vic 'Hamlet'", *Theatre World*, Nov., p. 8.  
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816. Stephens, Frances (compiler). *Theatre World Annual (London)*. A Pictorial Review of West End Productions, no. 7: 1955-1956. London, 1956.  
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817. Stephens, Frances. "The Two Gentlemen of Verona", *Theatre World*, Mar., p. 9.  
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818. Stevens, Denis. *The Five Songs in Shakespeare's 'As You Like It'*, adapted and arranged from sources contemporary with the play. London: Hinrichson.  
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820. "Stratford Festival: 'King John'", *Times* (London), Ap. 16, p. 3.  
Rev. of production directed by Douglas Seale, with Alec Clunes and Robert Harris in leads.
821. "Stratford Festival Theatre, Roundthwaite and Fairfield, Architects", *Canadian Journal*, XXXIV, 267-274.
822. "Stratford Now Getting Ready for New Season in New Home", *Financial Post* (Canada), Jan. 26, p. 12.
823. "Stratford-upon-Avon", *Drama*, Autumn, pp. 26-27.  
*John, Caesar, A.Y.L., Temp., and Cym.* at Stratford-upon-Avon. Includes photographs.
824. "Stratford-upon-Avon, 1957 Season", *Theatre World*, Feb., p. 49.  
*A.Y.L., Caesar, Cym., John, and Temp.*

825. Stříbrný, Zdeněk. "Několik poznámek ke Králi Learovi" ("Some Remarks on *King Lear*"), *Divadlo* (Praha), VIII, 915-920.  
A polemic on Tolstoy's condemnation of *Lear*. Tolstoy applied to *Lear* his own creative principles of a psychological realistic novelist, whereas it is an Elizabethan drama based not only on chronicles and other writings but also on a folklore tale with which it shares both elemental simplicity and deep symbolism.
826. Strickland, Francis Cowley. *The Technique of Acting*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956. Pp. 306.  
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827. Sweeney, Donald. "Taming of the Shrew", *Dramatics*, Nov., p. 15.  
Decorah, Iowa, High School production.
828. Sweet, George Elliott. *Shakespeare: The Mystery*. Privately printed, 1956.  
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829. Syrkin, Marie. "Youth and Lady Macduff", *The Use of English*, VIII, 257-261.  
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830. "The Taming of the Shrew", *Theatre Arts*, Ap., p. 23.  
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831. Taylor, Aline (ed.). *Tulane Studies in English*, VI. (See 1956 Bibl., no. 614).  
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832. Taylor, William Edwards. "The Villainess in Elizabethan Drama", *DA*, XVII, 1756-1757.  
Characters such as Alice Arden and Lady Macbeth are enriched by their dependence on Senecan types.
833. "The Tempest", *Theatre World*, Oct., pp. 12-16.  
Peter Brook's Stratford-upon-Avon production. Includes photographs.
834. "The Tempest" at Drury Lane", *Theatre World*, Dec., p. 9.  
Photographs.
835. "The Tempest at Stratford-on-Avon", *Plays and Players*, Oct. pp. 18-19.  
Photographs.
836. Thaler, Alwin. "Shakespeare and Our World", *Tennessee Studies in Literature*, II, 105-120.  
Phi Beta Kappa Faculty Lecture, Univ. of Tennessee. Shows parallels, in restless greatness, between the Renaissance and our time and then illustrates *Shak.*'s message for today under the heads: education, government, and religion.
837. Thayer, C. G. "Hamlet: Drama as Discovery and as Metaphor", *Studia neophilologica*, XXVIII (1956), 118-129.
838. Thompson, Karl F. "Richard II, Martyr", *SQ*, VIII, 159-166.  
*Shak.* gave Richard a dramatically effective kind of martyrdom, similar to that in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, in which prompt retribution is achieved and the hero dies ennobled.
839. Threlkeld, Budge. *A Study of the Management of Charles Kean at the Princess's Theatre, 1850-1859*. Doctoral thesis, Ohio State Univ., 1955.
840. Tiller, Terence. "The Fool in 'Lear'", in *Reading a Medal. And Other Poems*. London: Hogarth Press. Pp. 51.  
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841. "Titus Andronicus", *Theatre World*, Aug., pp. 27-29.  
Photographs of Olivier and Leigh in *Titus*.
842. "Titus Andronicus" and "The Comedy of Errors", *Theatre World*, Jul., pp. 34-35.  
Photographs of the Old Vic production.
843. "Titus Andronicus at the Stoll Theatre", *Plays and Players*, Aug., pp. 18-19.
844. "Titus Goes to Europe . . .", *Plays and Players*, Aug., pp. 8-9, 33.

845. Traversi, Derek Antonio. *Approach to Shakespeare* (Anchor Books). 2nd ed, rev. and enlarged. New York, 1956.  
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846. Traversi, Derek. *Shakespeare: From Richard II to Henry V*. Stanford Univ. Press. Pp. 198.
847. Trewin, J. C. "Far-Off Seas", *Illustrated London News*, Aug. 24, p. 316.  
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848. Trewin, J. C. "Happy Returns", *Illustrated London News*, May 4, p. 742.  
Walter Hudd's productions of *Titus* and *Errors* at the Old Vic.
849. Trewin, J. C. "Love in the Forest", *Illustrated London News*, Ap. 13, p. 600.  
*A.Y.L.* at Stratford-upon-Avon.
850. Trewin, J. C. "Mainly Roman", *Illustrated London News*, Jun. 8, p. 956.  
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851. Trewin, J. C. *The Night Has Been Unruly*. London: Hale. Pp. 288.  
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852. Trewin, J. C. "[Robert Helpmann's production of *Antony*]", *Illustrated London News*, Mar. 16, p. 438.
853. Trewin, J. C. "Strange Matters", *Illustrated London News*, Jul. 20, p. 122.  
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854. Trewin, J. C. "That Play Again", *Illustrated London News*, Jul. 13, p. 80.  
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855. Trewin, J. C. "Tragical-comical-historical; *Two Gentlemen of Verona*—at the Old Vic", *Illustrated London News*, Feb. 2, pp. 198-199.
856. Trewin, J. C. "United States", *World Theatre*, VI, 80-81.  
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857. Trewin, J. C. "The Victorian Theatre", *Drama*, Spring, pp. 26-29.
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858. Trilling, Oasia. "Hven Myrdede William Shakespeare?" ("Who murdered *Shak.*?" ), *Det Danske Magasin* (Copenhagen), IV (1956), 174-179.
859. "Troilus and Cressida", *Time*, Jan. 7, p. 40.  
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861. Turner, Paul. "True Madness (A Note on *Hamlet* II. ii. 92-95)", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 194-196.  
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862. "The Two Gentlemen of Verona", *Theatre World*, Mar., pp. 32-35.  
Photographs of the Old Vic production.
863. "Two Gentlemen of Verona at the Old Vic", *Plays and Players*, Mar., p. 14.  
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864. Tyler, Parker. "Phaethon: The Metaphysical Tension between Ego and the Universe in English Poetry", *Accent*, XVI (1956), Winter, pp. 29-44.  
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865. Unger, Leonard. *The Man in the Name*. Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1956. Pp. xii + 249.  
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Rev. by Elisabeth Schneider in *Explicator*, Jun., R5; by David Laird in *Quarterly Journal of Speech* XLIII, 441; by John J. McLaughlin in *Thought*, XXXII, 452-454; by Grover Smith, Jr., in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, LVI, 527-529.
866. Unstead, Robert John. *People in History*. New York: Macmillan.  
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867. Ure, Peter. "The Critical Forum: Banquo and Edgar", *EC*, VII, 457-459. Commentary on Leo Kirschbaum's article, no. 528.
868. Ustinov, Peter. "Wanted: New Perspective for Playwrights", *Theatre Arts*, Oct., pp. 21-22, 93. Asks for a return to a playwright's theatre rather than the present director's theatre of grandiose stage effects. Includes an imaginary dialogue between Rowley and *Shak*.
869. Valette, J. "Autour de Shakespeare", *Mercure de France*, May.
870. Valette, J. "Shakespeariana", *Mercure de France*, Aug.
871. Valogne, Catherine. *Gordon Craig* ("Metteurs en scene"). Paris. Pp. 64. Illustrated.
872. Violi, Unico Jack. *Shakespeare and the Lazzo*. Columbia Univ. diss., 1955. Pp. v. + 270. Abstracted by Jack R. Brown in *SNL*, VII, 4.
873. Waith, Eugene M. "The Metamorphosis of Violence in *Titus Andronicus*", *SS* 10, pp. 39-49. The "metamorphosis", indebted mainly to Ovid, is that achieved by "incongruous elegance" of style in transforming a character into an emotional state; and the audience is meant to view the spectacle with "admiration" in the Renaissance sense—detached wonder.
874. Walker, Alice. "Principles of Annotation: Some Suggestions for Editors of Shakespeare", *SB*, pp. 95-105. Compositorial unreliability increases the responsibility of literary experts in determining pure and economical texts. By reference to cruxes in *Antony*, shows how a study of diction and idiom can clarify the problems of emendation.
875. Walker, Kathrine Sorley. *Robert Helpmann* (Theatre World Monograph, no. 9). London: Rockliff. Pp. 126. Illustrated. Rev. in *Theatre World*, Dec., p. 49; briefly in *TLS*, Dec. 27, p. 791.
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877. Walker, Roy. "Short of Shakespeare", *The Listener*, May 2, pp. 728-729. Cites recent productions of Shakespearean or pseudo-Shakespearean novelties as unfortunate trends; contends that there will always be those to whom *Shak*, at his best is a new experience.
878. Wallace, Irving. *The Square Pegs*. New York: Knopf. Pp. 328. Delia Bacon one of nine studies of curious Americans. Rev. in *Time*, Jul. 29, pp. 83-84; by Louis B. Wright in *New York Times Book Review*, Jul. 21, p. 3.
879. Walmsley, D. M. "Shakespeare's Link with Virginia", *History Today*, VII, 229-235. Personal associations, in addition to references in plays, suggest a close interest in the founding of Virginia.
880. Walter, J. H. "Shakespeare in Schools", *SS* 10, pp. 107-110. Answers objections of critics who contend that *Shak*, should not be taught in the (British) grammar school. Proposes means of improving the instruction.
881. Wälderlin, Oskar. "Randglossen zur Shakespeare-Inszenierung", *SJ*, XCIII, 128-140. *Shak*, and stage directions.
882. Warner, Alan. "A Note on 'Antony and Cleopatra'", *English*, XI, 139-144. Play seen as dramatizing "a variation of a theme that is deeply rooted in myth and legend, the ruin of the strong man by his sexual weakness".
883. Warren, W. L. "What Was Wrong with King John?", *History Today*, VII, 806-812. The memorable stories of King John's perfidy and cruelty can be traced to the work of the chronicler Roger Wendover, a 13th-century monk. Re-evaluates King John's abilities and importance.
884. Watkins, Leslie. *The Story of Shakespeare's School, 1853-1953*. Stratford-upon-Avon, 1953. Rev. briefly by J. H. Walter in *SQ*, VIII, 400.
885. Watkins, Ronald. "The Actor's Task in Interpreting Shakespeare", *The Use of English*, IX, 104-109.

886. Watt, David. "The Apple Orchard", *Spectator*, Nov. 29, p. 747.  
Old Vic Meas.
887. Watt, David. "Contemporary Arts. Plays at Edinburgh", *Spectator*, Aug. 30, p. 277.  
Sir John Gielgud's *Shak.* recital at Edinburgh.
888. Watt, David. "Great Surgery", *Spectator*, Oct. 25, p. 548.  
Old Vic production of *H. VI*; three parts on two evenings.
889. Watt, David. "The Relapse", *Spectator*, Sep. 13, p. 342.  
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890. Watts, Richard, Jr. "Busman's Holiday in Britain", *Theatre Arts*, Nov., pp. 24-27, 91.  
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891. Webster, Margaret. *Shakespeare Today*. London, 1956.  
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893. Weidhorn, Manfred. "A Possible Textual Corruption in 'The Tempest'", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 335.  
The lines assigned to Stephano in *Temp.* III.ii.14-16, should be assigned to Trinculo.
894. Weinstock, Horst. *Die dramatische Funktion elisabethanischer Sprichwörter und Sentenzen bei Shakespeare* (einschliesslich der Sprichwortanspielungen). Msc. Diss., München, 1956. Pp. 171.
895. Weisinger, Herbert. "The Myth and Ritual Approach to Shakespearean Tragedy", *The Centennial Review of Arts and Science*, I, 142-166.
896. Wellek, René. *A History of Modern Criticism, 1750-1950*. Yale Univ. Press, 1955.  
Rev. by Harold S. Wilson in *SQ*, VIII, 223-229.
- 896a. Wells, Henry W. "New Shakespeare Collection at Columbia", *SNL*, VII, 27.  
Collection of the late Roger Wheeler, consisting of pictures, programs, souvenirs, and clippings of essays and reviews.
897. Welner, Pinches. "Shylock Set med en Jødes Øjne" ("Shylock Seen with the Eyes of a Jew"), *Socialdemokraten* (Copenhagen), 22/2, 1955.
898. Wenterdsdorf, Karl P. "The 'Fence of Trouble' Crux in 'Arden of Feversham'", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 160-161.  
Suggests "founte" as a reading for "fence" in *Arden of Feversham*, I. 1399. Notes the references to muddy springs as symptoms of disorder in *Ham.* and *Shrew*.
899. West, Rebecca. *The Court and the Castle*. Yale Univ. Press. Pp. 319.  
Begins with "the meaning of Hamlet", and traces this theme through *Shak.* and down to Proust and Kafka. The perennial dilemma, applicable especially to *Ham.*, is that "those who are the children of light are irresistibly drawn to assume a task which changes them to the companions of darkness".  
Rev. by Joseph Wood Krutch in *Saturday Review*, Oct. 26, pp. 21-22; in *Los Angeles Times*, Oct. 27. Part V, p. 7; in *Time*, Nov. 11, pp. 126, 129; by Roger B. Dooley in *Catholic World*, Dec., pp. 233-234; by Anthony Bailey in *Commonweal*, Dec. 20, pp. 315-316.
900. West, Robert H. "Night's Black Agents in *Macbeth*", *Renaissance Papers*, 1956, pp. 17-24.  
No one demonological theory will suffice for the evil in the play. Rather, the general perspective of superhuman evil is suggestively vague and mysterious.
901. "West Side Story", *Theatre Arts*, Dec., pp. 17-18.  
Review of the New York production.

902. Whicher, Stephen E. "Current Long-Playing Records of Literature in English", *CE*, XIX, 111-121.  
Critical survey with discography. Includes numerous *Shak.* items.
903. "Whispers from the Wings", *Theatre World*, Feb., pp. 25, 52.  
Robert Helpmann's interpretations of Shylock and Richard III.
904. "Whispers from the Wings", *Theatre World*, Oct., pp. 33-34.  
Tribute to John Neville's interpretations of *Shak.* roles.
905. Whitaker, Virgil K. *Shakespeare's Use of Learning*. San Marino, California, 1953.  
Rev. by R. G. Cox in *SQ*, 94-98.
906. White, C. F. "Hamlet in Jordan", *History Today*, VII, 266.  
Letter protesting frequent misuse of "More honoured in the breach than the observance".
907. Wickland, Erik. "Baconia" och Shakespeare-Kritik", *Edda*, LVII, 148-160.
908. Wilkins, A. N. "John Dennis and Poetic Justice", *N&Q*, n.s., IV, 421-424.  
Dennis' view of *Shak.* as a dramatist who "has been wanting in the exact distribution of poetical justice".
909. Willcock, Gladys D. *Language and Poetry in Shakespeare's Early Plays* (Annual Shakespeare Lecture of the British Academy, 1954). London, 1955.  
Rev. briefly by Harold S. Wilson in *SQ*, VIII, 399; briefly by Kenneth Muir in *RES*, n.s., VIII, 347.
910. Williams, Franklin B., Jr. "An Initiation Into Initials", *SB*, pp. 163-178.  
Refuses involvement in the "Mr. W. H." crux, but provides a systematic introduction, with many examples, into the problems underlying Renaissance use of initials.
911. Williams, George Walton. "The Good Quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, a Bibliographical Study", *DA*, XVII, 2601-2602.  
The dependence of Q2 on Q1 is confined to the "reprinted passage", I.ii.52-iii.36; II.i.13; II.iv.42. Q2 is most representative of *Shak.*'s final intent. (Abstracted also by Jack R. Brown in *SNL*, VII, 19.)
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## "It appears so by the story" Notes on Narrative-Thematic Emphasis in Shakespeare

CLIFFORD P. LYONS

URS is undeniably a century of great historical scholarship and is also a time of wide and wise interest in critical method—each in a measure essential to the other. Yet despite much that is profoundly illuminating there is a surprising lack of agreement about essentials of Shakespeare's art, about the ruling emphases of the plays. Through the medium of language and dramatic representation the plays tell stories; and I imagine that most of us have confidence that we know what the stories are. Suppose one were to propose this as a true account:

*Much Ado about Nothing* is in part the story of Benedick and Beatrice, two admirable young people, witty, self-sufficient, happy, who—through the meddling deceptions of envious friends and elders—are duped into the forfeiture of their shining freedoms. Thus it is that beneath the surface gaiety we sense ironic hints of forced merriment. To use Meredith's words:

These two were rapid falcons in a snare,  
Condemned to do the flitting of the bat.  
(*Modern Love*, No. L)

"Why," you say, quite rightly, "that's not the story; that's not the story at all." Or suppose that one were to propose this as a description of *Macbeth*:

The play tells the story of a worthily ambitious man who, with the help of his loyal wife, destroys a king and gains a crown. Unhappily he lacks the character to maintain what he has so valiantly won. Becoming a prey to sickly fears he acts so imprudently that his enemies overcome and slay him. Although we admire his initial daring and final valiant fury, we are saddened by the weakness of a man who in the crises of actual power falls short of greatness. This is the tragedy.

You may properly exclaim, "What a perverse distortion of Shakespeare's play!" You would probably be suspicious too of the values which prompted such seeing. A conclusive strategy for demonstrating the falseness is, however,

\* This paper by Professor Lyons, and the two following, by Professor Hubler and Mr. Crow, constituted the program of the Shakespeare Group of the Modern Language Association at its meeting in September 1957. The program, which was arranged by Professor F. T. Bowers, Chairman, concluded with the reading of the commentary by Professor Wilson, pp. 307-310.—Editor.

another matter. And we may justifiably wonder whether some of our serious critical descriptions are similarly wide of the mark.

The first step in getting the story right, I believe, is to recognize the basic importance of story in the structure of Shakespeare's plays. "Story", "narrative", are here used as terms more inclusive than "incidents", "plot". Characters, affirmations, language patterns are not superimposed on an action base; all these are interdependent aspects of story—an unfolding ordered narrative of inner experience as well as outer event. The second step is to acknowledge the play as something made, a fictional construct, with built-in emphases. Shakespeare uses language which touches so powerfully our thoughts, feelings, desires; creates characters that remind us so forcibly of living people in real situations that it is difficult to restrain our imaginations within the bounds of his drama, his limiting and ordering of the manifold possibilities of his materials. Indeed there is no reason why we should not appropriate to our own ends poetry as given or modified; great poetry prompts us to do just that. Yet too often there may be confusion as to whether we are describing Shakespeare's plays or our own adaptations.

Our adaptations may unduly subordinate narrative or simply neglect the story as primary, usually because of some other dominant concern, such as ideas, themes, characters, ironic tensions, language patterns. Yet if, for example, we think of theme as controlling the design, we must seek it not only in explicit details, but also implicitly embodied in story—which is the mortar, the control, the motive for the interrelated parts. Once the narrative structure with its emphatic designs is neglected the drama is as modelling clay in the hands of ingenious redesigners, who may magnify subordinate details, even some textually uncertain, into features of major significance; or ingeniously re-order, rearrange the play, as in the game of anagrams we rearrange given letters to find new meanings. Thematic anagrams is a popular critical sport; what we can do with imagery anagrams is most intriguing. The King's words in *All's Well that Ends Well* may remind us of the importance of narrative context and unfolding sequence: "Let us from point to point this story know" (V. iii. 325).<sup>1</sup>

Distortion of the play-maker's emphases may be even more serious if we fail to acknowledge the play as fictional narrative. Although facts, such as historical, may somewhat limit Shakespeare's invention, yet his plays, the characters and incidents, are fictions, illusions; in Theseus' words (*Midsummer Night's Dream* V. i. 214): "The best in this kind are but shadows." Out of a multiplicity of possibilities Shakespeare has selected, arranged, made as limited and as full as he wished. We should accept his bounds, the play's completeness. Yet in the interest of our adaptations we may, on the analogy of life, of history, be tempted to consider the narrative as but a fragment of a fuller reality to which and from which we may justly reason. We may properly interpret a map of actual terrain as a partial, even inaccurate representation of a fuller reality. But a play is not that sort of map; it is its own map, not a map of something else—a limited, controlled, ordered, highlighted fictional representation. It is a too common practice to extend, elaborate the story beyond the just limits of the text, the given dramatic score, as though the play were a misleading appearance or partial representation of the true facts, which it is the critic's opportune

<sup>1</sup> The reference text for this paper is *Complete Works*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (Boston, 1936).

privilege to correct, amend, perfect. Three brief illustrations. A recent article on the time scheme in *Othello*,<sup>2</sup> to resolve a difficulty, defends the probability that Bianca made the trip from Venice to Cyprus in Cassio's galley, and even reckons the days of sailing time. Yet is this not like wondering when the film breaks what the motion picture characters are doing while the film is being repaired? Or like wondering what lies hidden behind the birches in the painting? If to find out we probe behind them, we discover only canvas, and in the process damage the illusion, the contrived appearance. In *Antony and Cleopatra* (V. ii. 140-175) Seleucus reveals to Caesar that the Queen has withheld a true inventory of her treasures. Commentators,<sup>3</sup> troubled that on the surface Cleopatra thus appears something less than marble—constantly intent on joining Antony in death, affirm that Cleopatra and Seleucus play a deliberately rehearsed scene to deceive Caesar into thinking that Cleopatra intends to live. I do not mean disrespect, yet I am forcibly reminded of James Thurber's sketch in which he tells of the lady who mistook *Macbeth* for a detective murder mystery.<sup>4</sup> She discounts the guilt of Macbeth and his wife because the murderers are never obvious. She suspects Macduff because he discovers the body and, to quote:

"Then he comes running downstairs and shouts, 'Confusion has broke open the Lord's anointed temple,' and 'Sacrilegious murder has made his masterpiece,' and on and on like that." The good lady tapped me on the knee. "All that stuff was rehearsed," she said.

We may paraphrase thus a familiar interpretation of a scene in *Hamlet* (III. iii).<sup>5</sup> "When he does not kill the king at prayer Hamlet utters words of terrible purport; yet they do not express what Hamlet *really* thinks; Hamlet's *true* motives are otherwise, conscious or unconscious." In such ways Shakespeare's shadows, the best in this kind, are accorded vital autonomy. There is of course a language difficulty; we use the same words in speaking of fictional as of real men: "Iago *thinks, feels*". We need the protective shorthand of a new mode, a fictive subjunctive, to be used in the description of fictional characters, which would mean, always, "as is clearly represented in the text of the play". We might thus avoid those unjustified liberties with fictions which significantly modify the story Shakespeare tells, distort his narrative emphases.

There are of course varied modes of emphasis in Shakespeare. I should like to present briefly several examples of one centrally important sort—repetitive,

<sup>2</sup> A. F. Sproule, "A Time Scheme for *Othello*", *SD*, VII (Spring 1956), 217-226.

<sup>3</sup> See discussions in these editions of *Antony and Cleopatra*: Furness, *Variorum* edition (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. xiii-xiv; Dover Wilson, the New Cambridge edition (Cambridge, 1950), pp. xxxiv-xxxv; M. R. Ridley, the (new) Arden Shakespeare (London, 1954), pp. xiv-xvii. The explicit mention of deception in North's *Plutarch*, both in the text and marginal comment (*Shakespeare's Plutarch*, ed. Skeat, New York, 1892, p. 226), does not thereby make it implicit in Shakespeare's play. That Plutarch emphasizes how Cleopatra has "marvelously disfigured" herself (Skeat, p. 225), and also how she laments over Antony's tomb (Skeat, p. 226), does not make these actions somehow implicit in Shakespeare's dramatization of the story. Nothing is more clear than that for Shakespeare source is not coercive—nor for interpreters of Shakespeare.

<sup>4</sup> James Thurber, "The Macbeth Murder Mystery", *The Thurber Carnival* (New York, 1931), p. 61.

<sup>5</sup> Many illustrations could be cited. A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1904), pp. 134-135, in discussing this incident writes: "That this again is an unconscious excuse for delay is now pretty generally agreed. . . . The feeling of intense hatred which Hamlet expresses is not the cause of his sparing the King, and in his heart he knows this. . . ."

cumulative effects in the narrative structure—which illustrate what care Shakespeare takes to be dramatically clear about essential aspects of story. They are like the obvious large print on a chart, requiring for their proper understanding no subtle elaborations, no magnification of details, no ingenious rearrangement of subordinate particulars into new patterns. First, two brief illustrations of clarifying, emphatic repetition from the first act of *Hamlet*. Shakespeare obviously wants there to be no doubt whatsoever that the Ghost appears in the likeness of the dead King Hamlet. In Scenes i and ii, six times in each, a total of twelve times, the dialogue stresses and restresses this point. When in Scene iv Hamlet addresses the Ghost we are indeed prepared for his words:

*Ham.* I'll call thee Hamlet,  
King, father, royal Dane. (ll. 44-45)

As the story later unfolds King Claudius and the courtiers know nothing of Hamlet's meeting with the Ghost. Thus this momentous event plays no part whatsoever in their attempts to probe the secret of Hamlet's strange behavior. Yet Horatio and the others on watch have seen the Ghost. Consequently Shakespeare in Scene v of Act I gives extraordinary emphasis to their swearing not to disclose what they have seen. Horatio and Marcellus swear four times. This is emphatic; yet there is much more. In addition, the Ghost four separate times seconds Hamlet's fervent insistence that they swear on his sword. Surely enough; and yet:

*Ham.* Let us go in together;  
And still your fingers on your lips, I pray.  
(ll. 187-188)

This is cumulative abundance, as though Shakespeare would give us excess of it. The master craftsman has made sure that no one need wonder, after this, why King and Court know nothing of the Ghost.

In *Richard II* (III. ii) is that patterned movement in which the King alternates between moods of hopefulness and despair. The series is triple, as commonly in Shakespeare, here three up's, three down's, the last down conclusive. After Richard's words of assurance that God will defend His deputy, Salisbury enters to report that the Welshmen have gone to Bolingbroke. Aumerle prompts the pale King.

*Aum.* Comfort, my liege. Remember who you are.

*King.* I had forgot myself. Am I not King?

Awake thou coward majesty! (ll. 82-84)

Scroop enters to report the defection of the people and the execution of Richard's favorites. The King's thoughts then are all on death until Carlisle and Aumerle again rouse his fighting mood.

*King.* Thou chid'st me well. Proud Bolingbroke, I come  
To change blows with thee. . . . (ll. 188-189)

But with Scroop's further news that his uncle, York, is joined with Bolingbroke, Richard gives up completely and goes to Flint castle to pine away. This repetitive, climactic emphasis assures us that there will be no effective resurgence of kingly valor.

In *Coriolanus* is that climactic series which results in Coriolanus' banishment: the reluctant and contemptuous asking for the people's voices (II.iii); then the encounter with the tribunes and people, Coriolanus' outburst and the armed rescue (III.i); then Coriolanus' submission to his mother's appeal (III.ii); and his return to submit to the people and their officers (III.iii). We know what will happen, for we have already been forcibly shown that indeed Coriolanus "Being once chafed, he cannot / Be rein'd again to temperance" (III.iii.27-28). We are thus effectively prepared, too, for the last scene of the play; Aufidius baits Coriolanus—with the assured result.

The ills that attend Lear's retirement accumulate in a turbulent crescendo, through indignity after indignity, to storm and madness, until reunion with Cordelia, in prison, seems blessed. Lear has had enough of trial; to appropriate Edgar's words:

Edg.

This would have seem'd a period

To such as love not sorrow; but another,

To amplify too much, would make much more,

And top extremity. (V.iii.204-207)

Yet soon there is that stage-direction (at V.iii.257): "Enter *Lear*, with *Cordelia* [dead] in his arms." We may feel, with many critics, that this does indeed amplify too much, tops extremity. When Shakespeare sets his hand to stretching Lear upon the rack of this tough world he racks him almost unbearably.

In a masterful construction Shakespeare uses Ophelia's madness to intensify her brother's vengeful motives; thus King Claudius the more easily and convincingly corrupts him. Laertes' deepening purpose correspondingly heightens our sense of Hamlet's doom. In Act IV, Scene v, of *Hamlet* Ophelia enters distracted and sings her pathetic songs in the presence of the Queen, the King, and Horatio. She goes out weeping for her father in the cold ground, saying, "My brother shall know of it" (ll. 70-71). The angry Laertes bursts in upon the King, who pleading his guiltlessness somewhat pacifies the outraged son. The appearance once more of Ophelia arouses in her brother a passionate response. Laertes' words are like a marginal gloss on the dramatic function of the scene:

Laer. Hadst thou thy wits, and didst persuade revenge,  
It could not move thus. (ll. 168-169)

In Scene vii Claudius re-enters with Laertes softened toward him, hardened toward Hamlet.

Laer. And so have I a noble father lost;  
A sister driven into desp'rate terms,  
... But my revenge will come. (ll. 25-29)

When they learn that Hamlet has returned, the King, with Laertes' eager help, skillfully improvises the treacherous plan to kill Hamlet: (1) with unbated sword, (2) with poisoned sword point, (3) with poisoned cup. We might today suggest also machine guns in the wings. Hamlet is to die. They have no sooner concluded their plotting than the Queen enters to relate, "Your sister's drown'd, Laertes" (l. 166). Hamlet is indeed doomed. And yet there

is more. Hamlet grapples with Laertes in Ophelia's grave. We may be reminded of words between the tribune and Coriolanus:

*Bru.* Enough, with over-measure.

*Cor.* No, take more! (Cor. III. i. 140)

This method of heaping up motivations beyond the seeming requirements of normal effective emphasis has crushing force. In *Julius Caesar* (III. ii) Mark Antony rather early in the funeral oration displays Caesar's will but refuses to read it. By other means he whips the crowd into a fury. It is with difficulty that he restrains them from fire and slaughter so that he may read to them the will, thus saving the most powerful incitement to a time when it is not even essential. The effect is devastating. It is as though a coach were to run up an overwhelming score using only the second team and then, not before, send in the first team.

This is a central method in *Othello*, which tells: "Of one not easily jealous, but, being wrought, / Perplex'd in the extreme" (V. ii. 345-346). In the Temptation Scene (III. iii), after he re-enters to Iago, his suspicions burning like mines of sulphur, Othello demands proof, ocular proof. Iago taking his cue inflames him with carnal images, with false report of Cassio's dreams and of Cassio's wiping his beard with Desdemona's handkerchief. Although he has had no ocular proof the Moor is soon on his knees swearing death to the fair devil. He is already convinced. Follow then the cumulative pile-driving strokes which enforce assured ruin: Desdemona's pleading for Cassio and her inability to produce the handkerchief (III. iv); the collapse of Othello under Iago's gross incitations; and then, not before, the ocular proof—Othello sees Desdemona's handkerchief in Cassio's hand (IV. i). And yet there is more. Othello hears Desdemona speak to the Venetian envoy, Lodovico, of "the love I bear to Cassio" (IV. i. 244). Thus it is that when Othello finally speaks of his suspicions to Emilia and Desdemona (IV. ii) and hears their direct, bewildered denials, the scene is like the terrible testing of a conviction so massively buttressed that nothing can move it.

It is perplexing that in certain plays, as *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Hamlet*, the climactic heaping up of incident, the amassing of motives—usual modes of dramatic clarification—are interpreted by critics in ways contradictory to one another. As concepts of the story vary, concepts of theme vary. Or perhaps we should say, rather, that as concepts of theme vary the story is modified to suit? Is there a ruling emphasis or is there not? The notion of ruling emphasis does not, of course, imply oversimplification. The plays, complexly and copiously rich, resist a tidy system of thought. The characters, their affirmations, the situations may justly evoke in varying ways and intensities our sympathies and antipathies, our approbations and disapprobations. To use a popular term, the plays embody ambivalences; much of the drama inheres in the point counterpoint of conflicting stress. Yet values and ideas clearly present need not confuse us as to what is secondary, what primary in the narrative structure. I think we may justly suspect that ambiguity as to ruling emphasis is in the interpreters rather than the plays, and that we should seek explanations in significant shifts of our contemporary attitudes, general or personal, toward situations, characters, ideas, values with which Shakespeare builds his heaped-up



effects, with consequent intensifying of responses inappropriate to his dramatic purposes. Appealing to Elizabethan modes of thought and feeling, which at best involves complex difficulties, often has little effective weight when there are strong emotional and intellectual commitments about the matters at issue, such as politics, minority groups, moral didacticism in art, marriage, love, religion, authority, freedom. Convictions, Bardolotry, and interpretation may react too vigorously on one another. And assimilation of story to congenial theme is not too difficult since that philosopher's stone of the critic, irony, so readily transmutes unacceptable motifs into golden opinions. Thus, for example, those in moods of ethical revulsion from modern war, and perhaps too from attendant nationalism and patriotism, may read *Henry V* as predominantly an ironic picture of bloody imperialism rather than an emphatic story of a great English warrior, "the mirror of all Christian kings".<sup>6</sup> In such a way deep personal commitments may remain consonant with deep admiration for Shakespeare's insights. We all recognize, of course, that our values may vary significantly from Shakespeare's scale of sympathies and judgments. I heard a television commentator make a statement that has a familiar modern ring: "Shakespeare's heroes are all rebels against deadening conformity." Like Macbeth no doubt. We may smile at that; but what about the Roman Antony, who loosed all ties, all bonds but one, in his infatuation, love, for the Egyptian Queen?

Once Antony has returned to Egypt there is a series of three separations and three reunions, the last as Antony is dying. The first separation follows on Antony's flight from Actium; Cleopatra's tears reunite them (III. xi). The second separation is occasioned by Cleopatra's warm reception to Caesar's envoy. Antony's denunciatory anger yields readily to her protestations of good faith (III. xiii). Then the Egyptian fleet deserts to Octavius (IV. xii); to save herself from Antony's murderous rage Cleopatra flees to the monument and sends him word that she is dead.

Cleo. Say that the last word I spoke was 'Antony'  
And word it, prithee, piteously. (IV. xiii. 8-9)

Her lie kills Antony, who seeks at once to join her in death. After his bungling attempt at suicide, when he learns that she lives, without a word of reproach, he asks to be carried to her (IV. xiv), and dies in her arms (IV. xv). This is a striking instance of dramatic, cumulative, climactic emphasis; yet critics interpret these "events" in strikingly different ways.<sup>7</sup> One sees an Antony who in his blindness struts to his confusion, who like an addict reaches again and again for the fair enchanted cup, who dies adoring his error, the noble ruin of her magic. Another, on the other hand, sees virtuous reunion which triumphs over all the powers of separation, a marriage of true minds that looks on tempests and is never shaken, a love that is, to the end, high and lifted up. The one sees

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, H. C. Goddard's chapter, "Henry V", *The Meaning of Shakespeare* (Chicago, 1951), pp. 215-268.

<sup>7</sup> Summary statements of broadly opposed viewpoints such as I give here, quoting no one directly, cannot of course do justice to the variations, modulations, of particular critics. For a good example of the first general viewpoint see W. J. Rolfe, ed. *Antony and Cleopatra* (New York, 1881), pp. 12-26; for a good example of the other see D. A. Stauffer, *Shakespeare's World of Images* (New York, 1949), pp. 232-248.

tragedy in the self-ruin of a noble character; the other sees tragedy in the death of a good man, true to his ideal, who is destroyed by the dark unworthy powers of war and cold imperial ambition. These are different stories. Which story does Shakespeare tell? Surely not both.

*Hamlet* provides another illustration of cumulative emphases which critics interpret in contradictory ways. Why does Shakespeare amass motives for Hamlet: to emphasize his vacillating and dilatory will? Or to emphasize justification for a terrible deed? Prior to the last scene the play has made indubitably clear the King's guilt, his refusal to repent, his continuing treachery. When Hamlet concludes telling of his escape from the plot against his life, Horatio exclaims, "Why, what a king is this!" (V.ii.62). Hamlet then summarizes his motives for killing Claudius:

*Ham.* Does it not, thinks't thee, stand me now upon—  
He that hath kill'd my king, and whor'd my mother;  
Popp'd in between th' election and my hopes;  
Thrown out his angle for my proper life,  
And with such coz'nage—is't not perfect conscience  
To quit him with this arm? (ll. 63-68)

This seems effective justification. And yet there is more. Unknown to Hamlet the fatal ambush is ready and waiting. Indeed Hamlet does not kill the King until the King has killed him. When Hamlet turns the envenomed point against their sovereign the courtiers in shocked amazement cry "Treason! treason!" (l. 334). They know nothing of the secret struggle between mighty opposites. Thus the dying Prince to his friend:

*Ham.* O good Horatio, what a wounded name  
(Things standing thus unknown) shall live behind me!  
... tell my story. (ll. 355-360)

Just what is that story? To take some liberties with fictions, may we consider Shakespeare's play just such a story as Horatio would tell to report Hamlet and his cause aright? Are we to imagine that Horatio is to defend Hamlet's good name by justifying the deed? Or imagine that Horatio is to defend Hamlet's weakness and delay in not killing the King sooner? The play obviously embodies conflicting stresses; yet which emphasis does Shakespeare make primary in Hamlet's story? Not both.

Variant, even contradictory accounts written by perceptive critics should warn us against arrogant dogmatism, yet not deprive us of a modest hope that by patient consideration and reconsideration of critical assumptions and procedures, of pertinent scholarship, we may, with increasing probability, see more truly the plays Shakespeare has made. Of this I feel sure, that critical affirmations about matters of central importance, like theme and all that implies, are suspect when they neglect or distort the clear and obvious emphases of the controlling narrative structure. We should be able, I believe, with reasonable confidence to say—to use Prince Hal's words—"It appears so by the story."

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## The Damnation of Othello: Some Limitations on the Christian View of the Play

EDWARD HUBLER



SINCE my title has misled some readers of the program for these meetings, I want to say in the beginning that I do not find that the limitations of some recent studies of *Othello* derive from Christianity itself. I do not mean to suggest that the true Christian is in any way cut off from a full comprehension of the play, or that he cannot experience or imagine tragedy. Nor do I question in any way the value of a Christian approach to Shakespeare. The morality disclosed by his works is, though not without exception, deeply Christian. He was brought up in the Christian tradition, and he could not have escaped its influence had he wanted to. He was probably a Catholic, Anglican or Roman, most likely the former, although for our purposes it makes little or no difference which he was. The Christian approach to him has produced landmarks in our growing knowledge of him. Yet I am unhappy about some recent studies. They seem to be written by men to whom Christianity has little meaning. It is as though they found it in the library one day, and found it useful. They pillage Christianity, and they pillage it selectively. The result, all too often, is pedantry. My view of pedantry here is that of Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost*—learning unrelated to experience.

This criticism is most often concerned with imagery and symbolism, which are somehow deified, much as some Victorians deified character. They are allowed to take precedence over all the other elements of the play and to suggest things which a more total view of the play would deny. What I miss most in these studies is the view of literature as experience, as something which extends, deepens and elevates the pitifully limited scope of our daily lives.

If you were to ask, "Whose experience?" I should reply that I have in mind the experience of the spectator and reader; and someone would be sure to tell me that I am an impressionist. In a sense that would be true, but everything is true in a sense. I suppose that what I want might be called an inclusive eclecticism. We should bring to the act of criticism a learning as wide, deep, and varied as possible. A great tragedy is perceived with the whole sentient being, and unless the criticism of it begins with some such perception of it, I do not see how the criticism can be of much value. This has its dangers, and it is apparently in order to avoid them that many critics make their primary

appeal to history. History is many things, but one of the many things it is not is the memory of God, so that an appeal to it has its dangers too. The critic who accepts his experience of the play unquestioningly is in danger of re-creating the Elizabethans in his own image; the critic whose appeal is primarily to history is in danger of re-creating a Shakespearian audience whose chief virtue is the ease with which it can be made to serve his purposes. And he does this in all honesty.

I have been asked to be specific, and I shall be. Since there is nothing to be gained from breaking butterflies, let us begin with an essay of genuine stature from which we can all learn, "The Diabolic Images of *Othello*" by S. L. Bethell, in the fifth volume of the *Shakespeare Survey*. This is an essay which says good things about a number of plays, but the main thing it tells us about *Othello* is that Othello goes to hell and Desdemona to heaven. "... the black man, after all, is a devil<sup>1</sup>..." "... he has rejected Desdemona, and in so doing he has rejected heaven. Like Judas he fell through loss of faith" (p. 80, n. 22). And he goes to hell. "His suicide, since he is a Christian, seals his fate. Shakespeare does not leave us in much doubt about the eternal destiny of his tragic heroes" (p. 78). Desdemona, on the other hand, "Quite certainly is angel, not devil, and she has gone to heaven" (p. 77). We learn in passing that Macbeth "presumably goes to hell", that Lear "is fit for heaven", and that "Hamlet is attended to heaven by flights of angels. (It would be quite opposed to Elizabethan dramatic conventions for Horatio to be mistaken at this point about his hero's spiritual state)" (p. 77). There are a number of things to be said about this. (1) There is something of the Victorian deification of character here. A character in a work of fiction has only those attributes his creator endows him with, and unless he is endowed with an "eternal destiny", he doesn't have one. Unless we are told where a character goes when he goes off the stage, he doesn't go anywhere at all. Unless we hold to this principle, we shall get back again to *The Girlhood of Shakespeare's Heroines*. (2) We may say, if we will, that Othello is possessed by a devil for a time, but to make him a devil is to make him a villain and negate the tragedy. (3) The view of symbolism here is much too simple; Desdemona, for instance "is angel". Without any wish to minimize her angelic qualities, we may assert that a symbol is not the thing symbolized and that implications and suggestions should not be solidified into fact, lest we distort the text. (4) I do not know how a Christian audience would know that Horatio is right about Hamlet's spiritual state. (5) Bethell tells us that the Elizabethans knew their ascetic theology. If they knew it better than he does, they would not assume that Othello's suicide "seals his fate". To assert that all suicides are damned to hell is to be guilty of blasphemy, for it sets limits on the mercy of God.

The other article is "The Damnation of Othello", by Paul S. Siegel, in *PMLA* for December 1953. Both Bethell and Siegel decided independently that although at the close of the play Othello is remorseful, he is not truly penitent, and he is therefore damned. Siegel, however, is a more thorough dispenser of justice. He sends both Othello and Roderigo to hell, and both Desdemona and

<sup>1</sup> S. L. Bethell, "Shakespeare's Imagery: The Diabolic Images in *Othello*", *Shakespeare Survey* 5 (Cambridge University Press, 1952), p. 77.

Emilia to heaven. He finds that "Desdemona is equated to the eternal verities",<sup>2</sup> and that she "raises and redeems such earthly souls as Emilia. Belief in her, like belief in Christ, is a means of salvation" (p. 1074). I do not find that this has much relevance to either the text or to Christianity. I find it difficult to recognize the play in this article. There seems to be no awareness of it as a dramatic action. Emergent things are taken as fully developed. The critic views, say, the middle of the play as though the impact of the final scene were fresh in his mind. In my experience of the play Iago is a character who grows in evil and symbolic value until at the end the suggestions of incarnate evil are clinched and he stands revealed as a demi-devil. Surely some of the terror of the close of act three, scene three, is owing to this revelation's not having yet been made. To Siegel this is a scene in which Othello makes a pact with the devil. My point is that we do not view it as such in the theatre. Nor do I recognize Roderigo in the description of him as "the ordinary weak man led on by his desires to damnation. He at first regards Desdemona as highly as Cassio, speaking of her as 'blessed' (II.ii.255) in a scene which immediately precedes and contrasts with the one in which Cassio rejects Iago's cynical insinuations" (p. 1076). We may say of this that the scene precedes, but not immediately, the scene with which it contrasts. Roderigo does not call Desdemona "blessed". He says that she is "full of most blessed condition", which is not at all the same thing. He is not the ordinary weak man, nor the ordinary anything else. He is one of Shakespeare's stupidest and most worthless characters. Iago calls him in soliloquy and aside a "quat" (that is, a pimple) and a "snipe", a bird legendary for its stupidity. At no time does he regard Desdemona as highly as Cassio does. To be sure, he speaks well of her, but he lusts after her and he plans to win his way to her bed through gifts. We are not told that he has gone to hell, nor can I find any suggestion of it. On the contrary we are told that he left some letters disclosing that he was to undertake the death of Cassio and upbraiding Iago for making him brave Cassio upon the watch. Then "after long seeming dead", he spoke, saying that "Iago hurt him, Iago set him on." It is a little as though he had said with Edmund, "Some good I mean to do Despite of mine own nature."

One more instance: "When she [Desdemona] entreats, 'But while I say one prayer,' he [Othello] refuses her what he believes to be the opportunity for salvation which he had previously offered her and stifles her, saying, 'It is too late.' At this moment Emilia pounds on the door to tell Othello of the attempted assassination of Cassio, who, escaped from death, can help the truth be revealed, but it is indeed too late: Othello's soul is lost" (p. 1071). There are two things to notice here: (1) Emilia does not report the attempted assassination of Cassio; she reports the murder of Roderigo. (2) A Christian audience would have no reason to suppose that at this moment Othello's soul is lost. He is obviously in a state of sin, and just as obviously he is free to repent. As Christian criticism this is not Christian enough. I find it irrelevant to the scene considered as drama, and it can only be made to seem relevant through the manipulation of "It is too late."

The text of the play says that Othello expects to be punished, and he himself asks for punishment:

<sup>2</sup> Paul N. Siegel, "The Damnation of Othello", *PMLA*, December 1953, p. 1069.

Whip me, ye devils,  
 From the possession of this heavenly sight!  
 Blow me about in winds! roast me in sulphur!  
 Wash me in steep down gulfs of liquid fire!

But this is not to say that Othello was damned. Indeed it could be argued that the sequence of "Whip me", "Blow me about", "roast me", and "Wash me" suggests purgation, and it would do no good to argue, as another critic has, that for almost a century the Elizabethans had been taught the non-existence of purgatory. The concept of purgatory served Shakespeare very well in *Hamlet*, and one of his two uses of the word "purgatory" occurs at the close of the fourth act of *Othello*. But I shall spare you an elaboration on this because I think that Othello's "eternal destiny", if he has one, is only of peripheral importance to our experience of the play. I know very well that to the Catholic morality and eschatology are inseparable. My point here is not theological; it is critical. Othello is not a man; he is a character in a play. When a man writes a play he selects some elements of his subject matter in order that we may concentrate on them. He surpasses the others in order that our apprehension of his vision may be the more intense. He gives us a vision of life purified of matters not relevant to his purpose. I take it that what we are being shown in Othello's last speeches is the nature of a man who is "great of heart", is greatly wrong, and is now about to make his utmost atonement. The view of tragedy as the dispensation of justice strikes me as childish. In any case, that is the view of tragedy my freshmen are most likely to have.

We are told in yet another study that Elizabethan audiences were so thoroughly informed on theological matters that they would immediately recognize Othello's pride and that this enabled Shakespeare to leave Othello's damnation implicit. Ever since the critics discovered the sin of pride, the concept of honor has been getting very short shrift, although Shakespeare's high regard for honor is demonstrated on almost every page he wrote. I think that for Shakespeare a virtue could hardly be said to exist until it was expressed in action. The recognition of it by a man's peers was the outward assurance of its reality, and hence the high esteem in which Shakespeare held reputation and honor. Hamlet does not want a wounded name to live behind him because he values reputation, and Othello wants to be spoken of as he is because he is on the point of making such atonement as he can. Such acts are not done unconsciously. Surely all self-regard is not sinful, or if it is, what is to become of the injunction to love our neighbors as ourselves?

An assumption made by the critics I am opposing is, as stated by Siegel, that Shakespeare wrote "for an audience accustomed to think analogically and to regard the history of humanity as a repeated illustration of the truths of the Bible story . . ." (p. 1068). This is true, although different people will find it true to different degrees. It is also true that the Catholic lives under the mystery and conviction of the incarnation, which makes it possible for him to view life and literature as the repetition of an essential pattern common to all men. This may be seen by non-Catholics too, and it may be imagined by unbelievers. But the Catholic is also free, through the liberty which he feels and defends, to work out his own destiny. You might gather from your reading of some recent criticism that all Elizabethan Catholics, Roman and Anglican,



were alike. It gives us a picture of humanity as it was taught to be, not as it was; and no one in this audience will have to be told that people do not invariably know what they are taught. It tends to make all the plays alike, and to make them, ultimately, unnecessary, for what it finds in them is what every informed person has known all along, or can discover elsewhere in briefer compass. On the other hand, a criticism devoted exclusively to the individuality of the plays would be just as eccentric. An adequate Christian critic ought to be especially prepared to make the plays seem *at the same time* all alike and all different.

For better or worse Shakespeare was much too myriad-minded to pass as orthodox under all circumstances. A copy of the First Folio passed under the hands of a censor of the Spanish Inquisition and was much the worse for it. *Measure for Measure*, for instance, was blotted out entirely. Shakespeare could be specifically unorthodox, especially when something he held dear, such as honor, was at stake:

'Tis better to be vile than vile esteemed,  
When not to be receives reproach of being. . . .<sup>3</sup>

It is only recently that the Elizabethan theatre achieved this high degree of orthodoxy. Indeed its history is to a considerable extent based on documents intended to control it or reduce its influence. The motivation to this was multiple, and one of the motives lay in the nature of imaginative literature—its power to insinuate all sorts of matters into the consciousness.

Nor do I believe that the Shakespearian audience, a very diverse collection of people, was as orthodox as we are told. No doubt they knew their Christian doctrine much better than a modern audience, but surely it was continually expounded to them in sermons because they did not know it well enough. Nor does it follow that they always acted on what they knew. Nor do religious people at a play always find that their consciousness is always dominated by their moral and theological convictions. This is a thorny subject. There is, of course, an element of moral judgment in the response of every moral man to a dramatic situation, and it will be little or great, depending on the man and the situation. But such is the magic of the theatre that the spectator, generally speaking, gives himself up to the play for the course of the action. He will recognize that Antony, for instance, was both great and wrong, and he will give him his sympathy without in the least declaring himself in favor of adultery and suicide. This is especially true when a play is viewed, as Shakespeare's are, from a considerable esthetic distance. I think some such acceptance is especially necessary for an understanding of Shakespeare. His was a time of curiosity and questioning and doubting the ultimate value of the things in which one believed. Faith not subject to questioning degenerates into magic, just as a criticism based on rigid principles degenerates into formula. Some critics may regret it, but it is no less true that a hallmark of Shakespeare and his age was the ability to see the many-sidedness of things. And this has its value to the drama. There is a relationship between the clarification of things in the alignment of forces which led to the Civil War and the decline of the drama. The choice between what is seen as good and what is seen as bad is seldom dramatic. The interesting, the

<sup>3</sup> Shakespeare, *The Sonnets*, 121.

dramatic choice is between matters which are multifarious enough to be neither wholly good nor bad. In the phrase of Patrick Cruttwell, it is "the willing suspension of damnation which constitutes dramatic faith."

I speak of Catholicism with reverence, but I remain a non-Catholic, and for that reason I should like to close with some sentences from a man of the theatre who is a devout Roman Catholic. "For Shakespeare nature is what he finds and accepts; it is the point of his departure. Where another poet—Wordsworth, for example—looks through nature and beyond it, Shakespeare examines it at close range. I have suggested that we shall search in vain for a coherent theology in Shakespeare; he only offers us the shreds and patches of contemporary beliefs. . . . What we feel at work in him is just that passivity which Keats announced as the sovereign faculty of the creative mind. It was another name for humility and it enabled him to live with his world without ever becoming separated from it. There is not in all his work an instance of intellectual pride. In every great writer we can overhear the perpetual combat between intellect and intuition, between the active and the passive principle. This is the dialogue between mind and heart, male and female, *animus* and *anima*. With Shakespeare energy and contemplation maintain their respective rights in a perilous equilibrium, although *anima* has the final word. This is one of the things we mean when we say that Shakespeare was a universal genius. But do not let us mistake the secret of his strength. He was strong because he could sit down before experience like a little child."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Robert Speaight, *Nature in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1955), pp. 4-5.

# Deadly Sins of Criticism, or, Seven Ways to Get Shakespeare Wrong

JOHN CROW



ECENT critics of Shakespeare tell us that *Lear* is a lesser play than *Cymbeline*; that *Timon* is the key play; that Caliban is an "inverted folk-hero"; that, in *Winter's Tale*, "we are given a close metaphysical study of Jealousy, reaching depths undreamed of in *Othello*"; that "the characters in these late plays are less important as persons than as symbols"; that *Winter's Tale* "represents an important moment in the history of christian civilisation".<sup>1</sup> These findings are absurdities and it is not necessary to traverse them. When you find a *reductio ad absurdum*, the *reductio*, not the *absurdum*, deserves study. There is a critical system which finds more value in *Pudd'nhead Wilson* than in *Huckleberry Finn*; which excludes Forster and Virginia Woolf and includes D. H. Lawrence; which seems to maintain that Jane Austen, Henry James, Mark Twain and Lawrence all wrote the same kind of fiction; which rates "importance" above enjoyableness in art; and assumes that, by some absolute standards, works of art can be placed in a permanent order of merit. At least, I think that there is such a critical system; and if there is, the hell with it. May I hazard explanations how these (possibly imaginary) opponents of mine fall into what I deem heresy?

The first deadly sin of Shakespeare criticism is excess of humility towards Shakespeare—OVERAWEDNESS OF THOU-ART-FREEISM. Shakespeare was not a Topsy who growed; he was a Minerva who sprang ready-armed into life from an improbable place. Though fully-armed and perfect from the beginning, he nevertheless contrived to grow better and better and better. He does not suffer from the human frailty of being at some times better than at others. His work was so good that it must have been the product of a graduate and a peer of the

<sup>1</sup> This piece was composed for oral delivery and it is with reluctance that I let it come into print. I fear that a reader may find it difficult to distinguish between what I say as my *credo* and what I invent as the ludicrous statements of honest men who hold views which differ from mine. No amount of tinkering could ever have turned this piece of platform buffoonery into an acceptable "learned article" and I haven't tried to wrap the whole into a lace shawl of footnotes and scholarliness. The Shadwell quotation is from E3\* of the first edition (1676) of *The Virtuoso*—which despite his words is not the edition used by Summers in his edition of Shadwell (and he introduces into the passage a second-edition misprint which makes one sentence nonsense). The passage quoted immediately before the Shadwell passage is from T. S. Eliot's *Selected Essays* 1917-1932 (London, 1932), page 114, and it is an utterly unfair quotation, wrested from its context. Mr. Eliot is in the essay quoted arguing on the same side as myself and is deploring not productions of Shakespeare but bad productions of Shakespeare.

realm; and this part isn't as good as that part, therefore the inferior part must have been written by Robert Greene or George Peele, or both of them clutching the same pen.—Thou-art-freeists cannot stomach the thought that the late plays may be the product of less poetic intensity than the (earlier) "Great Tragedies"; they must therefore argue that really they *are* greater. Excessive humility leads readers of the critics to accept any dreary pope who will speak in an *ex-cathedra*-sounding voice and tell us that "Science teaches this" and "the figures show that". Tell us the answer, Dear Mrs. Post, Dear Dorothy Dix, Dear Cleanth Brooks, Dear Dr. Leavis, Dear Mr. Traversi. I am sad to find the symptom among those undergraduates with whom I discuss Shakespeare; I say, "Professor X maintains this and Professor Y maintains that. Choose for yourselves". And they answer "But which is right?"

The second, and far more deadly, sin is ARROGANCE. I prefer this, therefore it is better; I dislike this, therefore it is bad.—I discovered this thing myself, therefore (a) it is right, and (b) it is THE one key.—There's no time like the present and the only eyes needed for looking at Shakespeare are twentieth-century eyes. Let's all hunt for Fisher Kings and Dying Gods and ignore the fact that Mr. Eliot wrote *The Waste Land* after, and not before, partaking of Miss Weston's good wine. It would be terrible to admit that I don't know the answer to a question. To be silent upon a peak in Darien is shocking; won't you join me in a wild surmise?—The therefore-it's-better attitude has sinister subsections.—I prefer this, therefore it's better; therefore there are absolute standards (which I know all about); Donne is now a better poet than Pope; therefore he always was and always will be better, and those who did not, before my time, recognize this fact were ignorant and imperfect critics. Another subsection is: I prefer this, therefore it is better, and I can by argument persuade you out of your bad taste, your refusal to like celery, cats, gelatinous salads and Dr. Fell. And there is the subsection: therefore it is good, AND I CAN PROVE IT: gelatinous salads contain more mercury hypobromite and less protopeptocalcin than any concoction which can be crammed down the human gullet. Madison-Avenue science.

We are all, even those who do not contend especially to know ourselves, aware that we easily fall into the error of thinking that we are the one sane man about Shakespeare, the voice of commonsense, the one who concurs with the common reader. Even Professor Wilson Knight, I take it, thinks that his views are sanely obvious and that it is only the wilfulness of his enemies which prevents everyone from agreeing with him. And Dr. Dover Wilson doesn't think "That's too far-fetched, but I'll put it in because it's so splendidly ingenious". The whole business of arrogance amounts, I suppose, to looking at matters with our eyes, not with Shakespeare's. I remember an incident from my days as a chronicler of the Prize Ring. "Smith" was training for a championship fight and had hired as sparring-partner the inordinately crude and incompetent "Brown". Telling me of Smith's brilliance, Brown said, "His defence is amazing: I can't lay a glove on him."

My third sin is PEDANTRY, or WOOD-FOR-TREESISM. Many critics spend a lifetime of happy and successful seeking after the non-existent. Take as example Mamillius' tale. The last nineteen words heard from Mamillius are, "There was a man— . . . Dwelt by a churchyard—I will tell it softly; Yond crickets

shall not hear it'. That is all. And here is the late S. L. Bethell on the subject: "Again, there is Mamillius' reference to a sad tale which is best for winter and he even begins this tale within a tale: 'There was a man . . . Dwelt by a church-yard'—a man suspiciously like the later Leontes". The thing seen has become nothing; the eye of the beholder is all.

Other symptoms of the sin of pedantry are: the getting of trifles out of perspective, and valuing the manner above the matter. Nothing is accidental, the subconscious is more important than the conscious. The relationship between author and audience is made too little of or made too much of.—What nonsense is written about Shakespeare's sensitivity to public taste: your Shakespeare may have been like that, but my Shakespeare wrote as he thought best and the public mobbed the box-office.—The pedant forgets the theatre. What he finds with his microscope and his dissecting-needle is there; and it is important. But it is not all-important. More important is that which is seen and heard by the man in the standing-room-only at the theatre. You cannot estimate a fruit-salad by counting the grapes and cherries. Shakespeare wrote plays to be acted: Dr. Leavis tells us that it's not worth while going to the theatre, we can do it all at home. W. W. Lawrence wrote, "All this may be a good drama, but it is bad psychology". Great goodness, Professor Lawrence, psychology is what you can get away within the theatre, (I have a free evening; shall we go to the psychology, darling?) The man whom I rate as our best critic wrote, "I rebel against most performances of Shakespeare's plays because I want a direct relationship between the work of art and myself". May I quote a stretch of dialogue from Shadwell's *The Virtuoso*?

*Sir Formal.* Truly I opine it to be a most compendious method, that in a fortnights prosecution has advanc'd him to be the best Swimer of Europe. Nay, it were possible to swim with any Fish of his inches.

*Longvil.* Have you ever tri'd in the Water, Sir?

*Sir Nicholas.* No, Sir; but I swim most exquisitely on Land.

*Bruce.* Do you intend to practise in the Water, Sir?

*Sir Nicholas.* Never, Sir; I hate the Water, I never come upon the Water, Sir.

*Longvil.* Then there will be no use of Swimming.

*Sir Nicholas.* I content my self with the Speculative part of Swimming, I care not for the Practick. I seldom bring any thing to use, 'tis not my way. Knowledge is my ultimate end.

*Bruce.* You have reason, Sir; Knowledge is like Virtue, its own reward.

Much nonsense, I hold, arises from a failure to distinguish between what Shakespeare did automatically and what he did deliberately; perhaps we prefer the study of the unconscious products because the conscious ones have been more than adequately dealt with already.

Sin number four: OVER-SIMPLIFICATION. Symptomatic of this is the view that poetry can be isolated and dissected like a dead frog. Holders of this view forget that the frog-dissector also dissects sheep and dogfish, that the zoologist is, in fact, a comparative anatomist. With this view goes the view that everything can be classified and organized and that if you look at them in the right way all Shakespeare's works were of the same kind. And that you can behave as though in any one play, Shakespeare had only one aim—and it is for you to

tell us what that aim is and to what extent Shakespeare fails because he does inadequately what ACCORDING TO YOU he is trying to do. It must also be oversimplification (plus wrong-headed stupidity) which makes Lytton Strachey say that Shakespeare was "bored . . . with everything except poetry and poetical dreams"—as though poetry was just poetry and not poetry about something which interests the poet.

The fifth sin is PURITANISM—and I am well aware that, owing to my unhappy upbringing, I have a tendency to use this word as a general term of abuse. But I fancy that Puritanism it is, and, very often, agnostic Puritanism at that. No frivolity must be found in Shakespeare. YOU may think that this passage is funny, but wait until I have shown you the inner meaning and the overtones and the undertones. No artist is respectable unless he is a preacher in disguise. This poem is better than that because this poet is socially conscious and the other poet isn't. (This is none other than our old, old friend, "The good poet must be a good man" all over again—but we don't speak of *good* men now; "socially conscious" is the acceptable euphemism.) This poem may be enjoyable, but just think how horrible life is and how vast the interstellar spaces are and how many people die annually of ghastly diseases and aren't you a little ashamed of actually enjoying a poem? We must seek and probe for the Message everywhere. We must have a dedicated determination to leave no stone without its sermon displayed.—This tendency reaches its zenith in the works of Dr. Leavis and we may profitably (I suppose) look up what The Doctor has to say about what Lord David Cecil has to say about George Eliot. The difference between The Doctor and Lord David is the difference between the poet E. C. Bentley and the puritan preacher, Dr. Clifford. Bentley writes:

Doctor Clifford  
And I have differed  
He disapproves of gin;  
I disapprove of Sin.

Sin Number Six: OPTIMISM. Man's unconquerable mind has an unconquerable desire for the happy ending. And if there isn't a happy ending, let's persuade ourselves that there is one. We must account for our ability to feel good after seeing a tragedy. We must be told about the reconciliation that comes at the end of *Romeo and Juliet* and at the end of *Macbeth*. Verona's streets will now be safe again for pedestrians and tourists; everyone in Scotland may now go ahead at the task of living happily ever after. Isn't this also nonsense? When we see these plays in the theatre (whatever Dr. Leavis may be doing in his bleak study) we are not all the time thinking, "How every tiresome this all must be for the Veronese and how unhappy the Montagues and the Capulets must be; and how unpleasant life in Scotland must be for the man in the street". We are moved by the horrible things that fall in the way of what Professor Duthie nauseatingly calls "these two golden young people" and to Macbeth and his wife. Plays are not about reconciliation; they're about people. What sort of a reconciliation is there, when someone who starts as "worthy Macbeth", "brave Macbeth" and "Bellona's bridegroom" finishes as "this dead butcher"? Whether plays are tragedies or comedies, they are about the remarkable things that might happen to *ME*—and out of that come Lear and Falstaff



and Dogberry and Iago and Mistress Overdone. And if I don't make that identification, no multitudinous seas of reconciliation are going to make the play good for me. I go to the theatre accompanied by my emotions as well as my intellect. Great plays are about agents and patients, not actions and passions. But I like to feel that all turns out well in the end, and I fall into interpreting *Anthony and Cleopatra* as though it wasn't the disaster that comes through the dotage of Anthony but a play that you could rename *All's Won By Lust*.

Finally, there is CREATIVE CRITICISM AND SAILING BEYOND THE SUNSET. Where, oh where are Dr. Leavis' burning sonnets from the Portuguese?—We cannot all be poets, but let us give our limited creativeness a run in the yard before we turn in for the night. Hasn't a man the right to self-expression? If I have led so dull a life that no one would desire to read my autobiography, may I not fool you all by describing myself and persuading you that I am describing Shakespeare? Is he not so many-faceted that the discovery of a few more facets here and there is harmless and plausible? After all, why should I not go in for the subjective and have a stab at selling it by describing it as the newest form of objectivism?—These matters are too well known to need more than mention. But there is more. The criticism of Shakespeare was formerly an attempt to give assistance to the young. Now we are forced to use it to impress our elders. What started out in life as a crutch has come to maturity as a banner with a strange device. Editions of plays, allegedly for the young, are, at all events in my country, used as pass-keys for the doors of academic promotion. Already there are thousands and thousands of editions of Shakespeare and almost as many pluckings—out of the heart of his mystery. But anything that you can do I can do better. I have to search the writings of all my predecessors and go one better (and that usually means one sillier) otherwise there's no point in my book and I shall remain an instructor all my days. Hence the sadness of the flesh that follows the reading of all the books and the draining of a quart from every pintpot.

\* \* \*

I began the writing of this paper wondering if I might be able to discover what was wrong with the interpreters of the last plays of Shakespeare. The inquiry was set off by the thought of the writings of Dr. Tillyard, Mr. Derek Traversi and the late S. L. Bethell. I found myself being led off the path which I had meant to tread and I now, boastfully, feel that I have ended by covering all the methods of being wrong about Shakespeare and misunderstanding his writings. But I have little doubt that new methods are even now awaiting publication (and the New Methodists awaiting promotion). I have described what seems to me a disease. I can suggest no cure. It would certainly help if no man were permitted to publish anything about a Shakespeare play unless he could prove that he had seen it acted on the stage. And it would help if every article or book were submitted to the eye of a man with a powerful sense of humor. That might help. Thought is free and I shouldn't even wish to stop people thinking what they like about Shakespeare; it's a harmless enough solitary occupation, no worse than sketching in water-colors. I think that little harm can come of it when the thinker of odd thoughts stands up before a class and puts forward his little theories. The company can tell that he is a fallible human being, not particularly sure of himself, timid and tentative. But when he is

allowed in print, the case is altered. The audience, fiercely critical of the visible man and the audible words, sluggishly accepts what it sees before it in the printed word. We live in a wicked world, and it would be stupid to hope that men will reform themselves in this matter and ask themselves as they set pen to paper, "Am I in danger of the millstone? Am I, without keen self-criticism, about to suggest certain things as though they were true, when I myself do not think of them as much more than possibilities? How should I, as I set out to debauch (mentally) somebody's sister, like to see my own sister exposed to the beastly lust of an intellectual invader?" To beseech men to think thus is vain, like the preaching of celibacy to the stallion. But let our censors be more active; let the publishers throw manuscripts to the dogs; let chairmen of departments horsewhip their underlings for the publication of stupidities: make failure to publish the key to promotion.


May I finish as disarmingly as possible by saying that I am fully aware that I have, no less than anyone whom I have mocked, been guilty of the sin of saying "I dislike it, therefore it's bad"? I have not tried to persuade anyone that the things which I called absurdities were in fact absurd. I assumed it. I plead guilty also to any charge of not offering cardinal virtues to offset the deadly sins. I have, as I said, no solution to offer, other than the solution of silence.

Here are my seven deadly sins of criticism. He who is guilty of them is a promulgator of heresy. He who is guilty of none of them will have nothing at all to say about Shakespeare and is entitled to be certified as an idiot.

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## Commentary

HAROLD S. WILSON

SELF-EXAMINATION has always been recommended by the sages; and it goes without saying that the searching of souls which has just taken place is highly salutary, not to say edifying. The homiletic and even somewhat theological tone of the proceedings may remind us of those Elizabethan "prophesysings" in which some man of the cloth ventured to display a sample of his pulpit eloquence and to commit himself on some point of doctrine, whereupon his assembled brethren all sat upon him as hard as they could. We may not all be indiscreet enough to write a book about Shakespeare, but most of us can tell you just what is wrong with the books that do get written and published. My own somewhat invidious task is to try to sum up the assembled budget of censure; and I should, no doubt, be neglecting my assignment if I did not likewise try to say something under the heading of lapses of omission or commission in the critical discourses we have just been listening to.

We are agreed, I take it, first of all, that Shakespearian criticism would be the better for a little more reasonableness and common sense. We are all agreed, with Mr. Lyons, that commentators should pay more attention to the words that Shakespeare wrote, without trying too hard to improve upon him, to carry the story farther than he evidently wished to carry it, or to tell those parts of it which he carelessly left out. Apart from the sacredness of Shakespeare's text—and no one, oddly enough, has had anything to say about the bibliographers, some of whom seem to me to be bent upon recasting or paring down and rejecting words, phrases, and whole lines in the text to such an extent that I am sometimes inclined to wonder whether the text that is finally to be offered to us on strict scientific—or at least on strict bibliographical—principles will be anything like the Shakespeare I have formerly known and hope to be able to continue knowing. There is the well-known story of the two Teutonic scholars meeting after their rival labors on the text of Homer, and one saying to the other, "How many lines did *you* cast out today?" Apart from the sacredness of the hypothetically scientific text of Shakespeare which we are some day to receive from the bibliographical Sinai, the areas of general agreement narrow abruptly. Some of us believe, with Mr. Crow and Mr. Hubler, that the study of the texture of imagery and symbolism in the plays is all too likely to lead to findings that are extravagant, fanciful, and absurd. More of us, no doubt, are agreed, with Mr. Hubler, that when one undertakes to speak about the Christian implications of Shakespeare's plays, one should be very sure he understands just what the Christian religion teaches. All of us, again, must surely assent, with Mr. Crow, to the proposition that personal pride and "I-alone-am-right-ism" in Shakespeare criticism is a bad thing.

Nevertheless, I am troubled about the gloomy conclusion to which Mr. Crow's paper seems to lead us. He has admirably, and most divertingly, pointed to many of the leading stupidities of which practising Shakespearian commentators are guilty; but the discourse as a whole sounds to me rather more like a homily on the seven deadly sins—or, more precisely, on the sin of pride, to which all the others are said to reduce—than a specific for the ills that beset Shakespeare criticism. I am reminded of the first book of the *Faerie Queene*, with Orgoglio as the hero; and I am not disposed to play Prince Arthur to Mr. Crow's Red Crosse Knight—if I haven't got the figure hopelessly twisted—because in this case I think there may perhaps be something to be said for sin. The "negative capability" which Keats designated as the artistic quality in which Shakespeare excelled—the capacity to leave things doubtful and unresolved—is a quality peculiarly characteristic of drama; and in the example of Shakespeare it is doubtless the quality that most often eludes us in our attempts to say just what the plays are about. And we must expect that, in order to say anything at all about the plays—in order to avoid the certification of idiocy in the classroom which Mr. Crow so ominously prophesies—we must say many different things about them, some of them extravagant enough. And I do not take quite such a somber view of publication. I cannot see that it does any great harm for a young scholar to publish his fancies about Shakespeare, if he can find an editor soft-hearted enough, or soft-headed enough, to attend to his nonsense. He at least shows that some activity is taking place in connection with the teaching of Shakespeare; he provokes dissent, and thereby fresh, and, it may be, more cogent scrutiny of the text; though the process, to be sure, may lead to even greater nonsense being promulgated. But at least it all ministers to the gaiety of such occasions as the present, and to the greater satisfaction of those of us (and surely this includes all who are here present) who find our minds to be in good working order and our hearts in the right place.

I am disposed to agree wholeheartedly with Mr. Hubler's strictures upon the vagaries of some of the students of Shakespeare's imagery; and I wish he had cast his net even a little wider to include some others among the more egregious examples of this "wood-for-treesism"—in Mr. Crow's phrase—wherein it is assumed that the central principle of organization in a Shakespearian play is best reflected in the texture or patterning of the imagery; so that the play comes to be regarded as an effect of the imagery, rather than the imagery as a function of the play. The study of imagery and symbolism is likely to become all-absorbing; and, for shorter lyric poems, in which the interplay of the imagery may be the chief part of the effect, the method may be most illuminating. But as we cannot see the whole of a flower under a microscope—unless it be very tiny indeed—so we are not likely to see the wholeness or even the central principle in so complex an organization as a Shakespearian play by means of the microscopic analysis of patterns of imagery. Paradoxically—and the New Critics delight in nothing more than paradox—the New Criticism which deals in the complexities of image patterns seems to be effective in inverse ratio to the complexity of the piece of literature which is studied.

I am thinking especially of such an example as Mr. Cleanth Brooks's remarkable essay on *Macbeth* called "The Naked Babe and the Cloak of Manliness" in *The Well-Wrought Urn*. Professor O. J. Campbell has commented

effectively on the limitations of this essay in the Adams Memorial volume, but there is one point, not noted by Professor Campbell, which particularly well illustrates how liable the method of criticism here used is to ignore the text in the interest of establishing a case for a significant pattern of imagery. Mr. Brooks singles out Macbeth's comparison of the pity that will be aroused for his intended victim, Duncan, to

a naked new-born babe  
Striding the blast, or heaven's cherubim, hors'd  
Upon the sightless couriers of the air;

which he compares with the recurrent image in the play (pointed out by Caroline Spurgeon in her book on Shakespeare's imagery) of ill-fitting clothes—"Macbeth's new honours sit ill upon him, like a loose and badly fitting garment, belonging to someone else." These two images, he argues, interweave throughout the play in a symbolic pattern which is of central significance for the play as a whole. I shall comment only on his treatment of the "naked babe" image; but this should be a sufficient example, for Mr. Brooks regards it as "perhaps the most powerful symbol in the tragedy".

He begins with an excellent comment upon the image of pity, "like a naked new-born babe striding the blast": Macbeth's paradox means that pity is like a new-born babe in its weakness as an emotion, but, when blown into the hearts of men by the outrage of Duncan's murder, it becomes, in its purity and righteousness as a motive, strong as a tempestuous wind. He goes on, however, taking the "babe" image quite out of its context, to assert that the babe also "signifies the future which Macbeth would control and cannot control." He then discovers the continuity of this image in Macbeth's envy of Banquo, whose heirs, according to the Weird Sisters, are to be kings rather than Macbeth's heirs. And he cites Macbeth's recollection of the Weird Sisters' prophecy to Banquo:

then prophet-like  
They hail'd him father to a line of kings. . . .

He concludes that Macbeth is ambitious not merely for himself but also for his line; that Macbeth, in short, wishes to control the future by founding a line of kings; and that this principal motive in the play is emphasized again and again by the recurrence of the "babe" image—in the apparitions of the Bloody Child and the Child Crowned that the Weird Sisters vouchsafe to Macbeth in Act IV, and in many related suggestions, even to the murder of Macduff's little boy, who is not a babe at all, though Mr. Brooks insists on calling him one.

It puts a curious light upon this argument to recall Macduff's line, "He has no children!"—a speech which Mr. Brooks overlooked in his essay. Leaving aside the nice question of how many children Lady Macbeth had, it seems that Shakespeare was not so intent upon making Mr. Brooks's point about Macbeth's wanting to control the future by founding a line of kings as to avoid raising the question (when he wanted to emphasize a moment of pathos) whether Macbeth had any children at all!

The corrective of Mr. Brooks's method has been sufficiently indicated in Mr. Lyons' paper. Aristotle's definition of tragedy begins, "Tragedy is an im-

itation of an action. . . ." This is what Mr. Brooks's method neglects. The imagery throughout the play has indeed an important subsidiary function: to enhance the effect of the unfolding action. It enhances particular effects of tone, atmosphere, characterization, irony, pathos, and so on, in different situations, and in doing this it may even contain contradictory implications (as may seem to be the case, sometimes, in a careful scrutiny of the imagery of *Macbeth*), for these implications are not of vital importance. What *is* of vital importance is the cumulative effect of the successive situations seen as the interrelated parts of a unified action, and the theme of the play emerges primarily from the study of this action, in which the treatment of character, or imagery or the patterning of imagery (if there be any) are but contributing effects; for a drama (as distinct from a lyric poem) is essentially an action, a thing done.

Something more than the single barbed glance of Mr. Crow's paper might here have been afforded to the subject of Caliban and the Dark Gods—though, to be sure, Professor Bush has recently dealt very satisfactorily with this matter. To recall the more or less recent symbolical and allegorical interpretations of *The Tempest* alone—that it is a vegetation myth, an account of an initiation into a fertility cult, an apocalyptic vision, and so on—is to be reminded of Percy's complaint

Of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies,  
And of a dragon and a finless fish,  
A clip-wing'd griffin and a moulten raven,  
A couching lion and a ramping cat,  
And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff  
As puts me from my faith.

But these fancies are, for the most part, light as air;

the baseless fabric of this vision,  
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples,

yea, all which it inhabit, tend to vanish at the glint of laughter or the touch of common sense.

Perhaps it is finally appropriate, on my own part, to finish with a disclaimer. The saying about glass houses doubtless applies to all of us; and no one would wish to be thought of as pontificating concerning the "right" methods of Shakespearean exegesis and commentary. Our speakers have wisely confined themselves to suggestions about things *not* to do. There have been some moments of merriment—surely a blessed event in the deliberations of this learned assemblage. No one (I hope I may include myself in this) has been pompous or dull. This is a great deal to be thankful for. I think the three speakers, and the organizers of this occasion, are to be congratulated very heartily.

University of Toronto



## What Shakespeare Did to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*

M. C. BRADBROOK



**T**ROILUS AND CRESSIDA, unlike most of Shakespeare's plays, was designed to be read as Literature and not only for the Boards. The Preface to the Quarto calls it a Comedy as distinct from a mere Play, serving as "commentary" to "all the actions of our lives", and appealing to judgment as well as pleasure. This advertisement, though neither of Shakespeare's nor his company's devising, was written by one who knew his public and aimed at catching the select few, with the warning that Shakespeare's plays would soon be difficult to get hold of. The key word is "wit", but such wit as does not exclude labor; for the writer adds that the play deserves to be properly set forth, with commentary and notes, like the classics. Could he return to survey the endeavors of Campbell, Hillebrand, Baldwin and others, he might write himself down no minor prophet.

Among the marks of conscious labor and effort are the formal debates in camp and citadel, the complex and strange vocabulary, and the great variety of sources. The tone and flavor of the play, disturbing and ambiguous, controls and directs the response; and the "conclusion of no conclusions" is in keeping with it. A bitter comedy for the Inns of Court men may have been what Shakespeare set out to write; but no work of his can be pigeonholed, and *Troilus and Cressida* bears less resemblance to the formula of Comical Satyre than does *Hamlet* to Revenge Tragedy.<sup>1</sup>

In the division of interest between the two plots, most of the "commentary" is put into the story of the Siege; the dramatic excitement and the main channel of sympathy lies in the love story. My concern is chiefly with the story of Troilus and the way in which by comparison with the original work of Chaucer, Shakespeare's governing intention is revealed. I shall be less occupied with the extent of the borrowing than with the nature of the handling and the temper of approach.

### II

Behind the story of the Siege, there has been discerned the work of Homer, in French or in Chapman's translation of *Seven Books of the Iliads*, Lydgate, Caxton, and possibly a drama or two. Behind the story of Troilus there is Chaucer, Henryson and a general popular tradition.

The Sack of Troy was to the sixteenth century the highest secular symbol

<sup>1</sup> See O. J. Campbell, *Comical Satyre and Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida* (San Marino, 1938). Peter Alexander, *Shakespeare's Life and Art* (Nisbet, 1939), mentions the Inns of Court.

of Disaster, the Great Crash; it was what 1914 was to writers of the twenties and thirties, and as such it had already been used by Shakespeare in his most ostentatiously literary work, *The Rape of Lucrece*, where the "augmentation" of Lucrece's woes in the Tapestry of Troy makes it the emblem of betrayal. Soon after *Troilus and Cressida* was finished, the image rose again to Shakespeare's mind in the passion of the mobled queen, and Hamlet's passionate soliloquy upon it. Pyrrhus, the true son of Shakespeare's own Achilles, minces the limbs of Priam in a blind violence which otherwise in the play of *Hamlet* remains hidden—for murder and lust, combined in the person of Claudius, are masked in more than Sinon's cunning.

Such accounts of the Siege as Shakespeare might have read in English were from the literary point of view neither stimulating nor shapely. He had either to quarry from the rambling narratives of Caxton or Lydgate,<sup>2</sup> or stumble through Chapman's text of Homer, which the contortions of syntax no less than the pidgin-Latin vocabulary made very nearly unreadable (these first seven books became much clearer in Chapman's final version). The influence of Chapman on the language of *Troilus and Cressida* is at its greatest in the debating scenes, where something near a scholar's rhetoric was required to sustain the height of argument. Years before, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Shakespeare had laughed at scholars' terms; here in a limited way, he returned to them; but combined with the "conceited wooing of Pandarus Prince of Licia", with the satirical snarling of Thersites, and with the speech of the lovers themselves, which ranges from high terms to barest simplicity.

Those concerned with the sources of *Troilus and Cressida* have devoted most space to the story of the Siege. R. K. Presson, whose treatment is the latest and most lengthy,<sup>3</sup> gives only twenty-five pages out of one hundred and fifty-seven to Chaucer's poem, with which however he "inclines to think" Shakespeare was familiar. In depicting the Siege, Shakespeare had relied upon at least two and possibly three versions; he selected, recombined, and rearranged the ingredients with the utmost freedom. For the love story he went to the greatest poet accessible to him in English; and his treatment of Chaucer is at once consistent and paradoxical. The high and heroic romance is in every way deflated. If the whole play reflects Shakespeare's reactions towards some deep betrayal, with roots vast, ramifying and obscure, it is not likely that only by chance he took Chaucer for this more intimate and dramatic half of the story: a poetic ideal was being ironically distorted and defaced. That the author of *Romeo and Juliet* had learned from the author of *Troilus and Criseyde* would seem to be one of those possibilities not to be measured by the number of detectable parallels. A poet learns his trade not from books of rhetoric but from other poets; and the Wyf of Bath and Harry Bailly still remain the only peers of Angelica and Falstaff.

In refashioning this story, Shakespeare was doing to Chaucer what Chaucer had already done to Boccaccio; but he was not the first to produce what the rhetoricians would call a "correction" of Chaucer's work. In Thynne's edition

<sup>2</sup> The task of turning narrative romance into dramatic form is stressed as one of the chief dramatic problems of the Elizabethan playwright by Madeleine Doran, *Endeavors of Art* (Wisconsin, 1954), chapter 5.

<sup>3</sup> Robert K. Presson, *Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and the Legends of Troy* (Wisconsin, 1953).

of 1532, Robert Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid* was printed as a sequel to Chaucer's poem, and it was even copied by a sixteenth-century writer into a fifteenth-century manuscript.<sup>4</sup> If he read it, Shakespeare made no direct use of this poem; indeed it was Rollins' thesis that Shakespeare reversed later developments of the story in ignoring the pitiable end of the heroine.<sup>5</sup> But the imagery of disease, so violently presented in Henryson in his picture of Cresseid the leper, was dissolved into the general language, where, joining with the tradition of comical satire, it appeared in the language and person of Thersites (a figure very much enlarged from hints in the original story of the Siege). Henryson's stern and elliptic statement of the punishment wrought by Time and Change—Saturn and the Moon—upon Cresseid's beauty carries the concentration of a Scots ballad and the solemn retributory weight of Scots piety, as in the brief epitaph carved upon her tomb of "merbell gray"

Lo, fair ladyis, Cresseid, of Troyis toun,  
Sumtyme countit the flour of Womanheid,  
Under this stane lait Lipper lyis deid.

To encounter such a harsh, incongruous if noble ending joined to the delicate intricacy of Chaucer must have been jarring and bewildering to a sensitive reader ignorant of the history of its composition. Such a sequel would violate rhetorical decorum if read as part of the original, but it might supply a hint to be improved upon. Henryson, while inflicting the full horrors of the spital house upon Cresseid, does not question the beauty of the love that was once between her and Troilus, and her dying remorse and lament belong to an unperplexing if bitter world, where truth is honored even in the breach of it. Shakespeare's exploration of betrayal goes further than either Henryson's or Chaucer's. There is no physical destruction; only, "if beauty have a soule this is not shee".

### III

Compression and inversion direct Shakespeare's use of Chaucer. The original narrative is an inward one; experience, not events form the ground of it.

The double sorwe of Troilus to tellen. . .

Each of Chaucer's five books is represented by one or two scenes in Shakespeare, the division between Chaucer's books corresponding roughly to the division between Shakespeare's acts. Book I, the love woes of Troilus, is represented by I. i; Book II, the wooing of Criseyde, by I. ii (with the scene of Helen, III. i, as appendage—Helen and Paris appear in Chaucer's second book); Book III, the consummation of love, is represented by III. ii; Book IV, the parting by IV. ii and IV. iv; Book V, the betrayal, by V. ii. Chaucer's story is leisurely and, especially in the wooing, he protracted events; throughout, as Shakespeare tells it,

Injurious time now with a robbers hast,  
Cram's his ritch theev'ry up hee knowes not how. (IV. iv. 44-45)

<sup>4</sup> LI, St. John's College, Cambridge. M. R. James, *Catalogue* (1913), p. 274. The "explicit" at the end of the Chaucer would make clear that it was a sequel.

<sup>5</sup> Hyder E. Rollins, "The Troilus-Cressida story from Chaucer to Shakespeare", *P.M.L.A.*, xxxii (1917), 383-429.

Yet the clear inversion of every idealistic feeling save those of Troilus is so relentless that a "mirror image" emerges. As Shakespeare shows them, Pandarus and Cressid distort Chaucer's two subtlest creations, for neither, in their Chaucerian form, is to be found in *Il Filostrato* or any of the earlier accounts; it was precisely to the most original parts of Chaucer that Shakespeare turned for his bitterest refashioning.

Chaucer, in Book I, shows Troilus as absurd and unreasonable; both his lovers are "tetchy"—especially, in Book II, Cresseide. The raging of the hero and the hesitancy of the lady remain none the less wholly sympathetic, whilst in Shakespeare the tetchiness is transferred to Pandarus, whose cheap display of power in his petulance to Troilus conceals the salesman's trick of pretending indifference to stimulate the customer. He next opens his attack on Cressid with the same comparison with Hector that Chaucer's Pandare also employs (Book II, ll. 170-207; cf. I. ii. 50-95) but in Shakespeare by depreciation of the great hero, in Chaucer by admiring comparison. To whet Pandarus, Shakespeare's Cressid mockingly disdains Troilus, while Cresseide frankly acknowledges his prowess. For the delicate and subtle fencing with words between medieval knight and lady, ("I shal felen what he meneth, ywis") there is substituted a frank and brutal exchange, culminating in the open taunt "You are a Bawde"! Cressid's soliloquy proclaims her simple creed, the art of the coquette raised to a Rule of Life, based on the assumption that what is to be looked for in Man is simply "lust in action". Chaucer's Cresseide, on the contrary, will not admit to herself or to Pandare even the natural flattery which she feels at the prospect of a royal lover. She is a young widow, sensitive, loath to make any emotional commitment (Book II, ll. 750-756), but innocent enough to be deceived by Pandare's dramatic threat of a double suicide for himself and Troilus. Though on Pandarus' word, still a virgin ("How now, how now, how go maidenheads?") Shakespeare's Cressid is both wily and raw; unlike Chaucer's lady, she is unmoved by the sight of hacked arms and helm as the hero passes her on his return from battle; at the first interview she betrays her own arts completely to Troilus

Perchance my Lord I show more craft then love. . . . (III. ii. 160)

and, warm from her first encounter, generalizes glibly on her original theme;

Prithee tarry, you men will never tarry,  
O foolish Cresseid, I might have still held of,  
And then you would have tarried. (IV. ii. 15-17)

for Cressid, as Ulysses was shortly to observe, is a natural "daughter of the game".

Chaucer's lady, reading in her chamber, playing with her maidens, conducting her lawsuit under masculine tuition, is gracious and dignified; Pandare, though he does not disguise his ultimate hope that the lovers may be united, does not dare to press even for an interview. She is not ignorant of "the right true end of love" but restrained by modesty and pride. Pandare sees ahead and is content to move slowly; she lives in the moment, as she is later bitterly to acknowledge (Book V, ll. 734-749) so that the delicately complex process of the wooing (which Chaucer admits to spinning out as long as possible, Book III,

ll. 1195 ff.) allows her to dissolve her hesitations only at the last possible moment, after three separate stages in the wooing have been depicted, and several years are supposed to have elapsed.

The wooing itself has acted as "a spur to valiant and magnanimous deeds" and Chaucer's Troilus has become a more renowned fighter "in hope to stonden in his lady grace" while Shakespeare's Troilus is enervated and drawn from the battle by his love. When the play opens, his protracted wooing is nearly over. The actual scene of Cressid's surrender (III. ii.) has several reminiscences of Chaucer. Troilus' rapture

I am giddy; expectation whirles me round. . . . (III. ii. 19)

though it leads him to fear "sounding destruction" is not as acute as that of the medieval knight, who does actually fall in a swoon. At an earlier interview, Chaucer shows him feverish and overcome, for the physiology of wooing, as Chaucer understood it, though it lead to increased valor in war, involves deep disturbance and not unmanly tears (Book III, ll. 57-58, 78-84). All the gasping and palpitating is on the part of the knight, who like Shakespeare's Troilus, forgets his rehearsed speech; the lady remains inwardly calm enough to make even her final surrender with a laugh against herself, though by this time she too quakes like an aspen leaf (Book III, ll. 1210-1). The difference in tone between Shakespeare and Chaucer can be most easily gauged by a comparison of the song in praise of love which Antigone sings to Creseyde (Book II, ll. 827-875) with the bawdy verse that Pandare sings to Helen (III. i. 125-135). Shakespeare's destruction of the character of Pandarus is as thorough as that of Creseyde. In Shakespeare, he gloats over what he does not see with obscene insistence, while in Chaucer, he drily mocks, and comments to himself as he finally settles for a night before the fire. The greeting of Creseyde (or Cressid) next morning (Book III, ll. 1555-1575—cf. IV. ii. 24-34) contrasts very neatly the same jests as spoken in the "high rhetoric" of courtesy and in the "low rhetoric" of the stews.

While described on the title-page of the Quarto as "Prince of Licia", Shakespeare's Pandarus calls Troilus simply his "Lord" and would appear to be on much the same footing as is Parolles to Bertram or that later procurer, Webster's Flamineo, to Brachiano, Pandare in Chaucer is the Prince's comrade in arms, and his loyalty to both lovers is emphasized at the moment of initial success (Book III, ll. 239-343). Creseyde has just received Troilus "to her service" and the ultimate outcome can hardly be doubted, though the lady's feelings must be observed. "My dearest lord and brother", Pandar begins, "I have become for your sake the kind of creature who brings men and women together. Take pity of her; I have betrayed her to you, but don't betray her to the world by boasting of her favours." To which Troilus replies with fervent oaths, and indignant denial that Pandare's act of "compaignie" should be classed as mercenary sale.

Call it gentillesse,  
Compassioun and felawship and trist. (Book III, ll. 402-403)

And he offers to get his own sister for Pandare as recompense—an offer which in Shakespeare is transferred to become part of Pandare's own assault

upon his niece's feelings ("Had I a sister were a grace or a daughter a Goddesse, hee should take his choice"). Far from apologizing for his conduct, Shakespeare's Pandare identifies his role with that of the "traders in the flesh". At the end of the lovers' contract, in which they prophetically sketch their several fates and draw the moral, he bestows his name on "all pitiful goers between to the world's end" and draws in the very spectators to the brothel.

And Cupid grant all tong-tide maidens here,  
Bed, chamber, Pandar to provide this geere. (III. ii. 219-220)

The device is repeated in the epilogue, where Pandarus prays to those members of his Livery present in the audience to condole with him:

As many as be here of *Pandars* hall,  
Your eyes halfe out, weepe out at *Pandars* fall . . . .  
Brethren and sisters of the hold-door trade. . . . (V. x. 48-52)

At the corresponding points in his story, Chaucer too directly addresses his hearers. After the bedchamber scene, he humbly appeals to all lovers to correct and improve his telling of the noble tale; and at the end, his formal address to his book, "litel my tragedie", merges into another to the same "yonge freshe folkes, he or she" to forsake the love of man for the love of God; then comes the dedication to Gower and Strode, and finally the prayer to the Trinity which he took from Dante's *Paradiso*. The human tragedy, while subsumed into something greater, remains beautiful in itself.

Thynketh al nys but a faire,  
This world, that passeth soone as floures faire.

Shakespeare chose to end with a reference to the celebrated brothels of the Bankside owned by the Bishop of Winchester. It completes his lacerative destruction of Chaucer's whole vision, which has already replaced the sensitive Creseyde, and the recklessly devoted, mockingly sympathetic Pandare, by a combine of amateur drab and professional agent.

The lengthy wooing and three years "bliss" of Chaucer's lovers are condensed by Shakespeare into a single meeting and one night's enjoyment. Yet their secret is known to Paris and Aeneas; under pretence of arranging excuses for Troilus, Pandarus has dropt some broad hints. Troilus makes no attempt at concealment and assumes before Diomedes the right to protect Cressid. She herself is the only one to take precautions, when she thrusts Troilus back into her chamber on the arrival of the Lords.

#### IV

With the exchange of Cressid for Antenor, Shakespeare draws his two plots together; the connection with Chaucer grows fainter. In Chaucer, Hector's noble instinct is to refuse the exchange—"We usen here no woman for to selle"<sup>8</sup>—but he is overruled by the mob; while Troilus, who is present at the council, does not speak for fear of compromising Creseyde. Later however both he and Pandare lament at length and propose to abduct Creseyde, who is herself

<sup>8</sup> Compare the refusal to chaffer for Helen in Shakespeare II. ii, and Paris' words to Diomedes, IV. i. 75-78.



the one to counsel moderation and to promise that she will steal or beg her way back to Troy. Shakespeare's Troilus stoically accepts the public decision in which he took no part: "Is it so concluded?" and overrules Cressid, who is hysterically protesting; he promises to corrupt the Greeks sentinels and make his way to her by night. Shakespeare's Troilus is altogether more disciplined and active; Cressid's lament recalls something of the original, though she does not go to the length of threatening suicide (Book IV, ll. 771-777, 813-819, 862-868; cf. IV. ii. 102-115).

Chaucer's Cresseide, handed over in silence by Troilus at the town's end, arrives at the Greek camp half-fainting and is received only by her father.

She . . . stood forth muet, milde, and mansuete. (Book V, ll. 194)

The slow dragging hours of her lover's vigil on the walls, the despair of Cresseide as she gazes at the towers of her home from the Grecian camp, the ruthless skill of Diomedes prepare for the long-delayed end. The prisoner, caught in the war machine, is battered into subjection; she is in essentials the same as the Cressida of Walton's recent opera, and ends so broken that her final pitiful letter shows her incapable even of the consistent lie. Chaucer's lovers, after their parting, never meet again; Troilus, whose eagerness and trust had made him mistake every approaching figure for that of his love, whose obstinacy of belief had persisted against even the damning evidence of the letter, is finally convinced by the sight of his love-token upon Diomedes' captured coat-armor. Pandarus, though his superior insight told him that Cresseide's return was not to be hoped, is as outraged by this proof of infidelity as Troilus himself. The "doctrine" of the ending is set forth in the interpolated passage from Boethius which is put into the mouth of Troilus in Book IV (ll. 958-1078). It is Fate or Necessity which decrees the separation; but only after death can Troilus accept it. Shakespeare's Troilus gives to Cressid in the moment of parting the orthodox religious explanation; they are punished for idolatry;

Cressid, I love thee in so strain'd a purity,  
That the blest Gods as angry with my fancy,  
More bright in zeale then the devotion which  
Cold lippen blow to their deities, take thee from me. (IV. iv. 26-29)

Then, with utmost speed, comes the disaster. If the wooing was condensed, the betrayal is concentrated much further. While Chaucer dwells on the pangs of suspense, and of ebbing hope ("Hope is alwey lesse and lesse, Pandare!" cries Troilus), Shakespeare uses an extreme form of shock, of dramatic reversal and recognition. In the reception scene and the tent scene, by a blinding demonstration, first the spectators and later the hero are shown the quicksands of Cressid's faith.<sup>7</sup> The irony is pointed by Cressid's resumption of her old arts, in words that constantly echo earlier scenes.

I prithe thee do not hold me to mine oath. . . . (V. ii. 26)  
Nay, but you part in anger. . . . (V. ii. 44)  
Come hither once again. . . . (V. ii. 49)

<sup>7</sup> In Henryson there is a sudden similar shock in the smiting of Cressid with leprosy; and later there is a poignant silent encounter of prince and leazar.

and, in reply to Diomedes' "Will you then?" perhaps the savagest line of the play;

In faith I will lo, never trust me else. (V. ii. 59)

After her maudlin tears over the pledge, in which she rises to verse at the thought of Troilus' "memorial dainty kisses" to her glove, she veers again;

Well, well, tis done, tis past; and yet it is not.  
I will not keep my word. (V. ii. 97-98)

Ulysses, who reads her at a glance, watches half-incredulously the despair of Troilus: the gloating of Pandarus is replaced by that of Thersites; three different readings of the event are supplied by the three watchers.

In Chaucer, the evasions, excuses and counter-accusations of Cresseide's final letter to Troilus display the collapse of desperate resistance; but what Shakespeare's Cressid here displays is spontaneous, strange, and yet horribly familiar. Shakespeare's Troilus, like Chaucer's, had had his fears (IV. iv. 79-85; cf. Book IV, ll. 1485-91), but the suddenness and completeness of this metamorphosis destroys more than the image of Cressid; it destroys his whole world. Chaos is come again. The principle of contradiction no longer applies; a thing may be itself and also something else.

If there be rule in unities it selfe.  
This was not shee. (V. ii. 141-142)

If beauty have a soul<sup>a</sup>—if the outward and inward ever correspond to each other—this is not she; the existence of truth, of the womanhood that was in "our mothers", of sanctimony itself is questioned. Chaucer's hero accepts his fate as divinely ordained: Shakespeare's hero inhabits a world in which the natural sequence of events ("discourse of reason" as they are perceived) is utterly suspended. The varying and incompatible points of view represented by the three watchers are not further apart than the incompatible fighting within Troilus himself. From such a world the gods are altogether absent and, when at last they reappear in the last scene of all, they are hostile.

Frowne on, you heavens, effect your rage with speed,  
Sit gods upon your thrones, and smile at Troy. (V. x. 8-10)

For to Shakespeare, the agony of Troilus over Cressid's falsehood is distanced and given final perspective, not as in Chaucer by the hero's death and the enlarged world of the epilogue, but by its place in the greater story. Hector falls by the unchivalrous butchery of the Myrmidons; but Troilus himself is in no chivalrous mood by then. In Hector's death, which leaves him the champion of a doomed city, Troilus finds the "moment of truth";<sup>b</sup> and the Folio text borrows a climax of Chaucer.

March away;  
Hector is dead; there is no more to say. (V. x. 21-22)

*Namore to seye.* No more indeed, but the final testament; which is not

<sup>a</sup> The various uses of the word *soul* in this scene are worth exploring.

<sup>b</sup> The manner of Hector's death is taken from the accounts in Lydgate and Caxton of Troilus' own death.





This fine woodcut of the judgment of Solomon is at the foot of the illustration of Elizabeth I's proclamation of the Great Lottery, in which there were no blanks. It suggests the scrupulous honesty with which the Lottery would be managed. See Frontispiece and p. 436.

# Edward Alleyn and Henslowe's Will

JOHN BRILEY



OME difficult questions about Edward Alleyn, Philip Henslowe, and their property interests on the Bankside have been raised by William Rendle and Professor C. J. Sisson. They may now be answered in considerable part by the results of further work at the Public Record Office.

In 1887 Rendle discovered the depositions of a suit in Chancery in which John Henslowe, Philip's nephew, sued Alleyn, Agnes Henslowe, and Roger Cole for confederacy in the preparation of Henslowe's will, for illegally suppressing a formerly written will, and for criminally misrepresenting the extent of Henslowe's estate.<sup>1</sup> The depositions in that suit provided a good deal of biographical information about Henslowe's last hours, his relationship with Agnes and others in his family, and the handling of his property in Surrey. Sir Walter Greg subsequently used this material extensively in his introduction to *Henslowe's Diary*.<sup>2</sup>

In 1929 Prof. Sisson added to our knowledge through the discovery of a Star Chamber suit instigated by John Henslowe and William Henslowe, Philip's younger brother, against the defendants in the Chancery suit and also the principal witnesses in that suit, charging them, collectively, with perjury and collusion in Chancery, and Alleyn, individually, with subornation to perjury.<sup>3</sup> Although the discovery of this action brought much new information to light, it left the question of the final settlement of the issues in the case still unresolved. On the basis of the information given in the discovered documents, Rendle, Greg, E. K. Chambers, and Sisson all came to the conclusion that Alleyn was essentially guiltless and had undoubtedly won the case. Only Sisson,

<sup>1</sup> Rendle, Wm., "Phillip Henslowe", *Genealogist*, n.s., IV, 149-159. Rendle's transcription, though accurate, did not include two very interesting items in the Chancery depositions. Agnes Ridgeway, wife of Nicholas Ridgeway of St. Saviours, Southwark, testified that she had many times heard that Philip has been servant to Anne and that "he was once in prison for more than he was then worthe and that . . . Hugh Davies . . . [her] . . . former husband . . . did bayle him out of prison." Jacob Meade gave a succinct comment on Henslowe's character, and indirectly his own. He stated that he did verily "Thinck that the Industrie & care of the defendant Allin was a chief meanes of the Bettering the Estate of the said Phillip Henslow, But [he did] not remember that ever he heard the said Phillip in his lief tyme acknowledge so much." The full testimony of Mrs. Ridgeway and others, incidentally, makes it clear that Philip's anger with John arose from an accusation by John that Philip had misused John's estate when Philip was administrator of John's father's will. Philip was arrested at John's charge and only after the intercession of many parties friendly to both was the suit dropped. Philip evidently never completely forgave him.

<sup>2</sup> Greg, W. W., *Henslowe's Diary* (London, 1904), II, 18-21 *et passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Sisson, C. J., "Henslowe's Will Again", *RES*, V (July 1929), 308-311.

on the evidence of his new material, was able to suggest that most of Henslowe's property did not, in fact, go to Alleyn, as had so long been assumed.

By the time Edward Alleyn left the stage near the end of the 16th Century, he and Philip Henslowe were closely tied to each other both financially and personally. Early in the course of their many joint enterprises Alleyn had married Agnes Henslowe's daughter, Philip's stepchild. When Philip died, Agnes, already "a hundred years ould" (Star Chamber testimony, Sisson, p. 311), was named his principal heir. John Henslowe, Philip's nephew, seeing that everything of Philip's would go, after Agnes' imminent death, to her daughter and thence to Alleyn, promptly set about to thwart Agnes' claim and to push his own, as legal heir of Philip.

The new material that is now available to us makes it possible to trace the full course of the litigation, which in the end went through seven suits in three different courts and did not end until all its principals, John Henslowe, Agnes Henslowe, and Alleyn, were dead. The material was gathered largely from the reports of the Masters of the Chancery Court and from the bills and decrees of that Court. It leads us to a necessary reappraisal of Henslowe's property, and strongly suggests that Alleyn's failure to gain a final court victory was some measure of his culpability in the offenses with which John and William charged him.

Through the testimony in the Star Chamber suit, Sisson was able to detail with great accuracy the course of events between the opening of the suit in Chancery and the suit in Star Chamber. Concerning this part of the proceedings it is only for me to add that Alleyn's success in getting the case dismissed in the lower court was not gained without difficulty. The first report on the case, given by Mr. Moore, one of the Masters of the Court, found that Alleyn's answer to John's charges were wholly inadequate and that the swift probate of the will (Philip had died on a Saturday, Alleyn had the will proved the next day) might "induce the greater suspicion of the practice to sett on foote the supposed will."<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after this, on the 23rd of April, 1616—peculiar that it should be the very day of Shakespeare's death—Alleyn was ordered to bring Philip's will into court along with all other relevant papers.<sup>5</sup> On the 9th of May he signed an affidavit stating that he had done so and that the particulars therein were contained in an indenture held by the Usher of the Court and himself and were also "sett down in a paper . . . under the hand of Robert Daieborne gent". To this affidavit was appended one by Agnes, also dated 9 May 1616, stating that she had turned all such writings and evidences as she had in her custody over to Alleyn.<sup>6</sup>

By the 17th of June John had sworn in court that Alleyn and Agnes were guilty of holding back certain leases contrary to their sworn affidavits.<sup>7</sup> These included the leases of the Fortune Playhouse and the Unicorn. John itemized them as "one lease of M<sup>r</sup> Learnard Bilson to M<sup>r</sup> Henslowe; one other lease from M<sup>r</sup> James Russell deceased to M<sup>r</sup> Hensloe; one other lease hold from his

<sup>4</sup> Chancery, Masters' Reports and Certificates, C38/25.

<sup>5</sup> Chancery, Bills and Decrees, *Henslowe vs. Allen, Henslowe & Cole*, C33/132.

<sup>6</sup> Chancery, Affidavits, Mich. 1616, C31/2.

<sup>7</sup> Chancery, Affidavits, Trinity 1616, C31/1A.



Ma<sup>48</sup> which hee bought of one M<sup>r</sup> Keyes. The moitie of one other lease from the def: Allen made to the same Phillip Henslowe."<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Moore was asked by the court to report on John's claim, and on June 25th this report was submitted: Agnes had indeed "conveyed fower other seuerrall leases enquired of . . . to parties trusted to the use of him the deft", and, in the opinion of the Master of the Court, Alleyn "cunningly [sought] to retayne in his handes the principall leases & writings belonging to thestate of the said Henslowe."<sup>9</sup>

On the 15th of October the court ordered Alleyn to present himself and explain the missing papers or he would be imprisoned in the Fleet. Alleyn appeared two days later and the court decided that one of the Masters, Mr. Wolveridge, was to determine whether or not he was guilty of contempt. About a week later, the 26th of October, John, making sure that Alleyn was spared nothing, drew the court's attention to the fact that Mr. Wolveridge had gone out of town for a fortnight and requested that the issue of contempt be investigated by another Master. The court acceded and Mr. Moore was again assigned to deal with the case. The charge of contempt was finally dismissed on the 1st of February, 1616/7, when it was ruled that Alleyn had failed only to bring in some "petty" leases. This happened at a period when settlement seemed imminent through the intercession of the Lord Chancellor, who urged both parties to arbitrate so that further suits from the case might be avoided.<sup>10</sup>

Settlement did not come, however, and after the ruling that the case be decided at Common Law, John was joined by his uncle, William Henslowe, in entering the new suit in Star Chamber. The first reply to their charges in the higher court was a joint answer by all the defendants which Sisson has reported at large. Evidently this answer was ruled insufficient, however, for each defendant was ordered to make separate and complete answer to the individual charges in the plaintiffs' bill. (These answers are also considered in Sisson's article.) Between the two sets of answers, however, another suit was opened in Chancery, this one between Alleyn and William Henslowe. Alleyn charged that William "with diurse other persons his associates & insinuating himself into the companie of diurse of the pites tennantes and servntes by that means gott into the mansion house called the Beare Garden and kept both the possession thereof and of all the tenementes thervnto belonging and of the evidences and writings." Alleyn added that he, himself, had lawfully possessed the Bear Garden and the tenements belonging to it "worth a 100<sup>l</sup> per anno at the least ever since the death of on Agnes Henslow late wife of Phillip Henslow deceased." William's answer to this was a denial that he had any evidences or

<sup>9</sup> Agnes was evidently ready to sign these leases over to Gregory Franklyn, Drewe Stapely, and John Hammond according to a muniment dated 15 February (1616), now at Dulwich College (Warner, George F., *Catalogue of Manuscripts and Muniments at Dulwich College*, London, 1881, pp. 241-242). The assignment was never executed. The last lease referred to was the lease for the Fortune Playhouse (Warner, p. 241). The one purchased from Keyes is for the Unicorn. A very important discussion of this lease appears in *Archaeologia*, n.s., XX, 155-178. The article appeared too late for discussion in Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage*, but it gives a great deal of useful information. The lease is also referred to in Warner, p. 260. For more information on these leases see Warner, MS. V., p. 144 and Muniment 53.

<sup>10</sup> Chancery, Masters' Reports and Certificates, C38/25.

<sup>11</sup> Chancery, Bills and Decrees, *Henslowe vs. Allen, Henslowe & Cole*, C33/132.

writings and that he had right of possession through the interest and tenure of years of Philip Henslowe of and in the premises which had "lawfully (as he hopeth to proue) come vnto him."<sup>11</sup>

After the second set of Star Chamber answers, the last of which is dated 22 July 1617, there was a long period of inactivity on both sides. By October William's answer to Alleyn (which does not exist) had been declared insufficient and he was ordered to prepare a fuller one. On the 20th of that month he did so and it was referred, at his request, to Mr. Wolveridge and Mr. Hussey, two Masters of the Court.<sup>12</sup>

Then, on November 17, he unexpectedly reversed roles and brought charges against Alleyn in still another Chancery suit. This complaint charged Alleyn with the same matters that were brought against him in the Chancery suit entered by John and the suit of John and William in the Star Chamber. This time, however, a more serious allegation was added to the others. In William's words, after Philip died,

vpvpon the funerall daye at such tyme as all were at the buryall of the said Phillip the said Allen pretendinge himselfe sicke staid in the house behind the companie & then did possesse himself of the form will and conveyed away out of the house the sd Phillips Jewells plate readie money & other thinges to the value of 7000<sup>l</sup> more at the least after w<sup>ch</sup> the sd Agnes dyed about half a yeare since & by meanes of her death the said great estate of 14000<sup>l</sup> (.....) & fraudulently gotten by the sd Allen doth belong to the sd Wm Henslow the peticoner as the onlie brother & heire of the sd Phillip. But forasmuch as the sd Allen hath supp<sup>d</sup>sed the form<sup>r</sup> will of the sd [Allen Henslowe] Phillip & the sd peticoner is a poore man of the age of 66 yeare & destitute of meanes & frendes to oversee a suit at lawe w<sup>ch</sup> the sd Allen beinge a man of great wealth and alliance therfore he the sd peticoner humble desires His L<sup>op</sup> to referr the summary hearinge

to one of the Masters of the Court.<sup>13</sup>

Alleyn protested this move with great vigor, calling William's petition "scandalous", explaining the suits already in progress, and asking that there be a summary hearing of the whole matter. The court was adamant, however, and he was ordered to answer the bill. "The Cause [was] to be proceeded on in an ordinary course in Chancery."<sup>14</sup>

On the tenth of December there is a reference in the Chancery Bills and Decrees to the initial suit between John and Alleyn that explains William's entry into the legal lists as a champion of his own claim. The clerk recorded that the plaintiff is now "latelye deceased" and the court orders that it will

<sup>11</sup> Chancery, Masters' Reports and Certificates, C38/28. It would seem that Jacob Meade took advantage of the dispute over the Bear Garden to avoid rental payments and, perhaps, to line his pockets too. In a petition to William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Lord Chamberlain, written in 1619 Alleyn complained that Jacob "doth not paye your petitioner the rent of 100<sup>l</sup> per anno for the house [Bear Garden], but refuseth to paye it, and combineth with those [who] oppose your petitioners title." Besides evading the rent, Jacob's action may have had another incentive, for among the muniments at Dulwich there is record of an assignment of a lease to him by William Henslowe of a messuage in Southwark in tenure of William Parsons, one of Henslowe's nephews-in-law (Warner, *Mun.* 172, p. 268). The petition to the Earl of Pembroke is printed by John Payne Collier in *The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn* (London, 1841), p. 160.

<sup>12</sup> Chancery, Bills and Decrees, *Allen vs. Henslowe*, C33/134.

<sup>13</sup> Chancery, Bill and Decrees, *Henslowe vs. Allen*, C33/134.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

relinquish possession of the writings it now holds to Alleyn unless the parties of the plaintiff show cause why he should not have them on bond to be returned ten days after notification by the court.<sup>15</sup>

William, who by now had little reason to advocate John's claim to be legal heir of Philip, let this opportunity drop and on the 17th Alleyn records in his diary an expense of one shilling for "water to fetch my Evidences from y<sup>e</sup> Chancerie".<sup>16</sup>

On the 16th of February, 1617/8, Philip's funeral sermon was at last delivered.<sup>17</sup> It was the first indication that a settlement was about to be made. On the 23rd of February Alleyn records a charge of five shillings for a "Diner att ye rede Cross w<sup>t</sup> Tho: Allen, tuchborn & Lookes for W: Henslo."<sup>18</sup> Four days after that he pays eight pence for "wine w<sup>t</sup> Willyam Henslo". There are a few more entries that indicate a growing amity and finally on July 3rd, "we drwd vp y<sup>e</sup> patten for y<sup>e</sup> corporacion & after Tho: Allen W:H: diind att y<sup>e</sup> red cross whear we agred of our commissioners. . . ."<sup>19</sup>

On the 29th of September Alleyn made an entry in the diary that indicates how warmly he welcomed the hope of settlement:

Here end ye years account begining at Michellmasse 1617 and ending this Michellmasse 1618 . . . wheroff in periculers as followeth:  
for lawe ye worst of awe . . . 067/05/03<sup>20</sup>

On the 24th of October the seal of concord was impressively strengthened. Again the diary provides our source, "W:He: & I mett & seald a bond of a 1000<sup>l</sup> to stand to an award pd for ye bond to mason . . . 0/0/8."<sup>21</sup> From this date forward there is a continual record of harmony, or at least unbelligerent association, between Alleyn and Henslowe until March 1, 1618/9, when, according to Alleyn, "will Hensloe diind w<sup>t</sup> vs & we seald our wrighting of peac."<sup>22</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Chancery, Bills and Decrees, *Henslowe vs. Allen, Henslowe & Cole*, C33/134.

<sup>16</sup> Young, William, *The History of Dulwich College*, with a Life of the Founder, Edward Alleyn, and an accurate transcript of his Diary, 1617-1622 (London, 1889), I, 59. Many hitherto unexplained entries in Alleyn's Diary (e.g., entries on pages 66, 84, 116 and many others) along with many documents among the muniments at Dulwich (e.g., MS. V 281, p. 142, MS. II 35, p. 81) are explained by the series of court actions described in this paper. It also solves many difficulties that have hindered attempts to account for property dealings after Henslowe's death (e.g., see Greg, II, 24, 26, 31).

<sup>17</sup> Rendle, p. 153 n.

<sup>18</sup> Young, p. 71.

<sup>19</sup> Young, p. 93.

<sup>20</sup> Young, p. 108.

<sup>21</sup> Young, p. 111.

<sup>22</sup> Young, p. 125. After the signing of the peace Alleyn continues to record meetings with William for about two months. After that there are only three entries in the diary that concern him. The first occurs two years later on the 23rd of June, 1621. It reads "for a copie off y<sup>e</sup> juries names for Henslowe . . . 0/0/6." The second comes later in the same year on the 28th of October: "pd m<sup>r</sup> Hollman for will Hensloes sut . . . 2/0/0." The last entry comes on the 4th of July in the next year, 1622: "pd for making a vacate on y<sup>e</sup> rowls for Henslows sut . . . 0/12/." It has generally been assumed that these entries refer to another action between Alleyn and Henslowe, but I believe this conclusion is wrong. In 1623 the Attorney-General sued William Henslowe and Jacob Meade in a dispute over land held jointly by Henslowe and Meade (*Archaeologia*, n.s., XX, 155-178). In the course of that litigation Alleyn became the central figure and his interest in the contested lands seems to have been greater than that of the supposed title holders, Meade and Henslowe. Indeed the contested property was later willed to his second wife (Greg, II, 25). I conclude from the available testimony in this suit that at this date (1623)

The settlement with William, whatever it meant to Alleyn's purse, was not restricted to a mere agreement between the two of them. Shortly after the pact, on April 11th to be exact, Alleyn was ordered by the Chancery Court to bring the evidences and writings he had in his possession back into court because the Master of the Rolls had that day been informed "on behalf of William Henslowe, Willm Parsons, Ann his wief and Mary Addington who clayme the said wryteing and evidence [sic] by the will of Phillip Hensloe deceased" that the documents should, of right, be theirs.<sup>23</sup>

On December 4th, 1620,

In the presence of the said m Allen and of Willm Henslowe A legatee Philipp Henslowe the heyre of the said John Henslowe deceased Ann persons A legatee . . . all the said deedes eydences & wryteinges were viewed and perused and the same were nowe distributed & deliured to every on of the parties seu'ally vnto whom the same do seu'ally belonge by the mutuall Assent of the said parties

excepting only some devised to Mary Addington "who was not nowe present". After her death her inheritance was to go to the young Philip, who asked the court to hold Mary's bequests for safekeeping. A "vacat was made to be deliued up to the said M<sup>r</sup> Allen to be cancelled."<sup>24</sup>

On the 28th of June, 1623, Joan Alleyn died.

The peace was kept for the next two years. Then on the 18th of May, 1625, a Bill of Complaint was entered in Chancery by William and Ann Parsons against Alleyn, praying for an injunction to stay his suit against them for an unfulfilled bond of £500 on the grounds that he had obtained the bond by a neglected promise to procure them a lease from Agnes Henslowe for 21 years, or the term of her life, of messuages, etc., called the "Boares Head" on the Bankside, in Southwark, which had been bequeathed her by Philip with the remainder to Ann.<sup>25</sup>

On the first of May a year later more trouble broke out. Among the Chancery Bills and Decrees it was noted that on the 14th of November, 1617,

by consent of these parties [Alleyn, John Henslowe, Agnes Henslowe and Roger Cole] It was ordered that the debt Allen shold pay the annuitie of 30<sup>d</sup> yearelie to the wife of one Cookeson in that order named. . . . Vppon the opening of the matter this presente day . . . it was alledged that the said Mrs Cookesons husband being dead the said widowe cannot of late get the said annuity paid vnto her . . . it being all the livelihood of the said Widowe. . . . It is therevpon thoght meet and so ordered . . . that Sir John Michall Kt . . . shall call the parties before him . . . and if he shall find any behind and vnpaid then to appoint a day when the same ought to be paid and make certiff therof to this Cort. . . ."<sup>26</sup>

Alleyn and Henslowe were still on good terms and that the wording of the entries cited suggests that when Alleyn said he obtained a copy of the jury's names "for Henslowe", he meant just that. I think it probable that some property which passed to Henslowe in the compromise (which must have come with the signing of the peace) came into dispute and that Alleyn, voluntarily or otherwise, assumed some of the legal burden growing out of the difficulty.

<sup>23</sup> Chancery, Bills and Decrees, *Henslowe vs. Allen, Henslowe & Cole*, C33/138.

<sup>24</sup> C33/140.

<sup>25</sup> Warner, *Mun.* 182, p. 270.

<sup>26</sup> Chancery, Bills and Decrees, *Henslowe vs. Allen, Henslowe & Cole*, C33/152 and 151. From

The last document we have is dated 21 November, 1626. In the Chancery Bills and Decrees it is recorded that Philip Henslowe, son and heir of John Henslowe, having obtained the "full consent" of Mary Addington, took into his possession the writings and evidences that were held by the Usher of the Court in Mary's behalf by the order of 4 December, 1620.<sup>27</sup>

Five days later, on the 26th of November, Edward Alleyn died. Whether hearings were ever held on his dispute with the Parsons or his failure to continue the payments to Mrs. Cookeson, we are likely never to know, for no record of such hearings exists in the Chancery Bills and Decrees or in the Masters' Reports.

So, over ten years after it was begun, the case of John Henslowe vs. Edward Alleyn, Agnes Henslowe, and Roger Cole finally came to an end.

Can we indict either Alleyn or the Henslowes from the evidence the documents so richly provide us? After living with the facts for some time, I am inclined to believe we can quite certainly settle some questions, but, as is so often the case with human beings, I think it would be both unfair and inaccurate to single out only one side of the dispute for reproof.

In my own mind Alleyn must be accounted the greatest offender. No one can read through his financial diary without being impressed by his truly great generosity or his essential Christianity; nevertheless, no one can ignore, from the same evidence, that he was a very shrewd, and often unscrupulous, man with the law. After reading the full testimonies of both the Chancery and Star Chamber suits, I have no doubt that their description of Henslowe's last hours is reasonably accurate. I do, however, gravely mistrust the reported valuation of Henslowe's estate, and I suspect that the legacies Philip intended to leave his family after Agnes' death were considerably greater than they would have received if they hadn't disputed Alleyn's stand in court.

Most of the evidence for this assumption is circumstantial, but I believe it to be quite strong. In the first place the proof most often adduced to support the heretofore universally accepted thesis that Alleyn won his dispute with John Henslowe has been the fact that shortly after Philip's death Alleyn forgave £200 of a £400 debt due Henslowe from the Prince Palatine's Players.<sup>28</sup> The very same document refers to other "private debts borrowed of the said Phillip" by the players. Alleyn states (in his Star Chamber answer) that on his death Philip's debts amounted to another £400. This would mean that the financially shrewd Mr. Henslowe, with a total capital of only a little over £1700, £400 of which was mortgaged, lent the rather unstable Prince Palatine's Players over one-third of his true worth.

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the full testimony of the initial Chancery suit, it is clear that Mrs. Cookeson (spelled Cuckson by Greg and others) was Phillip's sister.

<sup>27</sup> C33/153.

<sup>28</sup> Collier, *Memoirs*, p. 129. The Prince Palatine's Players are not mentioned by Greg or Chambers, though both refer to the agreement cited between Alleyn and Meade on the one hand and a group led by William Rowley and Robert Pallant on the other. Greg (II, 140) does point out that the company referred to had been broken and reformed five times in three years—largely by the dealings of Phillip Henslowe—but he always calls them the Lady Elizabeth's Men. Where Collier got the name Prince Palatine Players I am not sure, but I have followed him in using it since it seems a useful way of distinguishing one of the many forms of the Lady Elizabeth's Company. Collier was the first to publish the document and associated it with this name then.

In 1610, when I believe it is safe to assume he was probably less affluent than he was at his death, Philip paid Alleyn £580 for his interest in the Bear Garden<sup>29</sup>—an investment of almost half his reputed true worth, according to Alleyn's statements. Another recently discovered document shows Alleyn and Henslowe jointly appealing to the Lord Treasurer for £906/10/0 for expenses incurred in bearbaiting—only one of Philip's many activities.<sup>30</sup> Part of this expense occurred after Philip's death, but at the rate of expenditure (£178/10—over 10% of his reputed true worth—per annum), a man with only £1300 of unmortgaged assets would soon have been bankrupt.

John Payne Collier also records some relevant notes written on a copy of the depositions of the Chancery suit now among the muniments at Dulwich.<sup>31</sup> Collier postulates that they were put there by Alleyn's attorney. They tend to throw some doubt on crucial items in the final depositions that exist in the Chancery records. The notes Collier transcribes:

4 not of memorie in the forenoone

5 a will precedent suppressed

6 The Thursday before he died he said he had made a will, written with his owne hand, but not finished, but he would doe it.

9 To the 9th interr: he was not of perfitt memorie to his understandinge Mich [sic] Shepd 6 he knoweth not, but hath heard of a former will: he hath heard that Allen and Cole perswaded P.H. to make a will.

22. Vppon Saturday morininge, at 8 of the clocke, Mr Allen sayd he was sicke and not fitt to receive money: he is perswaded he was not fitt at that tyme to have disposed of his estate. . . . He being asked if he heard them pray for him, he answered noe.

The references in these notes to a former will and to Philip's condition on his death directly contradict the testimony of the witnesses as recorded on their court answers. It would seem that the testimony had been prearranged in an effort to hide the true facts . . . as someone, probably Sheppard, saw them. It is not irrelevant to point out that even in the court answers Sheppard, who was Cole's clerk and present at the making of the disputed will, was very cautious and non-committal. He is the only witness to qualify his remarks about the soundness of Henslowe's mind, saying, "the testato<sup>r</sup> being of reasonable good vnderstanding, though not very quick of Apphension".<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Greg, II, 38.

<sup>30</sup> Briley, J., "Of Stake and Stage", *Shakespeare Survey* 8 (1955), pp. 106-108. This document shows, incidentally, that Alleyn regained possession of the Bear Garden in 1617.

<sup>31</sup> Collier, pp. 125-126. There is no reason to discredit these notes. Unlike the Collier forgeries, these notes offered no "usable" new information, nor did they support Collier's own stand. In fact, he, like the other stage historians who have treated the case, concluded that Alleyn must have won it, pp. 127-128.

<sup>32</sup> It is legally unethical, but nonetheless interesting, to point out that in the Unicorn suit (Exchequer Depositions 18 James I, Mich. 10, *Attorney General vs. Wm. Henslowe & Jacob Meade*), among the interrogatories of the Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bilson, is this: "21. Item what speeche or conference hath the said Edward Allen or any other on his behalf had and were used to you touching or Concerning the said things now in question or any of them, And when, where, and in whose presence and to what end or purpose And what reward or promise of reward was there given or made to you to yeild yo<sup>r</sup> testimonie, or to be witnes for him therein Saye also the truth of yo<sup>r</sup> knowledge therein." Unfortunately no answers exist. (The interrogatory transcribed above does not appear in the account of the suit given in the article in *Archaeologia* referred to earlier in this paper.)



Other evidence that I consider relevant occurs in Alleyn's transactions. Chambers states that he had spent £10,000 on the College at Dulwich by 1614.<sup>83</sup> His expenses alone from Michaelmas 1617 to Michaelmas 1618 totaled £1912/19/03<sup>84</sup> and from Michaelmas 1621 to Michaelmas 1622 they were almost £2500.<sup>85</sup> It is inconceivable to me either that Henslowe had let his own fortunes become so relatively precarious or that Alleyn was so vastly more wealthy than he. Furthermore it seems likely that William Henslowe's undisputed tale of Alleyn's staying behind during the funeral to seize Philip's moveables had at least an element of truth in it since the "peace" followed so abruptly on its appearance. The very settlement itself suggests Alleyn's guilt, and that William Henslowe, who at the beginning of the suit claimed he lacked the funds to provide himself an attorney, could post a £1000 bond after holding only a small portion of Philip's estate for a short time is proof just short of documentary that Alleyn's inventory was grossly false.<sup>86</sup> It should also be noted that the young Philip Henslowe is always specifically referred to as the heir of John Henslowe in the court orders following the settlement, as though his claim came through his father's right and not directly from Philip as it would have if the disputed will had been accepted even as the basis of agreement. It even suggests that the alleged previous will might have existed—might even have been found, a circumstance that would have weakened Alleyn's position immeasurably.

The most inescapably incriminating evidence against Alleyn, I believe, was his unethically swift probate of the will, which would certainly have been unnecessary if, as he claimed, most of Henslowe's estate was to go to the testator's family after Agnes' death anyway. His claim that his action was in the interest of Agnes who, he also claimed, might not live out the day is ludicrously self-defeating. It might also be noted that his sedulous interest in securing money and properties for the old and feeble Agnes, who by his own words was expected to die at any moment, was not the single possible attitude for an enormously wealthy son-in-law. This is especially so, if, as he claimed, the money and property were to revert to the people who were contesting the will anyway.

The culpability of John and William is more obvious and is fully documented in the Star Chamber material unearthed by Sisson. These two obviously felt that Alleyn was trying to rob them of what Fortune had almost guaranteed them since Philip's marriage to Agnes. To reach the end of their rainbow, they screamed loudly and recklessly; but, however opportunistic and mendacious they may have been, I cannot but feel that they were in the right legally, and, even in the wild, promiscuous attacks of that Star Chamber suit, were acting on what they must have assumed was the truth in the face of Alleyn's

<sup>83</sup> Chambers, Sir E. K., *Elizabethan Stage*, II, 298.

<sup>84</sup> Young, p. 175.

<sup>85</sup> Young, p. 190.

<sup>86</sup> The testimony of the witnesses in the first Chancery suit leaves little doubt that Philip's relatives were exceedingly poor at the time of his death. One of the witnesses, Mr. Griffin, declares that he had given John Henslowe a copy of Philip's inventory because he could not afford to get one made in the ecclesiastical court. That William was not poor *after* the "peace" is amply attested by the testimony in the suit against the Attorney General previously referred to and the references to him as a property holder in other suits and in the maniments at Dulwich.

shrewder maneuvering—for that, to me, is the most generous name that can be given it.

I believe this new information forces us to conclude that Philip Henslowe's estate was several times larger than has heretofore been accepted; that Alleyn did, legally or otherwise, come into a large part of it, but that Philip's family also shared a good portion of it. At the very least, this new material demands a reappraisal of John Henslowe's statements about Henslowe's property, a "former" will, and Alleyn's actions before and after Henslowe's death. It also calls for another look at the scene at Henslowe's death bed, which, far from being the serene picture Sisson could draw from the unfinished testimony in the Star Chamber, was evidently one colored thickly in the ugly hues of greed, subterfuge, and hate. In this clouded scene, the great actor who created the roles of Hieronymo and Tamburlaine walked only as Mr. Edward Alleyn, but he needed no playwright to fill it with drama and the disturbing presence of human weakness and evil.

#### London

## What Happens in *Coriolanus*

SAILENDRA KUMAR SEN



HAT happens in *Coriolanus* is something so unusual from the point of view of what one ordinarily expects to happen in Shakespearian tragedy, that the matter deserves close examination.

It is precisely because this play does not in one very important respect conform to the expected pattern that it becomes difficult for the reader to define his reactions to it. Critics talk about this play in language which would at moments suggest that they are not discussing the same play. Bradley considers that the "inward struggle" of the hero in the latter part is of absorbing interest.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Granville-Barker declares that "Marcus is by no means a sympathetic character"—we cannot "put ourselves imaginatively in his place"—that "we are never wholly at one with him, never made free of the inward man". His final judgment on *Coriolanus* is even more explicit: "Coriolanus, then, is a character not inwardly evolved, as the greater tragic characters are, but seen from without".<sup>2</sup> The reader could be excused if he felt that Bradley and Granville-Barker cannot be both right. He has a feeling of discomfort, that he has been left with the task of resolving the contradiction which the acceptance of the views of these two great critics involves.

Critics cannot be expected to agree about everything in Shakespeare any more than it can be hoped that one can reach positive opinions about everything in life, but I believe there is no other play of Shakespeare in which such fundamental disagreement on the central problem exists.

To take very recent examples, three articles contributed to *Essays in Criticism* reflect this division of opinion. The earliest, by Huntington Brown (July 1953), endorses Granville-Barker's opinion of *Coriolanus*, and establishes a method of analysis which would help to understand Shakespeare's intentions regarding him, as well as Timon and Titus: the three "unsympathetic" heroes. We shall try to show that in the case of *Coriolanus* a different method of analysis is desirable. For the present, it may be noted, that Mr. Brown does not recognize the presence in it of a genuine conflict. Though in one place he concedes to Bradley that in the latter part of the play we witness an inward struggle, it is not clear what exactly he means, for he immediately adds that "the inward man is virtually a duplicate of the outward". There is no other character, says he, "in the role of protagonist, with whom we are less inclined to identify ourselves"; "we seem to see all there is of him from the outside." The same analysis is repeated in part in Mr. D. J. Enright's essay (January

<sup>1</sup> A. C. Bradley: *Shakespearean Tragedy* (Second Edition, London, 1924), p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> H. Granville-Barker: *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, fifth series (London, 1946), pp. 10, 18.

1954). Coriolanus, it is argued, is a character who does not "emerge from his own words—he is indeed so little introspective"—but is "described . . . heavily from outside", by Volumnia, Cominius, Menenius, Titus Lartius, Aufidius, the officers, the Tribunes, and the people. There is "no real conflict present in the play other than that of the 'adventure story', that of sword against sword"; and the writer's disappointment with the play is reflected in the title of the essay, in which he asks if it is a tragedy or a debate. In sharp opposition to Mr. Brown and to him is Mr. Ivor Browning (January 1955), who maintains that the play is a tragedy, that the hero is brought to grief (presumably like other Shakespearian heroes) through an "inner contradiction in his personality."

Our own analysis can start from fundamentals.

It is the essence of the Shakespearian conception of the tragic hero that he is a person whose mind is torn by a conflict; it is a house divided against itself.

. . . and the state of man,  
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then  
The nature of an insurrection.

(*Julius Caesar*)

Macbeth, Hamlet, Othello, Brutus are men struggling with something in their own nature. It would not be true to say that they all give evidence of being worried with a divided mind from their very first appearance, and in the case of at least one—Othello—a conflict is evident only after the action has made considerable progress. But when the conflict has once taken shape, it gains a firm hold on them. They struggle in its grip, and we watch, terrified, fascinated; their powerful natures suffer an upheaval, and the spectacle is at once terrifying and fascinating, as spectacles of mighty forces interlocked in a self-destroying struggle always are; but the grip on them does not loosen; the conflict does not cease before death, or, as with Macbeth, before spiritual death.

Where Coriolanus differs from them is in the method of presentation of this inward conflict. Our twofold contention is: (1) that the existence of an inward conflict has to be recognized—we do not subscribe to the view that this kind of conflict is not present in our play; (2) but that the method of its portrayal has a striking peculiarity, which places this play in a separate class from the great tragedies and perhaps may account for our sense of dissatisfaction with it.

An analysis of the nature and course of this conflict appears to be necessary.

## II

Marcus dominates the first act of the play—there is hardly a moment in it when we are not in his presence or do not hear him described by others—but there is no suggestion in him of indecision or introspectiveness, of elements of character or temperament which might alert us to prepare ourselves for the emergence in him of the tragic conflict. We wonder if Shakespeare has at last given us, for tragic hero, a character not torn by mental strife. To do this, however, as we presently discover, is to make a mistake about Coriolanus. From that moment in the second act when his name is proposed for the office of consul, this simple and haughty soldier betrays the signs of mental agitation.

We can indeed exactly locate this moment. It is when Coriolanus is told after the meeting of the Senate that he has got its nomination and that he should now go to the people for approval.

Cor.

I do beseech you,

Let me o'erleap that custom, for I cannot  
Put on the gown, stand naked, and entreat them,  
For my wounds' sake, to give their suffrage: please you,  
That I may pass this doing.

It is a part

That I shall blush in acting, and might well  
Be taken from the people.

To brag unto them, thus I did, and thus;  
Show them the unaching scars which I should hide,  
As if I had receiv'd them for the hire  
Of their breath only.

(II. ii. 139-155)<sup>3</sup>

Coriolanus, we tell ourselves, is now behaving more like a Shakespearian tragic hero. Shakespeare has modified Plutarch's description of the character and activities of this man in more than one particular, to prepare the ground for the tragic conflict which now emerges in him.

(1) I have not seen it noticed before that in the play the suggestion that Coriolanus should stand for the consulship comes from Volumnia and the patricians. It does not come from Coriolanus who, whatever his faults, has no political ambitions.

Vol.

I have liv'd

To see inherited my very wishes,  
And the buildings of my fancy: only  
There's one thing wanting, which I doubt not but  
Our Rome will cast upon thee.

Cor.

Know, good mother,

I had rather be their servant in my way  
Than sway with them in theirs.

He has the soldier's pride, but not the politician's ambition. A little later, the tribunes also bear testimony to the fact that he did not desire the post of consul, but was persuaded by others to stand for it.

Bru.

... O! he would miss it rather

Than carry it but by the suit o' the gentry to him  
And the desire of the nobles.

There is no room for doubt that Coriolanus stood for the office of consul, not to realize a personal ambition, but out of deference to the wishes of his mother and the nobility and the gentry. More particularly, he could not overrule the wishes of his mother. In these matters, he is certainly not copied from Plutarch, who never suggests that he went for the consulship against his own

<sup>3</sup> The text used in this essay is that of the *Complete Works of Shakespeare* (1947) in the *Oxford Editions of Standard Authors*. Line references are also to the same edition.

inclinations. Plutarch merely states: "Shortly after this, Martius stood for the Consulship: and the common people favoured his sute. . . ."<sup>4</sup>

(2) In Plutarch, Coriolanus does not denounce the custom which requires him to appear in the market place in rags and to exhibit the wounds he has received in war. It is not suggested that he dislikes this practice. In fact, he readily complies with it.

For the custome of Rome was at that time, that such as did sue for any office, should for certaine dayes before be in the market place, onely with a poore gowne on their backs, and without any coate underneath, to pray the citzens to remember them at the day of election: which was thus devised, either to move the people the more, by requesting them in such meane apparell, or else because they might shew them their wounds they had gotten in the warres in the service of the commonwealth, as manifest markes and testimonie of their valiantness. . . . Now Martius following this custome, shewed many woundes and cuts upon his bodie, which he had received in seventene years service at the warres. . . .

The Coriolanus of the play abhors this custom, and the necessity forced upon him of complying with it generates the mental conflict. Analyzing it, one sees that his passions are both base and noble; a mixture of aristocratic prejudice and true soldierly pride. He does not like it that patricians should have to solicit popular support; at the same time, his soldier's integrity does not permit him to drive a political bargain by a public exhibition of his wounds. He is an altogether nobler character than he is made out to be by Plutarch, who gives him many virtues but also represents him as "chollericke and impacient . . . churlishe, uncivil" for "lacke of education". Shakespeare's Coriolanus is choleric too, but it would be a travesty of truth to say that the total impression he leaves upon us is that of an uncivilized nature; and whenever he is "chollericke and impacient", he is so as much through a petty pride of caste as through a soldier's dislike of political sharp practices and a perfectly honorable pride in his profession.

The conflict, of which the first indications are visible in II. ii. 139-155, acquires definition when he appears at the Forum.

Better it is to die, better to starve,  
Than crave the hire which first we do deserve.  
Why in this woolvishe toge should I stand here,  
To beg of Hob and Dick, that do appear,  
Their needless vouches? Custom calls me to't:  
What custom wills, in all things should we do't,  
The dust on antique time would lie unswept,  
And mountainous error be too highly heap'd  
For truth to o'er-peer. Rather than fool it so,  
Let the high office and the honour go  
To one that would do thus. I am half through;  
The one part suffer'd, the other will I do.

(II. iii. 120-131)

He has tasted humiliation—a proud man has tasted humiliation but feels help-

<sup>4</sup> The text of North's Plutarch used in this essay is that given in the New Variorum edition of *Coriolanus*.



less, for whenever his mother opposes her wishes to his, one part of him takes sides with her against himself. His mother (and the patricians, who for him represent the State of Rome) expect him—a soldier, by profession and by temperament—to serve the State in the role of an administrator.

The idea of a man being thrust into a position not sought by him—a position, moreover, demanding a type of behavior which compromises his soldier's conscience—a position, therefore, doubly fraught with possibilities of conflict—is Shakespeare's idea, not Plutarch's. Those writers who see in the play "no real conflict other than that of the 'adventure story', that of sword against sword" are invited to note here just one other point. The psychological conflict which has been introduced by Shakespeare in planned modification of Plutarch's narrative is of central importance from the point of view of the dramatic action. It is the hero's failure to subscribe gracefully to custom that calls down upon his head the displeasure of the people, and gives the tribunes the opportunity to throw him out. In the play then, his behavior at the forum releases the forces which ultimately destroy him. Not so, in Plutarch.

When the conflict has once taken shape, we expect that it will grow in intensity as the action progresses, imposing on the play the familiar tragic pattern. This does not happen, however. When (II.iii) Coriolanus leaves the forum with the knowledge that his nomination has been approved by the people, his mind has already been set at rest; and when (III.i) the tribunes bring news that the approval has been revoked, his reactions are violent but sharply *defined*, as those of a man who was never assailed by doubts on the fundamental issues of life. That great first scene of the third act yet leaves us dissatisfied. Its magnificent poetry—poetry it is, the poetry of vituperation—and the dramatic clash of personalities make it one of the great scenes even by Shakespearean standards. But we cannot, as I have said, conceal a sense of dissatisfaction: looking at Coriolanus we say to ourselves that this is not how we expect a Shakespearean tragic hero to behave, when the play is in its third act and the crisis is brewing. He has no misgivings about what is happening and his role in it, not a trace of introspectiveness.

### III

While we are still feeling perplexed by the complete resolution of the conflict, Volumnia's insistence that he should go back to the people and make amends causes its dramatic reappearance. He may hold the rabble in contempt—so does Volumnia, she makes no secret of that fact—but since a little dissimulation will deceive the people she will strongly counsel her son to try it. That Coriolanus at first does not even understand the drift of her speeches appears from the fact that he either remains silent—perhaps looking wonderingly at his mother—or speaks in short, broken sentences. "Tush, Tush!" . . . "Why force you this?" When he realizes at last what his mother requires of him, he is shocked—shocked by the suggestion that he should dissimulate.

Well, I must do't:

Away, my disposition, and possess me  
Some harlot's spirit! My throat of war be turn'd,  
Which quired with my drum, into a pipe

Small as a eunuch, or the virgin voice  
 That babies lulls asleep! The smiles of knaves  
 Tent in my cheeks, and school-boys' tears take up  
 The glasses of my sight! A beggar's tongue  
 Make motion through my lips, and my arm'd knees,  
 Who bow'd but in my stirrup, bend like his  
 That hath receiv'd an alms! I will not do't,  
 Lest I surcease to honour mine own truth,  
 And by my body's action teach my mind  
 A most inherent baseness.

(III. ii. 110-123)

It has become for him a question of integrity as much as of pride. For it is essential to note that his pride of class and inelastic nature are joined to a robust and strict integrity. If we do not note this fact we shall have failed to understand him correctly. He hates the idea of canvassing popular support by vaunting of the services rendered by him to the state or publicly exhibiting his wounds. Here he is shocked by the very suggestion of dissimulation. His whole nature resents the suggestion.

Had this suggestion come from any other person than his mother, he would have spurned it. Her wishes, however, he cannot lightly overrule. His mind is with itself at war. We do not agree with Mr. Huntington Brown that Coriolanus is not capable of the anguish of a Hamlet or a Lear; this, for example, is one of those moments when Coriolanus speaks with all the anguish of a perturbed great soul. I could never read this speech without being put in mind of Othello's anguished words when Iago has planted suspicions in his breast.

O! now, for ever  
 Farewell the tranquil mind; farewell content!  
 Farewell the plumed troop and the big wars  
 That make ambition virtue! O, farewell!  
 Farewell the neighing steed, and the shrill trump,  
 The spirit-stirring drum, the ear-piercing fife,  
 The royal banner, and all quality,  
 Pride, pomp, and circumstance of glorious war!

(*Othello* III. iii)

When Iago has planted suspicions in his breast, Othello feels that he can never be the same man afterwards: tortured by doubts, plagued with jealousies, he looks back upon the life of honorable action and blissful love which has been his, but which will no longer be his. That happens to Coriolanus too. For him too it means the wreck of a world—and the wreck of his personality.

Dissimulation is foreign to his nature. He somehow feels that if he uses false appearances, even as a means to certain ends, he cannot be the same man afterwards. He cannot dissimulate, and be the same man afterwards. He will cease to be himself.

Volumnia crushes his resistance by questioning his filial love, and he goes to the people; without being convinced that she is right, and valiantly struggling with himself. When in the presence of citizens and senators, Sicinius demands, "Answer to us", we hear Coriolanus say, "Say then: 'tis true, I ought so." The simple words conceal the struggle which is rending him. We

can imagine the terrible effort which the self-restraint of these words costs him—one of the "bald tribunes" demands of him to answer to them and he complies. "I am content." I cannot recall many occasions in Shakespeare where a powerful conflict expresses itself so unambiguously and yet with such wonderful economy as in the first half of this scene of Act III.

The tribunes, however, determined on giving him provocation, call him a traitor, and as they expect, he plays into their hands, denouncing the people with them. He gives up that struggle with himself, which we have witnessed, and as he goes out of Rome, with the sentence of perpetual banishment on his head, he speaks in the clear, unfaltering accents of a man who knows no doubts, no indecision, no irresolution.

You common cry of curs! whose breath I hate  
As reek o' the rotten fens, whose loves I prize  
As the dead carcasses of unburied men  
That do corrupt my air, I banish you;  
And here remain with your uncertainty!  
Let every feeble rumour shake your hearts!  
Your enemies, with nodding of their plumes,  
Fan you into despair! Have the power still  
To banish your defenders; till at length  
Your ignorance,—which finds not, till it feels,—  
Making but reservation of yourselves,—  
Still your own foes,—deliver you as most  
Abated captives to some nation  
That won you without blows! Despising,  
For you, the city, thus I turn my back:  
There is a world elsewhere. (III. iii. 118-133)

This speech could not be equalled in the energy of its hatred. His mind, which was divided against itself, has regained full possession of its strength—its huge, undisciplined strength. In other words, the resolution of the conflict has once again taken place. With him, in fact, its emergence and disappearance are marked with such precision that one can with confidence determine the exact moments. To give the references, the action as it evolves generates a mental conflict in him at three points, and its duration in each case can be accurately defined.

1. At the time of election: II. ii. 140-155, II. iii. 53-157;
2. On the question of conciliating the people: III. ii. 99-145, III. iii. 38-61;
3. The deputations of Cominius (V. i. 64-70), Menenius (V. iii. 8-16) and Volumnia (V. iii. 22-189)

The origins and resolution of a mental conflict are of necessity not capable of exact definition, any more than a mood or a shade of feeling admits of precise analysis. That we can locate them in *Coriolanus*, shows that the play demands a different type of analysis than the other tragedies.

To resume our analysis. After the stormy third act, comes the short scene (IV. i) in which Coriolanus takes leave of his mother, wife and friends; a remarkably quiet scene, its emotional tone is given to it by the hero, who appears now as a man in serene possession of his powers. Momentous things can happen to this man without throwing his mind into the perplexities of a

conflict; if his fury at the presumption of the tribunes had all the energy of an undivided mind, equally characteristic though startling is his absolute composure at this moment of leave-taking from his old life—and what is Coriolanus without Rome? Some critics have, without success, hunted for evidence that his mind is already set on revenge. It is suggested that some of his words have different levels of significance; if this is so, it would be established that his present mood is not simple and serene, but complex and troubled. He is conscious of his strength and of his ability to be dangerous, but to read in this an intention to turn traitor is to stretch the interpretation of the text. The people he has always hated, and he has no cause to love them now; but the dignity and pathos of this leave-taking do not seem to be compatible with the presence of treacherous intentions in his mind. Further, to postulate a duality of intentions in him at this or at any other moment is to misunderstand completely a man who is never other than what he seems.

When we meet him next (IV. iv), the evil decision has already been taken. The moment is a critical one; Coriolanus, great defender of Rome, is about to turn traitor to it.

O world! thy slippery turns. Friends now fast sworn,  
Whose double bosoms seem to wear one heart,  
Whose hours, whose bed, whose meal, and exercise,  
Are still together, who twin, as 'twere, in love  
Unseparable, shall within this hour  
On a dissension of a doit, break out  
To bitterest enmity; so, fellest foes,  
Whose passions and whose plots have broke their sleep  
To take the one the other, by some chance,  
Some trick not worth an egg, shall grow dear friends  
And interjoin their issues. So with me:  
My birth-place hate I, and my love's upon  
This enemy town. . .

Shakespeare gives him a soliloquy, and we expect it to be a bit of tortuous self-exposition; in the soliloquy Shakespeare found a convenient expository tool, and among the many uses he found for it in tragedy the most important is the self-expression of a great mind in the agony of a conflict. But Coriolanus' soliloquy discloses a mind which is free from misgivings at a critical moment. He is not troubled with doubts about the rightness of the course of action he has decided upon. Thoughts of Rome do not cause him uneasiness: there is not the smallest suggestion of a mental conflict in him on this score. At this moment he actually platitudinizes about the chances which sever old friends and unite the bitterest enemies. It is not that he is not capable of deep mental anguish. He is, at times; we have seen that. It remains true however that he takes the most important decision in his life—the decision to take revenge upon Rome and lose his own soul—without stopping to reconsider it even for once. Later again, when in the longest speech which is given to him in the play he confides to Aufidius his treacherous intentions, we search his mind in vain for indications of conflicting impulses.

## IV

With an unperturbed mind he must have proceeded to Rome and laid siege to it. He however reckoned without certain deep-seated impulses in him, and in the last act of the drama of his life they are again thrown up to the surface, and the conflict re-emerges. We are so used to thinking that pride and prejudice alone possess his heart, that we need to be reminded sometimes that love and friendship can kindle the poetry of his nature; he speaks in a poet's tongue, when he greets a comrade-in-arms,

O! let me clip ye

In arms as sound as when I woo'd, in heart  
As merry as when our nuptial day was done,  
And tapèrs burn'd to bedward!

"Silent Virgilia",

My gracious silence, hail!

Wouldst thou have laugh'd had I come coff'nd home,  
That weep'st to see me triumph? Ah! my dear,  
Such eyes the widows in Corioli wear,  
And mothers that lack sons.

"dear Valeria",

The noble sister of Publicola,  
The moon of Rome; chaste as the icicle  
That's curdied by the frost from purest snow,  
And hangs on Dian's temple. . . .

And when he sits in state before Rome, with the aspect of an avenging god, it is evident, I believe, that his nature cannot altogether disown former friends. Cominius kneels before him, and

'Twas very faintly he said 'Rise'; dismiss'd me  
Thus, with his speechless hand: what he would do  
He sent in writing after me; . . . (V. i. 67-69)

He realizes that he has sent back Menenius with "a crack'd heart" and recalls that "this old man . . . lov'd me above the measure of a father." Then appear his mother, wife, wife's friend, and his son, to make an assault on his affections.

My wife comes foremost; then the honour'd mould  
Wherein this trunk was fram'd, and in her hand  
The grandchild to her blood. But out, affection!  
All bond and privilege of nature, break!  
Let it be virtuous to be obstinate.

Let stubbornness be counted as a virtue, says i.e. He is obviously struggling with himself. These are words of desperation. These are the words of a man who feels that he may not be able to hold out much longer, and who therefore summons all the resources of his energy and will to steel himself for the encounter.

I melt, and am not  
Of stronger earth than others.

All his firmness, the fine and brave words with which he tried a little before to fortify his resolution, do not avail. He is already weakening.

Let the Volsces  
Plough Rome and harrow Italy; I'll never  
Be such a gosling to obey instinct, but stand  
As if a man were author of himself  
And knew no other kin

He did not expect his mother and wife, and their appearance took him by surprise, and he had almost confessed himself beaten. But he quickly recovers: he has struggled with his feelings and has mastered them. He has regained his firmness, though after a hard struggle.

Then his wife speaks to him, and his resolution again fails.

Like a dull actor now,  
I have forgot my part, and I am out,  
Even to a full disgrace.

In the end before he gives audience to his mother, he regains a firm hold on himself, and tells her plainly that he cannot break his pledged word or make terms with "Rome's mechanics". But his mother reasons, and his son prates, and we can see that he is wilting; he offers to go away more than once, is prevented, and finally succumbs.

He has been struggling valiantly with himself ever since he saw Volumnia and Virgilia come in with his son. It has been a long and painful struggle, and there were moments when he was almost overpowered. But he recovered and stood his ground heroically till Volumnia changed her method of assault. She ceased to reason with him; she began to speak like a wronged mother: she disowned him for her son, and taunted him with being a Volscian. This attack on his personal loyalties breaks him, and he agrees to withdraw his armies from Rome.

As elsewhere, once he has taken the decision, he can banish all uncertainties from his mind. He has broken his voluntary pledges to his allies, but this does not cause him serious misgivings.

Aufidius, though I cannot make true wars,  
I'll frame convenient peace. Now, good Aufidius,  
Were you in my stead, would you have heard  
A mother less, or granted less, Aufidius?

*Auf.* I was mov'd withal

*Cor.*

I dare be sworn you were:  
And, sir, it is no little thing to make  
Mine eyes to sweat compassion. But, good sir,  
What peace you'll make, advise me: for my part,  
I'll not to Rome, I'll back with you; and pray you,  
Stand to me in this cause. O mother! wife!

.....  
Ladies, you deserve  
To have a temple built you: all the swords  
In Italy, and her confederate arms,  
Could not have made this peace.

(*Exeunt*)



The complete resolution of the conflict has been effected—for the third time. In the remainder of the play, Shakespeare gives Coriolanus no more than 20 or 25 lines to speak, and as he denounces first Aufidius and then the Volscians we witness again the colossal barbarous energy of which his nature is capable when not weakened by internecine strife.

## V

We could not dispense with giving a detailed analysis of the action, since it is the purpose of this essay to establish that the inner conflict *appears* late in the play in the second act, then *disappears*; *reappears* in the third act, then *disappears*; *reappears* in the fifth act, then *again disappears*. The irregular occurrence of this conflict—for example, its sudden subsidences as also its total absence at at least one crucial moment (IV. iv)—is the fundamental fact. It explains, I believe, the sharp division of opinion in regard to this play: some holding with Granville-Barker that there is no real conflict in it, while others with Bradley speak of a powerful conflict but do not note its strikingly peculiar character. But before we attempt a summary, we should see if a reference to Plutarch will assist our investigations.

1. That Coriolanus experienced an inner conflict at the time of election is Shakespeare's idea, not Plutarch's. This we have already noted.
2. The scene in which his mother counsels dissimulation as a necessary evil in public policy and government, causing the reappearance of the conflict in him, has also no parallel in Plutarch.
3. What is the extent of Shakespeare's dependence on Plutarch in regard to those portions of the fifth act in which the element of conflict is again introduced?

The Romans sent altogether three deputations to wait on Marcius; one of "familiar friends, and acquaintance", the second of persons whom Plutarch does not mention, the third of "all the bishoppes, priestes, ministers of the gods, and keepers of holy thinges, and all the augures or soothsayers". Plutarch says that Coriolanus received the deputation of "familiar friends" and "acquaintance" in the presence of "the chiefest men of the Volscses", and adds

When they had done their message: for the injury they had done him, he answered them very whotly, and in great choller. But as generall of the Volscses, he willed them to restore unto the Volscses, all their landes and cities they had taken from them in former warres: and moreover, that they should give them the like honour and freedome of Rome, as they had before given to the Latines. For otherwise they had no other meane to end this warre, if they did not graunt these honest and just conditions of peace.

No indications in this that Coriolanus was a bit perturbed. In respect of the two subsequent deputations, we are told nothing about him beyond that he agreed to receive them but would not moderate the terms of the treaty to the advantage of Rome. On turning to the play, one notes that the "friends" make an impression on Coriolanus' mind. To reinforce this suggestion, Shakespeare makes two deputations wait upon Coriolanus, not three, and on either occasion the deputation consists of a friend—first Cominius, who was also "sometime his general", then Menenius.

If we study Coriolanus' personal relationships in the play, we shall have become convinced of one thing before we come to its fifth act: though his pride isolates him from the populace and makes him look stubborn and unlovely, he has a warm and passionate nature which responds to beauty and virtue in women, and to affection in mother, wife, friends and comrades-in-arms. This is Shakespeare's Coriolanus; and in the fifth act Shakespeare confronts him with former friends. If he momentarily weakens, he is only consistent with himself. If he behaves differently from Plutarch's hero, he is only true to that extent to Shakespeare's idea of him.

The element of conflict is, however, much more clearly marked in his meeting with mother, wife and child, and in regard to this scene—as critics are never tired of emphasizing—Shakespeare seems to depend heavily on Plutarch. That he borrowed the idea that Coriolanus surrendered to his mother after a struggle is evident. I believe however that he saw the possibilities of this idea more clearly than Plutarch did.

Now was Martius set then in his chaire of state, with all the honours of a generall, and when he had spied the women coming a farre off, he marvelled what the matter ment: but afterwards knowing his wife which came formost, he determined at the first to persist in his obstinate and inflexible rancker. But overcome in the end with natural affection, and being altogether altered to see them: his heart would not serve him to tarie their comming to his chaire, but comming downe in hast, he went to meete them, and first he kissed his mother, and imbraced her a prety while, then his wife and little children. And nature so wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eyes, and he could not keepe himself from making much of them, but yeldded to the affection of his bloud, as if he had bene violently caried with the furie of a most swift running streame. After he had thus lovingly received them, and perceiving that his mother Volumnia would begin to speake to him, he called the chieftest of the counsell of the Volsces to heare what she would say. Then she spake in this sort.

When she had finished, we are told:

Martius gave good eare unto his mothers words, without interrupting her speach at all: and after she had said what she would, he held his peace a prety while, and answered not a word. Hereupon she began againe to speak unto him. . . .

When she had done again and found that apparently she could make no impression on him, she "her selfe, his wife and children, fell downe upon their knees before him. Martius seeing that, could refraine no longer, but went straight and lift her up, crying out. . . ."

We have given the whole of the narrative up to this point (excluding Volumnia's speeches), to avoid giving the impression that we have interpreted the text to our advantage. It would not be to misrepresent Plutarch to say that his Coriolanus determined to remain obdurate when he saw his mother and wife coming, but at once relented; that he ever regained his firmness we are not told; and whatever feelings his mother's speeches might have roused in him, he spoke not a word till he surrendered. If Plutarch was aware of the

presence of an inner conflict, he evidently did not think that it was worth while emphasizing it. In any case, there is nothing in his account like the wild fluctuations of feeling which, as we have noted, Shakespeare's analysis of the hero reveals.

Even if other evidence is disregarded, a comparative study of the play and its sources should alone suffice to dispose of the view that no real conflict is evident in it. Following his own methods of characterization, which stressed the element of conflict in tragedy, Shakespeare heavily edited Plutarch's story. This Shakespearian element is injected at several points in the action, and if in one place a hint has been taken from Plutarch, the elaboration of it is characteristically Shakespearian. The playwright has also, as we have seen, modified Plutarch's conception of the hero, bestowing on him a nobler and warmer nature; partly, to prepare the ground for the conflict. But while the playwright did that, he also stuck to Plutarch's idea of a "chollericke and impacient" man; it is not only that he is a forthright soldier, more accustomed to action than to the discipline of thought; his passions, once roused (and they are very easily roused), become an uncontrollable rage in which considerations both of propriety and prudence are forgotten. It is not to be expected that a man of this type should long suffer the torments of a mental conflict. Doubts, irresolution, undefined impulses, awareness of the complexities of life are altogether contrary to his mental constitution. From time to time, he finds himself in situations when a will stronger than his and a love that will not be denied command the allegiance of one half of his mind, and his other half struggles—but struggles vainly. But he has that capacity which can quickly resolve doubts, which can speedily compose the struggling elements of his mind, and so on each of these occasions we find that he does not take long to regain his decisiveness, his impulsiveness. This makes him a tragic hero of a very different type from Othello, Hamlet, and Macbeth.<sup>5</sup> In other words, Shakespeare does not quite make Coriolanus a Shakespearian tragic hero; he has in some measure remained Plutarch's Roman patrician.

It would not be quite irrelevant to our argument to state that of all Shakespeare's important tragic heroes, he alone has a measure of resemblance with the heroes of ancient Greek tragedy. Long ago Haigh<sup>6</sup> made out a distinction between romantic (i.e. Shakespearian) tragedy and classical tragedy in their respective methods of delineation of character. Romantic drama delights in complexity. Shakespeare, said Lytton Strachey emphasizing his differences from the French classical dramatists, "shows his persons to us in the round;

<sup>5</sup> In an earlier section (III) of this essay we argued a similarity between Othello and Coriolanus in their moral reactions to an element which they feel to be repugnant to their nature (*Othello* III. iii; *Coriolanus* III. ii). What happens after that emphasizes their differences, and it is the differences which are fundamental. Othello's being becomes totally disorganized under the stress of the conflict that is set up within him. When he nurses suspicions—the element repugnant to his nature—his self, as he foresees, begins to disintegrate; the disintegration proceeds apace, and the knowledge of its extent, which comes to him tragically late, prescribes self-destruction as the only honorable course. But Coriolanus passes through agonizing periods of conflict, to revert continually to his old self (and a comparatively simple self it is); for all that happens to him and within him in the meanwhile, the Coriolanus who rails at the tribunes (III. i; III. iii) and at Aufidius (V. v) is much the same man as the Coriolanus who rails at the people on his first appearance (I. i). Though it produces a great commotion in his soul while it lasts, the conflict does not effect any reorganization of his moral or intellectual being.

<sup>6</sup> A. E. Haigh: *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks* (Oxford, 1896), ch. V.

innumerable facets flash out quality after quality; the subtlest and most elusive shades of temperament are indicated; until at last the whole being takes shape before us, endowed with what seems to be the very complexity and mystery of life itself."<sup>7</sup> In endeavoring to analyze some of the great characters of Shakespearian drama, we feel baffled by the inexhaustible complexities of the human mind. In comparison, the characters of Greek tragedy are drawn in broad and general outline. They embody certain broad and elementary qualities (to use again a phrase of Haigh's); and the emphasis is upon simplicity, not complexity, of presentation. It is a commonplace that the tragic conflict in Greek drama is a purely external one. That introspectiveness and that lack of definition which are implied in mental conflicts are foreign to the classical conception of noble character.

Coriolanus is Shakespeare's experiment in the broad and simple style of characterization. Over long stretches of the dramatic action, his character appears to lack the complexity, the introspectiveness, that vagueness of suggestion which we associate with the romantic drama and with the great tragic heroes of Shakespeare. In comparison with them, Coriolanus' character exhibits an unusual degree of simplification; or one should perhaps say, following the processes of the genesis of the play from its source-book, the diversification of the character has not gone far enough. We cannot often recognize with confidence Shakespeare's tragic heroes in the simple characters of his source-books, but Coriolanus, in stepping from Plutarch's narrative into Shakespeare's play does not change so greatly as to be altogether unrecognizable. This is true for a number of reasons: the most important being that by virtue of elements in his character which have been taken over from Plutarch, his mental conflicts are quickly resolved. *An inner conflict, though introduced in the play, is not given room to grow with the action; it is not so much present as intermittent.* As we have seen, it emerges at only three points.

But that the action is in part based on a conflict should not at the same time be lost sight of, and the view that Coriolanus is an "unsympathetic" character, in the sense that imaginative identification with him is not possible, can also be accepted only in part. The question is a fundamental one, for a tragic hero with whom we cannot imaginatively identify ourselves fails as a tragic hero. What makes this identification with Coriolanus particularly difficult is his aristocratic prejudice, a sentiment which our own age does not understand. Shakespeare however knew a way to engage our sympathies, even in favor of a character who would otherwise repel them; namely, by exhibiting him in the grip of a mental conflict. We become interested witnesses, as the conflict throws up to view unnamed impulses, contradictory desires, a complex tangle of motives and moods—in fact, whole continents of the mind; and while our curiosity is thus engaged, the deep mental anguish of which he is seen to be capable, engages also our sympathies. It is the presence of a psychological conflict, which more than anything else brings us so close to Shakespeare's tragic heroes; not only to the noble-souled Hamlet, Othello and Brutus, but to Macbeth too. Our feelings towards Coriolanus do not admit of easy definition. His pride of caste (which, moreover, is joined to a very stubborn temper) isolates

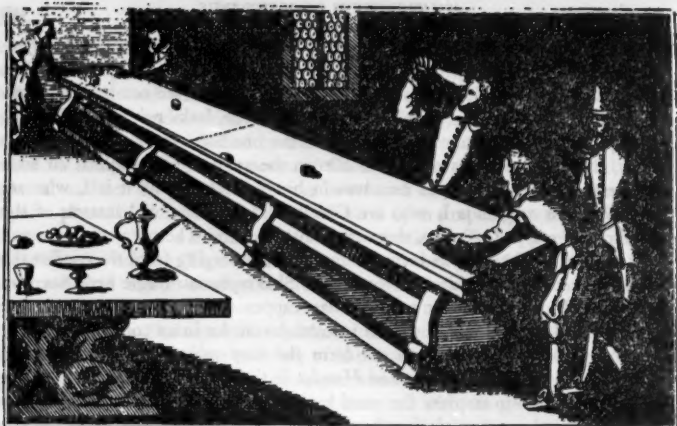
<sup>7</sup> Lytton Strachey: *Landmarks in French Literature* (London, 1912), ch. IV.

him from us. But within the circle of the family and the aristocracy his sympathies flow freely, and when this side of his nature is in evidence—admittedly, this side is not in evidence as often as we could wish—he compels our sympathies. His character, in spite of very grave defects, lacks neither nobility nor poetry. A more important consideration is the one that we have urged in this essay, that at moments we discover him in the anguish of a conflict. At such moments, we can easily put ourselves in his place; it is you, it is I, who are Hamlet; it is you, it is I, who are Coriolanus; the emotional interest of the conflict has gripped us. Alas, those moments are rare! The moments pass, and our sympathies dwindle, as each time we watch emerging from the conflict the blustering, prejudice-ridden aristocrat; the Shakespearian tragic hero has vanished, and Plutarch's Roman patrician has reappeared.

This is, I believe, what happens in *Coriolanus*. An inner conflict is present, but it appears fitfully; it does not form the very substance of the dramatic action, as in *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *Hamlet*. If the playwright tried—we do not say that he did—to impress the usual tragic pattern upon Plutarch's story, he was only partly successful; for though he freely retouched the story and the central character, he stopped short of completely Shakespearianizing them. The hero's character was allowed to retain elements from Plutarch, which resisted its complete absorption within the Shakespearian pattern.

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*En lapis, in medio qui tendit ad exteriora*      Wer in der Mitt schickt biß zu Endt  
*Appositum sumens pocla meretur ovans.*      Mit seinen Stein der kriegt bebendt  
    Die Zeche frey vnd nimbt hinweg  
    Was zugesetzt auf diesem zweg. 49

Shovel-board (also called Slidegroat, Slip-groat, Shuffboard).

From *Le Centre de l'Amour*.



*Vix Venerilla mihi, quis sit magis comis amamus*      Zart Schön Jungfraw ich euch fragen will  
*Optimus est medius, sic ego vera loquor.*      Welchr ist der best Kegel im Spiel.  
    Hertz so ich euch soll sagen seinn.  
    So sollt der Mittel Kegel seinn. 5

Nine pins. From *Le Centre de l'Amour Decouvert subs Divers Emblemes Galons et Faceticux* (Paris, c.1650). One of a series of engravings after those of Peter Rollos in *Vita Corneliana* (?), Berlin, 1624) and *Euterpe Soboles* (? 1630). See also pp. 356 and 436.



## "Service" in *King Lear*

JONAS A. BARISH AND MARSHALL WAINGROW



O expostulate what majesty should be, what duty is, and other questions of this order need not, in the interpretation of Shakespeare's plays, be a waste of time. Indeed, when a play, such as *King Lear*, dramatically poses such questions, what duty is for the critic is clear.

Criticism of *Lear* has all along been mindful of two of the three basic human relationships explored in the play, relationships enunciated very early in a speech of Kent's:

Royal Lear,  
Whom I have ever honour'd as my king,  
Lov'd as my father, as my master follow'd,

(I. i. 141-143)

And recent criticism has been especially alert to the ways in which Lear's status as king and as father is insinuated into the various planes of action.<sup>1</sup> Yet, while it is not easy to observe the workings of any one of these relationships apart from the others (Lear, after all, is king, father, master, servant; Gloucester, subject, father, "ward", master, servant; Cordelia, subject, queen, child, mistress, servant; etc.), the third relationship, that of master and servant, has never to our knowledge been isolated for critical examination: surely not because the

<sup>1</sup> Since our intention in this article is not polemical, and since the literature on *Lear* is so bulky that documentation can easily become the tail that wags the dog, we have decided not to enter detailed acknowledgments to other critics. Our aim has been to discuss a significant theme not heretofore isolated for analysis. In doing so we hope we have made some new points, but frequently we presuppose familiar interpretations of the play as a whole or in part by previous writers. Such indebtedness will be apparent. We are, of course, under obligation to the work of A. C. Bradley, G. Wilson Knight, and R. B. Heilman. Among more recent studies, we have found helpful Empson's essay, "Fool in *Lear*" (in *The Structure of Complex Words*), John F. Danby's *Shakespeare's Doctrine of Nature; a Study of King Lear*, D. H. Traversi's series of essays in *Scrutiny* (XIX, 43ff., 126ff., 206ff.), and Kenneth Muir's edition of the play in *The New Arden Shakespeare*.

We are aware that our "significant theme" is by no means confined to *King Lear*. *Lear* merely seems to dramatize it more fully and complexly than usual, and so to offer the best occasion for extended comment. A mere enumeration, however, of names like Buckingham, Hubert, Adam, Iago and Cassio, Menas and Enobarbus, the Steward in *Timon of Athens*, Pisanio, Camillo and Paulina, Gonzalo, and Wolsey, and a reminder of how often such characters are forced into generalizing statements concerning their relations with their respective masters, will perhaps in itself suffice to indicate the persistence of Shakespeare's preoccupation with the subject. In a few suggestive pages (pp. 277-282) in *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (New York, 1952), Alfred Harbage has sketched the main outlines of the master-servant relationship in Shakespeare and in the Elizabethan popular theatre generally.

We quote throughout from George Lyman Kittredge, ed. *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* (Boston, 1936), pp. 1197-1239.

theme or motif has gone unnoticed; perhaps, on the contrary, because of our Polonian overconfidence before the obvious.

But the theme of service in *Lear* is obvious, we feel, only in its presence, not in its meaning. Its presence is felt very strongly not only through the steady succession of incidents involving masters and servants, but even more pervasively through verbal reiteration: service, servile, serviceable, servant, serving-man, serve, slave, master, command, obey, lead, follow, duty, bond, obligation, and the like. Its meaning, on the other hand, as an attempt to formulate it has shown us, involves a number of intersecting paradoxes which effectively demolish a complacent reading ("Service is service"). But we will be brief.

Service, for our purposes, may be thought of as the formalization of relationships between individuals of different social or political rank. So much is implicit in the doctrine of hierarchy. An individual obeys or ministers to his superior in the social scale, and that superior ministers to *his* superior. But an essential thing about this relationship in *Lear* is its feudal character: ideal service works two ways; it implies rights as well as duties, on each side. The reciprocity suggested by the term "bond", where privileges are granted at the same time that duties are imposed, is the condition that justifies service in principle; in practice, it is precisely the denial of reciprocity that is the first of Lear's tragic violations. By refusing to honor the reciprocal force of the bond tying him to his inferiors, Lear cuts the bond, "cracks" it, and so lets loose the forces of disorder, division, and disservice that are to overwhelm the kingdom.

Yet, and this is the reward of tragedy, a profound vision of life arises from the debris of the disaster. We are no longer able to view society as a rigid, absolute, or even wholly "real" structure. We, like Lear and Cordelia at the end of the play, have become "God's spies", and from this supreme vantage point recognize the hierarchical order for what it is: a system that expresses both more and less than the actualities of life. As servants of *God*, we discover the true and whole meaning of service: that by promoting concord between individuals of different rank, it ends by minimizing distinctions of rank. Witness Kent: the moral stature of the vassal raises him to a special plane of equality with his social superior. Returning to the stage to bid farewell to Lear, Kent is introduced to his master as "noble Kent, your friend" (V.iii.268). Through his very immersion in service (Edgar pays tribute to him as one "who in disguise / Followed his enemy king and did him service / Improper for a slave" V.iii.219-221), he has transcended his status in the act of upholding it. On the other side, false service affects the structure of society in the opposite way: instead of progressing towards a uniquely human kind of solidarity, above the prevailing relationships of rank, it plunges society downwards into a bestial chaos where social distinctions are supplanted by the rule of tooth and claw. In either case, Shakespeare's treatment of this theme expresses more forcibly than either the king-subject or father-child configurations both the meaning and the meaninglessness of rank and degree in human life. We ought perhaps to remind ourselves, before wielding the doctrine of hierarchical order as a tool of literary criticism, of its ambiguous structure: the "chain of being" is both mechanical and vital, and its virtue depends not upon a mechanical adherence (the appropriation of the second term by the first) but upon a creative realization of its design (the appropriation of the first term by the second).

As we have already suggested, the quintessence of the good servant and the touchstone for service throughout the play is Kent. His code can be reduced almost to two commandments: absolute loyalty to his master and absolute loyalty to the truth. His devotion to Lear far exceeds in emotional intensity any of the relationships where blood kinship plays no part, and most of those where it does. Nevertheless, this devotion presupposes an even more fundamental devotion to the truth, and it therefore serves only the truth in Lear—in "Royal Lear"—and not the caprices of vanity or senility. Kent's good service therefore starts (in the play) with an act of disobedience, the only alternative being an act of servility—a dilemma created by the King's failure to recognize the counterpart of his subject's obligation to him. Kent is thus forced to give up the conventionally conceived role of servant for that of master—and teacher. This desperate stratagem failing, then to "wilful men / The injuries that they themselves procure / Must be their schoolmasters" (II. iv. 305-307). With the banishment of Kent, the ideal of service is overthrown, and the spirit of *time-serving* usurps the kingdom.

The action of Kent is of course precipitated by the action of Cordelia, and the reaction of Lear, and it is apparent from the start that the relationship of king and vassal (or master and servant) and that of father and child are co-extensive. The father, a patriarchal figure, commands the same obedience from his children that he does from his servants. In return he offers them his protection and his wisdom. The word "bred" provides a verbal link between the kinds of responsibility assumed alike by father for children and master for servants. Cornwall's servant has been "bred" by Cornwall, as has Cordelia by Lear and Edmund by Gloucester. Lear's daughters, then, as children, as servants, and as subjects fall under a triple obligation. Cordelia bases her behavior in the opening scene squarely on this fact. "I love your Majesty / According to my bond. . . . You have begot me, bred me, lov'd me; I / *Return those duties back* as are right fit" (I. i. 94-95, 98-99). The phrase in (our) italics expresses in condensed form the mutuality of the bond as Cordelia understands it. Lear, who finds such talk of duty legalistic and heartless, as he finds Kent's kind of loyalty mutinous, fails to perceive that the reciprocal nature of the bond supplies the guarantee that it is not merely mechanical, but dynamic and vital. It proves in fact sufficiently vital to withstand Lear's onslaught upon it: both Kent and Cordelia continue to regard it as binding even after Lear has cut it.

Oswald is Kent turned inside out, the bad servant anatomized, and their altercation in the courtyard of Gloucester's castle presents in almost schematic form the confrontation of true service with false. The true servitor arrives meanly clothed, his coarse garments the emblem of his humility and of his "unpublish'd virtue". The false servant, on the other hand, appears fastidiously arrayed in the livery of his mistress' house, in finery signifying not only his own narcissism and that of his mistress Goneril, but the total immolation of his will in hers, his failure to exist at all except as her creature. She has made him, and by her orders, the tailor, and nature, "disclaims" him. If Goneril is herself "Vanity the puppet", Oswald is the puppet's puppet.

All this is made explicit by Kent in a series of tirades which remind us that he has joined the chorus of madmen who alone may speak truth under the present regime. Oswald is a "whoreson, glass-gazing, superserviceable, finical

rogue; one-trunk-inheriting slave; one that [would] be a bawd in way of good service; and [is] nothing but the composition of a knave, beggar, coward, pander, and the son and heir of a mongrel bitch" (II. ii. 18-23). Again:

Such smiling rogues as these,  
Like rats, oft bite the holy cords atwain  
Which are too intrinse t'unloose; smooth every passion  
That in the natures of their lords rebel,  
Bring oil to fire, snow to their colder moods;  
Renege, affirm, and turn their halcyon beaks  
With every gale and vary of their masters,  
Knowing naught (like dogs) but following.

(II. ii. 79-86)

To Edgar, as to Kent, Oswald is "a serviceable villain, / As duteous to the vices of [his] mistress / As badness would desire" (IV. vi. 257-259). Though, by his excess of obedience, he seems to be preserving order, his complaisance stirs up animal appetites which end by cutting "the holy cords atwain / Which are too intrinse t'unloose." Consequently he ultimately promotes division and disunity rather than solidarity.

The conscious exponent of the service that leads to chaos is Edmund, whose malignance surpasses Oswald's by virtue of its greater self-awareness. Of all the characters Edmund is the one with the word "service" most often on his tongue. He offers his services on various occasions to Kent, Edgar, Gloucester, and Cornwall, as well as—in a more special sense—to Goneril and Regan. If, speaking to Kent in the opening scene of the play, he claims for himself the dual role of servant and pupil ("My services to your lordship. . . . Sir, I shall study deserving"), his first soliloquy notifies us that such professions are lip-service only. Even his vow of allegiance to his "goddess" Nature reduces itself to a tautology. Although the phrase "to thy law / My services are bound" (I. ii. 1-2) appears to recognize both the idea of obligation and the reciprocal character of the bond, in fact it is a negation of both, since what Edmund means by "Nature" and her "law" proves to be nothing but the anarchic principle of his own will and appetite, the absence of obligation to any one or any thing other than himself, the complete denial of reciprocity.

To the world Edmund offers the tribute of hypocrisy paid by vice to virtue. Like Goneril and Regan, he assumes to himself in public all of the orthodox right feelings about the bond that he has spurned in private, and projects onto Edgar and Gloucester in turn his own cynical, disruptive sentiments. He takes Kent for his model in the forms of service. As Kent had defended Lear in the past ("My life I never held but as a pawn / To wage against thine enemies" I. i. 157-158), so Edmund will "defend" Edgar ("I dare pawn down my life for him that he hath writ this to feel my affection to your honour" I. ii. 92-94).

The doctrine of wardship, ascribed with malicious intent by Edmund to Edgar, "that, sons at perfect age, and fathers declining, the father should be as ward to the son, and the son manage his revenue" (I. ii. 77-79), provides a good example of the ambiguous way in which distinctions between true and false service operate in the play. Gloucester's readiness in equating this doctrine with the palpably unwholesome sentiments of the forged letter ("I begin to find

an idle and fond bondage in the oppression of aged tyranny" I.ii.52-53) may perhaps appear to justify the application of the doctrine in this instance. In any case, the doctrine of wardship, while it *may* serve as a convenient mask for remissness (Lear), or rebellion (apparently Edgar), or tyranny (Regan), may also express a genuine ideal of service (Edgar and Cordelia).

If in Edmund we see the vicious servant posing as the genuine and making the world accept the imposture, in Edgar we see the true servant victimized, returning to enact a kind of purgatorial masquerade as the false servant. Edgar represents himself as a former courtier, proud, vain, and lascivious, who served the lust of his mistress' heart and the evil impulses in himself. But whereas in the "real" world of the play, false servants thrive, Edgar exhibits Poor Tom as outcast for his falseness. Poor Tom has become an archetype of degraded humanity, the victim of every humiliation inflicted on loyal followers—whipped, like the Fool, placed in the stocks, like Kent, imprisoned, like Cordelia, and, of course, banished. Here, because it occurs only in Edgar's fantasy, justice triumphs; the "undivulged crimes" of darkness are exposed and punished. Instead of "corruption in the place" and truth in exile, there is a meaningful relationship between crime and punishment. The madman, in a world itself gone mad, becomes a microcosm of the world gone sane, where malignant service, instead of being rewarded, is turned out of doors and pursued by vermin, dogs, and fiends.

But Edgar is Edgar as well as Poor Tom, and in returning to serve where he stands condemned, he demonstrates, like Cordelia and Kent, that the holy cords are "too intrinse t'unloose". The doctrine of wardship sophistically enunciated by Edmund and interpreted as treachery by Gloucester vindicates itself triumphantly as true service in Edgar's ministrations to his father. Gloucester, before he can regain the mastery he has wantonly abdicated, must pass through a period of apprenticeship to his good servant.

Similarly, the Fool, by virtue of the license accorded him, becomes tutor to Lear, delivering his lessons not bluntly, as Kent does, nor railing, but wrapped up in enigmatic riddles, jingles, and proverbs, which nevertheless are plain enough to arouse the threat of the whip on several occasions. The Fool's preoccupation with the nature of service is almost obsessive, since it involves on the one hand a conviction that to serve a master in disgrace is folly, and on the other an even more intense conviction that to leave him in the same circumstance is knavery. He makes his first appearance jeering at Kent "for taking one's part that's out of favour", and predicts declining fortunes for those who cannot "smile as the wind sits" (I.iv.111-113). He repeatedly counsels prudent, self-interested service, and ignores his own counsel in order to obey a more obscure impulse of loyalty grounded in feeling. There is never the slightest doubt but that his loyalty will override his commonsense, but there is the need to demonstrate to Lear what the latter does not yet understand—that true service has little to do with prudence or calculation, and that if it did, he, Lear, would find no followers at all in this bleak time. The Fool's advice to the enstocked Kent is a perfect paradigm of self-seeking servility, but it concludes with the reflection that such advice should be followed by none but knaves, since a fool gives it. This in turn is succeeded by the jingle in which the prudential knave becomes the fool:

That sir which serves and seeks for gain,  
 And follows but for form,  
 Will pack when it begins to rain  
 And leave thee in the storm.  
 But I will tarry; the fool will stay,  
 And let the wise man fly.  
 The knave turns fool that runs away;  
 The fool no knave, perdy.

(II. iv. 79-86)

And the dialogue concludes with a nice equation of the Fool and Kent, on the side of true service:

*Kent.* Where learn'd you this, fool?

*Fool.* Not i' th' stocks, fool. (87-88)

The service of Gloucester is service by habit, by convenience, and by the book, and he suffers the fate of those who so serve. In his abhorrence of the prospect of becoming ward to his good son, he permits himself to be "rul'd and led" by his bad son. Entering the service of Cornwall, he continues to be his "good" vassal until a series of progressively more painful revelations brings him to understand that allegiance to Cornwall is incompatible with loyalty to Lear, and he is finally driven to an act of rebellion which (like Kent's) is at the same time an act of mastery and an act of true service.

The mutilation which ensues is, like the banishment of Kent and Edgar, both a punishment and a privilege, the emblem of Gloucester's enlightenment. But the enlightenment produces its own excesses. The knowledge that he has been treacherously served in the past, the knowledge that true service brings down cruel reprisals on itself, seem to produce a revulsion against *all* service. Almost his first act, after he has been thrust out onto the heath, blinded and bleeding, is to refuse the aid of an old family retainer. "Good friend, be gone. / Thy comforts can do me no good at all; / Thee they may hurt" (IV. i. 15-17). Rather than expose a loyal follower to tyranny, rather than invite perfidious service again, Gloucester will admit as servant only the madman, "the fool no knave", incapable of perfidy and immune from reprisals. His disillusionment with service expresses itself further as a weariness with all exercise of authority. "Do as I bid thee", he says to the retainer, "or rather do thy pleasure. / Above the rest, be gone" (IV. i. 47-48). The madman, as he is now the only fitting person to render service, is also the only fitting recipient of it: Gloucester dispatches the old man to collect rags for Edgar. With the readmission of Edgar to his service, and the (unknowing) placing of himself under his son's tutelage, Gloucester begins the final stages of his reeducation.

But it is the education of Lear that is the central fact about which everything else in the play turns, and through which the values of the drama acquire most of their meaning and expressiveness. Through the consequences of his initial act of folly, Lear gains a steadily deepening insight into the truth, and specifically, for the sake of the present discussion, into the nature of true service, which brings him finally to a condition of purified peace beyond anything he might have gained as reigning monarch.

Even before he clashes with Cordelia and Kent in the first scene, Lear shows



an ominous inability or unwillingness to grasp some elementary principles. Notably, he fails to perceive that political unity is both an ideal in itself and a curb on disunity. By proposing to partition his kingdom, he invites division on all sides; the symbolic parting of the coronet ushers in an epoch marked by splitting, cracking, and parting of every sort. Forgetting that to rule properly is to foster solidarity, Lear proves himself a bad king even before he proves himself a bad father and master. And this first failure may be regarded as the failure of a servant—the chief servant of the state. One reason why masters and servants are forever switching roles in this play is that character is conceived as a combination of both roles. Failure to serve is closely linked with failure to rule.

For a time after the abdication, Lear persists in his crude notions of kingship, fatherhood, and service. He welcomes the disguised Kent in a revealing way: "Follow me; thou shalt serve me. If I like thee no worse after dinner, I will not part from thee yet" (I. iv. 43-45). Despite the intended levity, the remark grimly recalls the whimsicality so tragically paraded in the first scene. Equally revealing is his reaction to the scuffle between Kent and Oswald a moment later. "I thank thee, fellow. Thou serv'st me, and I'll love thee" (97-98). This invitation to service does not wholly deny the reciprocal element in the relationship, but it makes the reciprocity contingent; it turns it into a legal transaction, a *quid pro quo* (the other side of "Nothing will come of nothing"). The bond becomes a document negotiable by a bond salesman, instead of a vital covenant expressive of mutual love and responsibility.

That the specific issue over which Lear becomes embroiled with his elder daughters should be his allowance of retainers is, needless to say, very much to the point in this discussion. Lear's impassioned defense of his knights represents his first attempt to grapple seriously with the meaning of service. If the relationship were simply a matter of ducats dispensed for chores performed, their dismissal would not matter. Others, as Goneril and Regan argue, could perform the same functions. But it is their personal loyalty to him that counts, their love; and it is this that Lear defends, and this that Goneril attacks. The very presence of honest and incorruptible service is a rebuke to her, whether it comes from the knights or from the keener-sighted and more articulate (and hence more hated) Fool.

Lear's clearing vision of the truth seems fated to be achieved only through the ordeal of retribution, as one by one the defects of his understanding reappear like perverted images in a nightmare. The doctrine of tutelage, which has already torn Gloucester's family apart, and to which Lear had committed himself by his abdication, receives another sinister twist by Regan: "You should be rul'd, and led / By some discretion that discerns your state / Better than you yourself" (II. iv. 150-152). The crass bidding in demonstrations of love that Lear extorted from his daughters as the price of realms now reverses itself: Goneril and Regan compete in beating down the price of their father's love: one hundred knights, fifty knights, twenty-five knights. As the last stage in a warped dialectic which offers all the "right" reasons as a cloak for power, Regan appeals to the need for solidarity: "How in one house / Should many people, under two commands, / Hold amity? 'Tis hard; almost impossible" (243-245). A question which Lear failed to ask when he divided his kingdom.

Belatedly, it is Lear himself who provides the corrective to the perverted philosophy of his daughters in the speech beginning "O, reason not the need!" (267ff.), in which he powerfully articulates the distinction between material and true need. But to Goneril and Regan the kind of service that their father professes to need is, like old age itself, "unnecessary".

Perhaps the most complex image of retribution in the play is the storm which affronts Lear on the heath. As he has tried to make his daughters obey him and has only succeeded in becoming their "obedient father", so he gives orders to the elements only to acknowledge shortly that he is their slave, not their master. Absolving them of ingratitude, he goes on to accuse them of servility, for having joined with villainous daughters to humble him. He now thinks of himself as occupying the lowest rung on the ladder of service: slave to the elements, which in turn are only "servile ministers" to his daughters. Kent and Gloucester concur in describing the storm as a "tyranny". Nature itself assumes the role which Lear, in the first scene of the play, "created".

As slave to the elements, Lear finds himself a member of the confraternity of degraded servants: Kent, Edgar, the Fool, and, finally, Gloucester. Lear's vision of universal suffering evoked by the tempest expresses his new perception of the kind of bond that underlies all human relationships, that of a common humanity. While faction rages between France and England and discord grows between the dukes of Albany and Cornwall, Lear and his ragged band of supporters on the heath display an impressive solidarity. Lear insists on considering the comfort of Kent and the Fool before his own, and refuses to be parted from his new-found philosopher-friend, Poor Tom. "Come, let's in *all*", he urges, when Gloucester has led them to the hovel. Gloucester's repeated use of the word "friend" and Edgar's sententious couplets emphasize further the shared nature of the experience: none must stay behind (III. iv, vi). Adversity, having winnowed the true followers from the false, now draws the true followers together in a communion so close that all become "mates" and "fellows" regardless of social degree. Through their devotion to him, Lear's followers fit themselves to be termed his friends. Through his compassion for them, Lear earns the right to be called theirs.

It is Cordelia, however, from whom Lear is to learn his final lessons. "I know you do not love me", he tells her, "for your sisters / Have, as I do remember, done me wrong. / You have some cause, they have not" (IV. vii. 73-75), still clinging to his view of the bond as a *quid pro quo*. Cordelia, who might well reply "O, reason not the cause!" deliberately avoids confronting argument with argument, and simply erases the premise: "No cause, no cause." Embodying as she does the authentic ideal of self-mastery ("It seem'd she was a queen / Over her passion, who, most rebel-like, / Sought to be king o'er her" IV. iii. 15-17), Cordelia is properly the one to receive Lear's final tribute. His kneeling to her completes the progress of his humility, the casting off of authority, and the joyful relinquishment of it to one who is fitted to command. When, earlier, he had knelt before Regan, it was a gesture of savage irony, intended to exhibit its own unseemliness. But his suffering has taught him that humility does not mean humiliation. To kneel may be a way of offering allegiance to a moral superior. The prison paradise imagined by Lear for himself and Cordelia when they are captured translates the kneeling incident into a

recurrent fantasy: "When thou dost ask me blessing, I'll kneel down / And ask of thee forgiveness" (V.iii.10-11). Lear's sense of reciprocity is finally intense. The gesture of humility on the part of one must be completed by a complementary gesture from the other. Mutual service is to become a kind of competition in self-effacement. At the same time it spells the repudiation of all worldly service. Lear and Cordelia, withdrawn from the affairs of men, will enlist in the service of God (or the gods), spying out the mystery of things, reserving only the right to laugh at the vicissitudes of in and out among worldly servants.

The play moves to its end amid images of splitting, cracking, and bursting. Dissensions in families and discords between kingdoms terminate finally in the rupturing of hearts. The hearts of Gloucester, Kent, and Lear crack one by one at the moment of renewed unity: Gloucester dies in the instant of reunion with his son; Lear dies to rejoin Cordelia; Kent to rejoin Lear. As for the evil characters, they achieve a kind of unity appropriate to them: Edmund, Goneril, and Regan "All three / Now marry in an instant" (V.iii.228-229)—in a bigamous death. Kent's tragic fate is to fail to see his service consummated by an earthly reunion with Lear; in the final meeting, the King, numbed by the death of his daughter, scarcely recognizes his vassal and friend. Yet the continuing separation is in keeping with the tragic vision of earthly service as realizable only, or best, in a state of alienation. "To be acknowledg'd, madam, is o'erpaid", Kent had protested to Cordelia (IV.vii.4), instinctively recoiling from even the smell of *quid pro quoism*.

The deaths of Lear and Gloucester and their bad children leave the state purified of its stain of misservice. Those who remain dedicate themselves to the restoration of unity. "Our present business / Is general woe". "Friends of my soul, you twain / Rule in this realm, and the gor'd state sustain", says Albany to Edgar and Kent (V.iii.318-320). The new monarchs, characterized as "friends", are enjoined to serve the state by sustaining it. But "twain" augurs ill for future solidarity (cf. IV.vi.209-211), and Kent's withdrawal leaves the way free for Edgar to assume sole command. Edgar reiterates the note of service sounded by Albany: "The weight of this sad time we must obey" (V.iii.323). And with the ascent to kingship of the true servant, who has shared the purgatory of Lear and Gloucester, expiated his own faults of service (real and imagined) in his masquerade as Poor Tom, and defeated the cardinal emblem of false service in knightly combat, the kingdom enters on its new life.

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Poi ' creâe mi. centrum anulâ.  
O virginelia. tangam  
Si languis es. Vir. ligens  
In. vi. minus nec anas. 2

Zart schön Jungfrau haltet fein still,  
Das Ringlein will ich treffen  
Herr, ich halt still, ist erwer will,  
trefft re. er thut mich nicht essen

Tilting at the ring. From *Le Centre de l'Amour*.



Hic aleis ludit. Venerem. composit al aller.  
In cedat lucrum manus. uicq. probet.

Der ein mit Bretten spielt im Brett,  
Dinst den andern es besser sieht  
Sein Werckstad mir viel lieber gält,  
Dan des ersten gewonnen gält.

Backgammon. From *Le Centre de l'Amour*. See pp. 346 and 436.

## Shakespeare and the Movies

MARGARET FARRAND THORP



SIR Laurence Olivier's brilliant filming of *The Tragedy of Richard III* has startled to life an ancient cliché: if Shakespeare were alive today he would be writing not for the stage but for the screen. This idea was promulgated in the twenties by some of those propagandists who were struggling valiantly to convince the world that the movies should be taken seriously, that they are not just amusement for an idle evening but a new and exciting art form. That the motion picture is an art we are now quite ready to admit. That Shakespeare would have enjoyed practicing that art is a question at least worth considering.

Shakespeare was, undoubtedly, interested in writing for a large popular audience. He did not, as a dramatist, disdain the groundlings and he could, with consummate skill, cater to their desires. But more important than this is a habit of mind which would certainly have directed his interest to the screen; Shakespeare was fascinated by motion. Miss Caroline Spurgeon, in her study of Shakespeare's imagery, has shown us how full his writing is of motion images, of motion verbs, of descriptions of the motions of men and birds and animals, of trees, of clouds, of water. It seems a fair surmise that he would have been quick to grasp the possibility of telling a story in motion. We know, too, that there were times when the stage of Shakespeare's theatre, even the great Globe itself, seemed to him ridiculously narrow, when he yearned for something like Cinemascope or Todd-AO. And yet, for all his renaissance delight in pomp and pageantry, for all his awareness of the beauty and variety of movement in the world, Shakespeare never composed his plays in pictures. He was, wholly and profoundly, an artist in words. That is why he flourished so greenly in the age of Elizabeth, a period which, beyond any other in our history, took delight in language, its intricacy, its subtlety, its magic. Those were the strings upon which Shakespeare played. His characters live by what they say; his scenes are constructed not as pictorial compositions but as juxtapositions of talking individuals. However interested a twentieth-century Shakespeare might be in the story-telling possibilities of the screen, he would never compose for it spontaneously as he did for the stage. He would have to make a laborious study of the alien art. We may imagine that he would learn it successfully, as that prose artist in words, Bernard Shaw, learned to adapt his verbal comedies to the screen, but he would need some practiced director or scenarist to assist him, as Shaw needed Gabriel Pascal.

Such hypotheses as these may seem, at first glance, quite futile. Shakespeare's plays were written for the stage, why should we try to present them in any other medium? Simply because today William Shakespeare is rapidly dwin-

dling into a closet dramatist. Poll a freshman class in even the best of our eastern colleges, ask any group of young people under thirty how many Shakespeare plays they have seen in the flesh. You will be appalled at the answers: one or two, perhaps at best; again and again it will be none. The Stratfords, the Shakespearewrights, and others of that ilk, noble attempts as they are, can succor only a tiny fraction of our population, the happy few within certain restricted geographic areas. If Shakespeare is to remain a national heritage, one of our greatest and our most beneficent, we must transfer him somehow to the motion picture screen, where a *Julius Caesar*, a *Twelfth Night*, or a *Hamlet* can be played any day in the week, in any part of the country, at prices most of us can afford.

Screening Shakespeare has been tried, of course, scores of times. I remember, among others in the silent days, a two-reel *Tempest* in which fifteen of the twenty minutes were devoted to the shipwreck. The thirties were more respectful. Shakespeare was admitted to a two-hours' traffic and treated with serious piety. The producers, for instance, of the Leslie Howard-Norma Shearer *Romeo and Juliet*, when they needed an occasional line to bridge an alteration in the action, declined to interpolate the simplest "Welcome, my lady" or "What ho!" unless they could find that Shakespeare had written that precise phrase in one of his other plays. Chiefly to insure this authenticity they imported to Hollywood a Shakespearian scholar, Professor William Strunk, Jr., of Cornell. Yet they did not scruple to cut and slash the poetry without regard to rhythm or scene proportion. Today our directors have more learning and more wisdom. They have had experience in translating from screen to stage; they know better how to use the techniques of the film for high purposes. We have seen recently enlightened attempts to transfer the plays entire, with only such slight cuts and condensations as any conscientious stage producer would feel entitled to make. Some of these attempted translations have produced rather ludicrous performances, though the worst of them had its moments, but a few directors have really succeeded, despite the difficulties involved, in presenting versions of the plays so exciting, so moving, so much what we want our performances of Shakespeare to be, that it is clear there is a real future for Shakespeare in the films. We *can* save him for our children's children.

It becomes imperative, then, for us to weigh the current attempts with care so that we may understand the director's problems and see what we think of their proposed solutions, for this is one of those situations, like a presidential election, in which each individual vote, at the boxoffice, counts.

The first problem in the making of any movie is the story, and here the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries lie close together. Shakespeare's plots are full of good movie material. He offers us battles, murders, and sudden deaths, stratagems and spoils, ghosts, clowns, and fairies, conflict and tension and humor. Something interesting is happening all the time, and there is no reason why a Shakespearian film should not reproduce a Shakespearian plot in its entirety.

Actually there is one respect in which the film comes closer than the modern stage to giving us a plot's balance and proportion: the movie has no need for artificial pauses between its scenes. Laughter can melt into horror, peace succeed to tension, a palace change to a seacoast without the drawing of a curtain



or the shifting of props and lights. A simple cut, and we are in another part of the forest, or even in another city, as easily as the Elizabethans were.

There is one point, though, which the transposer of a Shakespeare story must keep clearly in mind: it is not the line of the plot only which matters but its rhythm and proportion. If a director alters these or disregards them he will find himself telling not Shakespeare's story at all but a tale as dull and shapeless as the source from which it sprang. We have a recent melancholy, though instructive, example in that Italian film, shot in Verona, which its director, Castellani, calls *Romeo and Juliet*. No one, I think, should be permitted to see that film except Shakespearian scholars of long experience. They will find it enlightening, like reading Shakespeare in juxtaposition with Holinshed, but a young person with no notion of the play upon the stage will come from the movie with a dangerously distorted impression of the loveliest of tragedies. (I say this, as one is obliged to say everything about the movies, with a certain diffidence, for I remember that the version of *Romeo and Juliet*, in which the Capulet garden contained a Hollywood swimming pool and John Barrymore played Mercutio as an aging roué, did, by actual statistics, send thousands of high school boys and girls to their public libraries asking for copies of the play.) Nevertheless I warn anyone who really cares for *Romeo and Juliet* away from the Castellani film.

I am not concerned for the moment with the desirability of setting the play in a real Verona—of that we shall talk later—but with the wrenching of Shakespeare's proportions all awry. The two key scenes in the play, the scenes in which great love lifts first the girl and then the boy from childhood to maturity, the potion scene and the apothecary scene, are left out altogether. The potion scene, the director seems to have decided, is merely repetitious. He shows us Friar Laurence giving Juliet the vial, and then Juliet awakening in the tomb. The apothecary scene is all talk, so instead we have action, Romeo, on horseback, galloping over leagues of fields between Mantua and Verona, a ride signifying—what?

Mr. Castellani does similar and almost as deadly violence to other portions of the plot. He is quite properly cognizant of the perpetual necessity for motion in a motion picture, but he seems unaware that motion without motive rapidly becomes dull. After the fine fury of the Mercutio-Tybalt and Tybalt-Romeo duels, he has Romeo run off at top speed to take refuge in the Friar's cell. He shows us every foot of that headlong circuitous passage through Verona's streets, authentic, highly picturesque streets, but what have they to do with the story? And a chase with no one pursuing is not only bad Shakespeare but bad movie.

One must exonerate Castellani so far as to say that he has stated that he is not filming Shakespeare. He is telling the story of *Romeo and Juliet* as it presented itself to him, in Latin not in English terms. But if that is really so, why does he not use another title and why does he borrow Shakespeare's lines and mangle them?

For the liberties Orson Welles has taken with *Macbeth* and *Othello* there is even less excuse. Mr. Welles really does know something about Shakespeare and has done him good service on the stage, yet, when he makes a film, he thinks, apparently, only of Orson Welles and his reputation for originality. He

does not hesitate to begin *Othello* with a funeral procession and to set *Macbeth* in an early Gaelic cave.

There is one instance of a movie reorganization of a Shakespearian plot so effective that we should take note of it even though the case is a special one and there is small probability of anything comparable ever being done. I am thinking of the film of José Limón's *Moor's Pavanne*. That remarkable court dance, to Purcell's music, distills the very essence of *Othello*, giving us, in brief compass, the essential ideas and emotions of the tragedy. Four dancers, Othello, Desdemona, Iago, Emilia, execute a pavanne, hands joined, moving in a circle, into and away from the center. Their bodies, their faces, their sweeping skirts and cloaks, their involutions within the stately rhythm, expound love and jealousy, hatred, fear, perplexity, and the pity of it. The dance is small enough in compass to be captured entire by the camera. The camera even augments its effects a little for it can concentrate for a moment on a face or two faces, deepening the impress of their wordless dialogue. Such remarkable condensation is, of course, no substitute for Shakespeare. It requires, indeed, a close knowledge of the play. But it is a motion picture commentary on *Othello* as suggestive as it is beautiful.

The Soviet ballet of *Romeo and Juliet* must be judged, I think, as a dance and not as having any real relation to Shakespeare's poetry.

If we agree that a Shakespearian movie should keep the shape and form of the Shakespearian play, should we require also that it conform to the Shakespearian stage? Must the film confine itself to bare boards and a few curtains, or may a motion picture *Macbeth* be set in Scotland, a motion picture *As You Like It* in the Forest of Arden? The answer depends, I think, on what Shakespeare himself had in mind when he wrote the play. Three times out of four an "authentic" background would not have interested him in the least. Venice for him was not canals and bridges, blue skies and narrow streets, but a name rich in romantic and historical connotations. A gondola would have been terribly in his way. To film *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in Athens would be absurd. The Verona backgrounds which Castellani took so much trouble to photograph in color for his *Romeo and Juliet* are quite as distracting as they are beautiful; they take our minds from the poetry and the people. The wooden railing of the upper stage of the Globe was a better setting for the balcony scene than the handsome triple-arched gallery along which Castellani's Juliet dances, bouncing from arch to arch to the destruction of her lyric lines. Olivier uses the stairways and corridors of his Elsinore in quite another manner, giving us, I think, the answer to our question: if the practicable setting, which the motion picture requires and the modern audience likes, can be made to intensify the poetry, not distract from it, it may do a real service to the play. This is true certainly of Olivier's castle, shaped and angled and lighted, shadowed with fog, touched with gleams of sunlight, blazing with torches, as Hamlet's moods require. The forum in Mankiewicz' film of *Julius Caesar* gives Antony superb opportunities for carrying in Caesar's corpse and placing it in view of the crowd, for withdrawing from or approaching the citizens as he works them to his purpose. The crossbows and the horses are a real asset to Olivier's *Henry V*. These are enlargements of the effects which Shakespeare planned, enlargements which, we can feel sure, he would have welcomed, of

which, had he had them at his command, he would have taken full advantage in the planning of his play.

If the movies can give a local habitation to the plots of Shakespeare's plays, can they give us also those characters who are as important to our lives as any personages in English history? That is a question with two parts. Let us take the easier first.

Shakespeare's characters were created as roles for actors. They come completely to life only when they are played, and they may be played, each of them, in a score of different ways. There are some ways of playing the great roles which we can say with assurance are wrong, but the number of right ways is more than any single generation can imagine. Maurice Evans, for instance, plays, on the stage, a small, not very fat, but thoroughly convincing Falstaff. Sir Laurence Olivier plays, on the screen, a blond, stocky, somewhat phlegmatic Hamlet. Marlon Brando may not be everybody's Antony but he is a highly effective and impressive one. There are many actors in Hollywood, certainly, whom one would not care to entrust with Shakespearian roles, but one feels the same way about just as many actors on Broadway. Most accomplished players now move easily from stage to screen and can create a role in either medium. Actually, of course, the movie offers the actor much assistance and many special advantages. The camera can make certain that even the last rows in the balcony notice that slight gesture of his right hand, that significant lift of his eyebrow. A close-up will oblige the audience to concentrate their attention, as he chooses, on him or on the player he is addressing. He can call to his aid resources of background and light and shadow far beyond anything the stage has to offer. The movie actor knows, too, that his whisper or his lightest sigh will carry through the theatre. Whatever he says, in poetry or in prose, the sound track will beautifully transmit—but how long will the audience listen? That is the second, and the difficult, and the vital question, on which the whole problem of filming Shakespeare hinges. The Shakespearian character lives, the Shakespearian play lives, by its poetry. Is poetry possible to a movie? Can the screen speak blank verse?

That the occasional poetic line can be highly effective in a motion picture there is, I think, no doubt. Henry, before Harfleur, crying

Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more,  
Or close the wall up with our English dead;

Iago's "Not poppy, nor mandragora", Faulconbridge's

I am amaz'd, methinks, and lose my way  
Among the thorns and dangers of this world,

will move any audience. But what of the long speeches without whose poetic richness the emotion of the plays would be gone? What of the soliloquies which bring us so close to the minds of Hamlet and Macbeth and Lear? What of the dialogues, the lively wit, the clash, merry or tragic, of personalities in whom our interest is intense? What of all that talk which is surely the most interesting the stage has ever heard?

Right here rises the great barrier between the stage and screen: when a motion picture ceases to move it dies. The writer who adapts a modern stage

play to the screen is aware of this and knows some of the means by which he can make the transfer. Too often, of course, he does not have the ingenuity or the energy to employ them, but they lie always ready to his hand.

In trying to avoid an excess of talk, the makers of Shakespearian films in the thirties and forties usually attempted to speed up a scene by heavy cutting of the lines. Shakespeare can, of course, bear some pruning, and usually receives it for the modern stage, but when alternate lines are excised from the sonnet Romeo and Juliet speak at their meeting or when *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is lightened of most of the poetry which does not advance the plot, what becomes of that great heritage of English speech we are concerned to save? Sir Laurence Olivier has spoken good sense on this point in discussing his film arrangement of *Richard III*:

If you are going to cut a Shakespeare play, there is only one way to do it—lift out scenes. If you cut the lines piecemeal merely to keep all the characters in, you end up with a mass of short ends.

Following this rule he excised from *Richard III* the cursing scenes and most of the role of Queen Margaret, which not many spectators knew the play well enough to miss. Outcries were raised, though, and rightly, when he filmed *Hamlet* without Rosencrantz and Guildenstern and the recorders. But cutting is, at best, a desperate remedy. There must be others.

Joseph Mankiewicz, when he was filming *Julius Caesar* in 1954, rediscovered one of which the Elizabethan dramatists were well aware. He found, he has recorded, that iambic pentameter is a natural rhythm for men to walk to. Mankiewicz' Cassius and Brutus carry on their pregnant discussion of Caesar (I. ii) not merely standing together, as on the stage, but walking from the Forum to Brutus' house. They stop from time to time, and walk, and stop again, as they hear the trumpets and the shouts when Caesar is presented with the crown. (A very different matter, this, from the purposeless running of Castellani's Romeo. It is what Castellani tried for but did not know how to accomplish when he set Juliet dodging about her too long balcony.) Even in a constricted interior sequence the verse will help the actor as he moves about the stage, making entrances, exits, greeting new comers, emphasizing a point in his talk. The wider dimensions, too, in which the movie actor plays enlarge also his opportunity for natural motion. Olivier made his *Hamlet* in black and white partly because this enabled him to use a deep-focus lens which gives a sharp clarity of outline to the figure of the actor when he moves in the background of a set.

Even when the actor is standing still the pentameter will give his audience a sense of motion if he speaks it well. Olivier has brilliantly demonstrated this in the *Richard III* soliloquies, long sections of which he speaks standing almost motionless. The mighty line catches the audience up and carries them along almost as it did in the Elizabethan theatre. The difficulty is that after *Richard III* Shakespeare did not often write Marlovian verse. The run-on lines and natural speech rhythms of the late plays have no such hypnotic effect, though the sweeping verse of the big speeches in the tragedies might. There are interesting experiments to be tried here, certainly, though pentameter can never be expected to carry the burden of motion for many minutes; the motion pic-

ture play must use motion picture devices to keep itself alive. All the successful directors of Shakespearian films have experimented here, and it is on this problem that most thought is still needed.

The movies, for instance, offer ample room for the large gesture, the flourished sword, the uplifted arm, which may naturally accompany heroic speech. The Shakespearian film actor may need to unlearn some of his modern restraint and naturalism.

Again, when the actors themselves are not moving the camera may be. It can track, pan, shift its focus from the whole scene to a group, to a close-up. These are devices which all movies employ to some extent and which are effective when the change of focus is related to the dramatic idea. When it is employed simply for the sake of motion or variety the audience will begin to feel distraction and discomfort.

The moving background is another important method of bringing support to the poetry. The adaptors of modern stage plays have learned that a conversation which in the theatre takes place on a sofa can be made to live on the screen by transferring the speakers to a taxicab running through a crowded city street or a transcontinental express lurching around the curves. So much of modern life goes on against motion of this kind that one need not strain to make it pertinent to the plot. With Shakespeare it is less easy. Yet the tumult of battle, the ritual of the court, the bustle of forum, camp, and market place are often intrinsic to the story and can easily be made interesting. The Elizabethans loved pageantry, and Shakespeare composed many fine scenes of pomp and ceremony which play straight into the movie director's hands.

And the background motion need not be always on a large scale. Olivier's *Henry V*, for instance, makes excellent use of flickering firelight in the scene where the King, incognito, gives to his soldiers "a little touch of Harry in the night", and then, alone, his back against a hollow tree, muses on the burdens laid "upon the King".

In Olivier's *Hamlet* there is an even smaller and a very subtle device which deserves further study: the background which seems to move. The massive pillars of Elsinore are covered with angular dog-tooth carving. On the walls are tall frescoes, horses caracoling, Romanesque musicians, angels with great wings. As the light plays across these paintings and tapestries and carvings and the camera shifts, they come to a kind of life; the scene seems to stir with motion.

The same device is used more extensively by George Hoellering in his filming of a modern poetic drama, Eliot's *Murder in the Cathedral*. Again and again his camera moves from an actor's face to an altar bright with candles, a crucifix, a painted saint, a curious beast carved on a pillar. And these are not backgrounds only; often they occupy the whole screen. Part of Hoellering's intention in using them is to present a symbol or to set a mood, but the arresting juxtapositions assist also in keeping the scene alive. *Murder in the Cathedral*, more concerned with philosophy than with drama, was a far harder play to film than any of Shakespeare's, and Mr. Hoellering's attack on the problems of screening verse is full of suggestion.

But perhaps the most important method a director can use to make a poetic passage live is to play the whole scene in the motions of the human face. This,

when the actors are good enough, will absorb the attention of any audience. The great Danish director Carl Dreyer has shown us the possibilities of this kind of dramatic motion in his (silent) *Joan of Arc* and in his *Day of Wrath*. If the situation is important and tense, if the actors are not just good but excellent, if the camera watches with skill the play of expression across their faces, there is motion enough to keep any film alive, to hold an audience taut with interest and excitement. Hoellering plays much of *Murder in the Cathedral* in his actors' faces. Even the still portraits in Faber and Faber's beautifully illustrated book on the film are full of drama.

And this is a drama particularly appropriate to Shakespeare, who was acutely conscious of the changes in the human countenance. He was, as Miss Spurgeon has shown us, fascinated by its subtle movements.

Shakespeare's intense interest in the human face has never, I think, been adequately noticed: its frowns and wrinkles, smiles and tears, the tint and shape of the nose, the tension of the nostrils, the eye, its colour and character, "in flood with laughter", sparkling, sun-bright, quick, merry, fiery, mistful, dim, lacklustre, heavy, hollow, modest, sober, sunken or scornful; the peculiar beauty of the eyelid, the betrayal of the gnawing of a nether lip, the dimples on a child's chin, and above all, the way in which he continually makes us *see* the emotions of his characters by the changing changes of colour in their cheeks.

This playing of the play in the human face is particularly important for the soliloquy. The close-up, indeed, plays right into Shakespeare's hands since he used his soliloquies to bring the actor into close communication with his audience. For the soliloquies in *Richard III* Olivier has adopted the daring device of looking straight at the camera, something the movie actor is conventionally forbidden to do. The result is that he seems to be looking straight at and speaking directly to each member of the audience. The effect is arresting, exaggerating the diabolic impudence of Richard's villainy. The method might be used, one imagines, for other villains; Don John, certainly; Iago, perhaps. It would probably be effective, too, for a hero like Richard II, who always imagines an audience when he soliloquizes, but for the introspective characters, like Hamlet and Macbeth, it would not do. They are thinkers overheard. For Hamlet, Olivier uses a device which seems to me quite wrong: he lets us hear the soliloquy on the sound track while the actor sits silent with closed lips. This is supposed to be naturalism, but it is really only a change in convention, and not a happy one.

However he may decide to solve the fundamental problem of combining poetry and motion, the director of a Shakespearian film will find himself faced with several curious ancillary questions posed by the process of translating from one medium to the other. How, for instance, is he to treat the messenger speeches in the play, those verbal descriptions of important action which the dramatist has preferred to have take place off stage? Should the screen, while Queen Gertrude describes Ophelia's drowning, show us a Millais picture of the maiden floating in her willow-shaded stream? Is the impression of "young Harry, with his beaver on" springing from the ground "like feathered Mercury" more vivid if we actually watch the Prince in armor vaulting onto his



horse? Will the murder of Duncan be more terrible if we see the knife plunge in?

A scene which Shakespeare has take place off stage merely for theatrical convenience, the screen may quite properly, I think decide to show us. In *Richard III*, after the murderers have stabbed the Duke of Clarence, one of them says,

I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within,

and lugs off the body, which could not, of course, be left to encumber the curtainless Elizabethan stage. Olivier, in his film, cuts to the tall cask, in the neighbor room, and lets us see the half-dead Clarence pushed into it head first. This would certainly have pleased the groundlings at the Globe and one feels sure that Shakespeare would have approved had it been as practicable as the screen now makes it. For the murder of the little Princes in the Tower, on the other hand, Olivier uses a mixture of genres which does not seem to me successful. A voice, Tyrrel's one supposes though we have not heard it often enough to recognize it, speaks some of the "messenger" lines, while two forms, indistinguishable in a lurid half-light, do something which seems to be smothering. The boys' faces are not seen. To any one not familiar with the story the whole sequence would be, I think, incomprehensible.

The third possibility is to play the scene as Shakespeare wrote it, following that good law in the composition of motion pictures that image and sound may complement but should not duplicate each other. The language of Shakespeare's descriptions is usually vivid and interesting. We carry away from the play a picture of Cleopatra's barge, for instance, as lively as though we had seen it swim upon the boards. The best practice in these scenes may be to let the words do the work while the camera focuses on the faces of those who listen.

Smaller but also troubling to the screen is the problem of the pictorially poetic word, the personification, the vivid metaphor which Shakespeare uses so often and so effectively. When Olivier's Hamlet questions whether he should "take arms against a sea of troubles" he is seated on the battlements of Elsinore; far beneath him the waves beat and beat against the castle walls. "Sea of troubles" seems to rise naturally to his mind, as it must have done to the poet's, and, blessedly, the spectator is left to note the origin for himself; the camera does not underline it. But how often is such an effect possible?

To the high poetry of Shakespeare's verse might be added from time to time some of the special poetry of the screen, intensifying and enriching the play as music, rightly used, enriches it. Olivier's *Richard III* has made two essays in this technique, both successful and indicative of how much more might be done.

The film opens with a shot of a great crown suspended from a gothic ceiling; the camera moves down, to the hands of the Bishop placing the crown upon the head of Edward IV; cuts then to a close-up of Richard pressing angrily upon his black locks a ducal coronet. The theme of the play is set for us: a struggle for the crown. A similar cut from the architectural crown to the real one precludes Richard's coronation, and in a final sequence, after Richard's

death, Rivers plucks from a thornbush the crown which King Richard lost in his fatal combat.

Even more effective is the use of Richard's sinister shadow, darkening the ground before him as he moves from the contemplation of a villainy to the deed.

Such devices as these are not within the power of book or stage. They are the special magic of the screen. Shakespeare, we may imagine, would have added them gladly to those

Spirits, which by mine art  
I have from their confines call'd to enact  
My present fancies.

*Princeton, New Jersey*

## Hamlet and *The Seagull*

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QUOTATIONS from Shakespeare's *Hamlet* occur so frequently in the literary productions of the last three centuries that readers are hardly surprised to find it quoted twice in Chekhov's *The Seagull*. The earliest reference to the possibility that these quotations are clues to a fundamental connection between the two plays was in an anthology which prefaced *The Seagull* with several reasons for believing that "to some extent at least, Chekhov had Shakespeare's play in mind when he was working on his own play".<sup>1</sup> More recently the view was expressed that *The Seagull* "is saturated with echoes from *Hamlet*",<sup>2</sup> but without many supporting details. Since the parallelism is still generally considered incidental, I feel justified in exploring the extent to which Chekhov drew on *Hamlet* to establish the mood, conceive the characters, and construct the plot of his first dramatic masterpiece.

If the connection were immediately apparent, of course, it would have been settled long ago. Instead, most of the efforts to account for the characters and incidents of *The Seagull* center around certain biographical details. Probably the most illuminating bit concerns Chekhov's once feeling compelled to kill a bird which his friend, the painter Levitan, had wounded badly. This event gains credence as the germ of the plot (in the Jamesian sense) if we may trust the story that Levitan at least once pretended to commit suicide when his love affair was going badly, and—still more apocryphal—that he once dramatically tossed a dead seagull on the ground before his beloved.<sup>3</sup>

Other efforts to explain the origin of the play have supposed that Chekhov used himself as a character, or created several characters out of the various facets of his personality. It is not difficult to garner statements from Chekhov's letters and journals which are patently similar to views expressed by Trigorin (the successful author), by Trepleff (the budding genius), and by Dorn (the physician). Of these portraits, Trigorin may actually be "the completest picture of himself that the 'objective-minded' Chekhov ever cared to paint."<sup>4</sup>

The personal papers of the dramatist contain no hint that he drew on *Hamlet* in producing *The Seagull*. Yet from them we learn enough about his views to feel confident that this particular Shakespearian tragedy was one of his touchstones for literary creation. In 1888, seven years before he wrote *The Seagull*, Chekhov planned to collaborate on a one-act skit to be called "Hamlet,

<sup>1</sup> Cleanth Brooks and Robert Heilman, *Understanding Drama* (New York, 1945), p. 501.

<sup>2</sup> David Magarshack, *Chekhov the Dramatist* (London, 1952), p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> N. A. Toumanova, *Anton Chekhov* (New York, 1937) p. 118; Irene Nemirovsky, *La Vie de Tchekov* (Paris, 1946), p. 195.

<sup>4</sup> W. Gerhardt, *Anton Chekhov* (New York, 1949), p. 61.

Prince of Denmark";<sup>5</sup> however, nothing came of the project. Also a feuilleton Chekhov published pseudonymously in 1891 proves that he had considered what it would mean to be a Hamlet in the Russian milieu. In it he caricatures a type he calls a "Moscow Hamlet",<sup>6</sup> an adaptation of the vacillating, self-pitying hero conceived by the Romantic critics. Specific similarities which recur in *The Seagull* include Trepleff's pointing to his failures as evidence of his talents, and remarking that envy and vanity are sucking away his life.

A survey of the resemblances between the two plays may begin appropriately with the initial circumstances of the two "heroes". Like Hamlet, Trepleff is depressed when the play opens, although he is intermittently elated by his plans for an amateur production of his experimental drama. Soon, however, he goes beyond Hamlet's wish that "the Everlasting had not fixed His canon 'gainst self-slaughter", in actually trying to commit suicide. Both young men find themselves in love with girls whose parents frown on the match. Also, both are home from the university, without their degrees, and wanting permission to leave. Hamlet's mother adds her plea to Claudius' command that he stay at court; Trepleff asks his mother in vain for a little financial aid in seeking a career far from her isolated estate.

Perhaps one reason that this connection has long remained unexplored is that *The Seagull* takes from *Hamlet* a quotation which points in a contrary direction; that is, it identifies Trigorin with Hamlet. In the second act, Trepleff says to Nina: "Here comes the real genius, he walks like Hamlet, and with a book, too. 'Words, words, words'." But the identification is subtly redressed by Trepleff's next words: "This sun has hardly reached you, and you are already smiling, your glance is melting in his rays."<sup>7</sup> This comment recalls Hamlet's caution to Polonius: "Let her not walk in the sun. Conception is a blessing, but not as your daughter may conceive. Friend, look to't" (II. ii. 185-187). Hamlet knows the danger, for earlier in the play he spoke in a punning way of having been "to much in the sun" of Claudius, and what he conceived was nightmares. Soon afterwards, Nina does conceive from this sun which is dazzling her eyes.

Like Claudius, Trigorin is no ordinary villain, but a man who feels driven by circumstances. The kingdom Trigorin has usurped is the literary world, which Trepleff believes to be his by natural right. But by equating Trigorin with Hamlet, Trepleff suggests that what he envies most is not Trigorin's prestige, but his charm.<sup>8</sup> This charm has effortlessly won him Arcadina's affections, and soon adds Nina to his trophies. Trigorin has committed no murders, but is guilty of callously dissecting the hopes and energies of those around him to further his literary career. At times he realizes it, but can no more leave off his parasitism than Claudius can renounce the rewards of his crime in order to effectuate his prayers.

If the themes of murder and revenge are lacking in *The Seagull*, one may ask, is not the resemblance between the plays superficial—another *Hamlet* with-

<sup>5</sup> Magarshack, *Dramatist*, pp. 55-57.

<sup>6</sup> A. Kuprin, ed., *Anton Tchekhov: Literary and Theatrical Reminiscences* (New York, 1927), pp. 215-223.

<sup>7</sup> *The Sea Gull*, tr. Stark Young (New York, 1939), p. 51.

<sup>8</sup> In Chekhov's *That Worthless Fellow Platonov*, the hero is called a Hamlet because he charms and impresses everyone (Act I, scene x, tr. John Cournos [New York, 1930], p. 51).

out the prince? The similarities are admittedly partial, and can easily be presented in terms which obscure them. Yet the connection is so apparent that Chekhov's divergencies may be significant. The situation is analogous to Manet's use of a source for *Le Dejeuner sur l'Herbe*. All who compare the figures in this painting with those of the two sea gods and a nymph in one corner of Raphael's *The Judgment of Paris* (as preserved in a later copy) acknowledge the derivation. Yet Raphael's men are nudes magnificently unconcerned with each other as they decorate the space; Manet's are fashionably-clothed Parisian painters whose bodies are slightly rearranged to suggest conversation. As Manet cut away the supernatural and obscured the classic outlines of his source with clothing and impressionistic color, all of which disturbed devotees of Renaissance traditions, so Chekhov treated the material he found in *Hamlet*.

Once in his notes Chekhov asked himself: "Why did Hamlet trouble about ghosts after death, when life itself is haunted by ghosts so much more terrible?"<sup>9</sup> For Trepleff, who is almost a clinical example of "mother-fixation",<sup>10</sup> his mother serves as a ghost. Before Freud had identified this neurosis, and long before the Freudians had claimed Hamlet as their classic illustration, Chekhov had drawn a character who displayed the effects of this fixation and—it is tempting to suppose—toyed with the possibility that Hamlet's obsession with his mother's guilt helped to account for his delay. In this connection the play offers the most extensive verbal echoes of *Hamlet*: Arcadina quotes one of Gertrude's key speeches:

Thou turn'st mine eyes into my very soul,  
And there I see such black and grained spots  
As will not leave their tinct. (III. iv. 89-91)

and Trepleff responds with an expurgated form of Hamlet's retort. Whatever the validity of the Freudian interpretation of *Hamlet*, Chekhov may have found the suggestion there for the obsession which explains Trepleff's aimlessness, depression, and failure.

The mothers differ in character, but little more than is required by the sequence of events. Gertrude is no less insensitive than Arcadina, but far less vain and domineering, even at times rather pathetic. She is not one of the "mighty opposites" who dominate the events of the play, and when she comes between their "fell incensed points" the only result is her death. *The Seagull*, however, has no physical equivalents of these antagonists. Instead, it has its psychological counterpart in Arcadina, whose taunts of "Beggar! Nonentity!" kill her son as effectively as an envenomed sword.

The love affair in *Hamlet* may also have stirred Chekhov's imagination. The young lovers are openly infatuated as the play opens; then both are enjoined: Ophelia by her father's prohibition, Hamlet by the duty his father's Ghost lays on him. She continues to reject him firmly and to love him hopelessly. In a state easily mistaken for insanity, Hamlet screams insults at Ophelia and later kills her father; she becomes insane, and her death inspires her brother to kill Hamlet. This vague but extensive balancing of plot elements may have

<sup>9</sup> Note-books of Anton Chekhov, tr. S. Kotliansky (London, 1921), p. 16.

<sup>10</sup> Magarshack, *Dramatist*, p. 194.

suggested, not merely Chekhov's long chain of unreciprocated loves, but his use of them to further the plot. Thus the role of Ophelia splits into Masha,<sup>11</sup> who loves Trepleff in vain, and Nina who rejects him. Claudius, adopting Polonius' suggestion, tortures Hamlet by using Ophelia as a decoy; apparently Hamlet is convinced that his mother's lover will, in turn, seduce Ophelia. So is Trepleff, who has his convictions confirmed when Trigorin arranges for Nina to follow him to Moscow.

In both works, as Magarshack noted,<sup>12</sup> there is the "play-within-the-play", initiated and carefully directed by the hero; each skit "comes to an abortive end because of the passion it arouses." But Trepleff's play opens the plot, and corresponds in position, not to Hamlet's "mouse-trap", but to the appearance of the Ghost. If Chekhov did more than echo *Hamlet*, if in fact he conceived an intricate relationship between the two plots, we should recognize an underlying similarity in the initial crises of the plays. And so we can: A ghost informs Hamlet of the situation which his "prophetic soul" had already divined; a "world-soul" is conjured up in *The Seagull* to lecture the audience. Its message? Matter is the universal villain, in that it seeks to destroy all life (as obsessions thwart the integrative power of reason). Then, as the Devil is approaching with a more explicit message about this affliction, Trepleff stops the performance because of his mother's flippancy.

As Chekhov and his contemporaries interpreted *Hamlet*, the prince was seeking, not an answer to his doubts concerning the Ghost, but excuses for postponing his duty. Since the first scene confirms Arcadina's role as the antagonist, the primary obstacle to his success, she logically becomes the intended victim of any equivalent of the "mouse-trap" play; that is, any device which Trepleff employs is ostensibly calculated to expose her offense against him, but actually to postpone what he should be doing. His suicide attempt serves this function; as he visits his mother regularly to have her change the bandage, he displays a pathetic craving for her affection. One of these visits, in turn, resembles Hamlet's scene with Gertrude. When the son objects to his mother's lover, the resulting quarrel is followed by a momentary reconciliation, from which the mother in each case is then distracted—Gertrude by her horror at the stabbing of Polonius, Arcadina by her jealousy of Nina. Trepleff's futile efforts to force Trigorin into a duel also reminds us of Hamlet's talk of stabbing Claudius. Both young men thereby critically heighten their danger, Hamlet from Claudius' suspicion, Trepleff from Arcadina's contempt.

Toward the end of the play Chekhov's echoes of *Hamlet* suggest not only the origin of the characters and the plot, but afford valuable clues to character development. Particularly is this true when Nina makes her final appearance, little less distraught than Ophelia before her death. Nina's speeches can be treated as manifestations of approaching insanity, or as the incoherence natural to a major emotional crisis. Brooks and Heilman state flatly that in *The Seagull* "the youthful characters like Nina and Trepleff . . . are destroyed."<sup>13</sup> Tournanova writes that "Nina, the little sea gull with broken wings, returns, almost

<sup>11</sup> Her father is like Polonius in being (a) given to reminiscence, (b) dogmatic, and in being (c) steward or "Lord Chamberlain" of the estate.

<sup>12</sup> *Dramatist*, p. 173

<sup>13</sup> *Understanding Drama*, p. 495



insane after her unhappy adventure. . . .<sup>14</sup> But Chekhov is said to have felt that this scene was prologue to a great acting career for Nina. Such was the agony, according to him, that brought to birth the talents of Miss Olga Knipper, who played Arcadina in the Moscow Art Theatre production, and whom he later married.<sup>15</sup> But the very ambiguity of her mental state may serve to heighten the irony of the ending. For the primary dramatic function of her return is to convince Trepleff that her commitments to life (no matter what the cost in suffering) will lead to success, whereas his obsession has cost him not only her love but the success his talents deserved. How much more pathetic it is if the audience considers him mistaken about Nina's future!

The way both Nina and Ophelia use symbols should not be overlooked. Ophelia intuitively recognizes that the mutilated flowers she bestows with such a show of discrimination are symbols of how she has been callously uprooted. Nina, too, is struggling with the obsession that the seagull's pointless slaughter is symbolic of her life: "I am a seagull. No, that's wrong." If she is really destined to triumph as an actress, the symmetry is no less remarkable. A self-symbol is central in Ophelia's consciousness as insanity overwhelms her; Nina's delusion that she shares the bird's fate almost undermines her sanity before she can void the delusion.

In the last act we find Trepleff has made a little progress toward rivaling Trigorin as the reigning literary figure. This change vaguely resembles Hamlet's feeling that he is now adequate as he returns to Denmark. Yet Chekhov may have noted how Hamlet appears to be often distracted, as his mercurial mind yearns for Yorick, outboasts Laertes, and mocks Osric. Trepleff's will is really paralyzed as he mourns the loss of Nina and fears to disturb his mother.

The death scenes of the heroes form a contrast neatly complementing the final appearances of Nina and Ophelia. In one last outburst of violence, Hamlet takes his guilty antagonists with him to that "bourn" from which "no traveller returns". In death he receives an accolade from the warrior-hero Fortinbras and the assurance from Horatio that his story will be proclaimed abroad. Trepleff dies off-stage without creating a ripple of interest; even the sound of the gun is denied to prevent his mother from staging another display of histrionics. The wise physician Dorn (who, like Horatio, is "not passion's slave") suppresses everything. Trepleff is a Hamlet for whom truly, "The rest is silence."

This exploration of Chekhov's springs of inspiration is, and probably must remain, incomplete. Creation is always a mystery, and Chekhov, it is said, never chose to "lift for us even the tiniest fringe of the curtain which shut off the approach to his 'workshop'."<sup>16</sup> The effort should aid us, however, in further speculations about Chekhov's intentions; for instance, concerning the critical problem of whether, as he insists, *The Seagull* is a comedy. One editor agrees, maintaining that the wit and lyricism of the play permit us to view the characters with amused detachment.<sup>17</sup> But too often, when an audience laughs at a performance of this play nowadays, it is being distracted by the alien and eccentric behavior of the society which was Chekhov's *donnée*. No matter

<sup>14</sup> Anton Chekhov, p. 120

<sup>15</sup> Magarshack, *Dramatist*, p. 191

<sup>16</sup> Kuprin, p. 3.

<sup>17</sup> *The Sea Gull*, tr. Stark Young (New York, 1939), pp. xxi. ff.

how loudly he lamented Stanislavsky's stress on pathos and frustration, no director of any stature has chosen to offer the play as a comedy. Nor is it easy to see why Magarshack insists that the play is "a drama of courage and hope"<sup>18</sup>—sentiments it can scarcely inculcate unless the audience considers Nina as the central character.

Could it be that the paradoxical, sometimes impishly perverse playwright was denying the truth about his play as a means of stressing it? He apparently indulged in a similar caprice, we are told, in speaking of his short stories. Even when readers found them "excruciatingly funny", he continued to insist that he was writing "serious stuff".<sup>19</sup> Yet, in a curiously ironical way, he could have meant that a play which inverts a tragedy, stands it neatly on its head, must be a comedy. And not just any tragedy, but *Hamlet*!

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<sup>18</sup> *Dramatist*, p. 42.

<sup>19</sup> Lydia Avilov, *Chekhov in My Life* (New York, 1950), p. 62.

## Antony and Cleopatra and the Paradoxical Metaphor

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VEN in the first speech of *Antony and Cleopatra* Shakespeare introduces a rhetorical mode which in its reiteration throughout the five acts is peculiar to this play and hence provides a clue to its implications. Antony's heart, remarks the Roman spokesman Philo, is no longer the organ of martial courage but has become rather "the bellows and the fan/ To cool a gypsy's lust (I.i.6-10). We should have expected here some such verb as "inflamm" instead of "cool"; but the Egyptian atmosphere has sufficiently disturbed the confident order of the Roman mind and code to beget a kind of discourse which is obliged to take account of the contradictions and unpredictability and irrationality of human affection and passion. Thus the beat of Antony's imperial and militant heart, which should have set the measure to the farther advances of Roman power, has become instead the sighing bellows whose cooling current serves but to revive the latent flame of Cleopatra's lust. For this kind of expression which persists through the play perhaps the phrase "paradoxical metaphor" will serve most inclusively, for it involves the sense of bafflement and surprise, the inherent contradiction, and the unexpected reality beneath appearance which are associated with paradox.

To the rhetoric-conscious Elizabethans of the literate classes paradox was, of course, a familiar device, and many of them may have recognized in this tragedy its recurrent appearance in the form of syneciosis, a yoking of seemingly incompatible terms. Shakespeare himself occasionally alludes to paradox, and even more frequently he employs it as a rhetorical mode in his poems and plays.<sup>1</sup> In the opening scene of *Macbeth* he has the witches proclaim that "Fair is foul, and foul is fair", but this paradoxical thesis he elaborates in that play rather through surprising episodes of reversal than through explicit verbal commentary and discourse. But uniquely in *Antony and Cleopatra* he underscores by reiterated verbal pointers the paradoxical element that pervades and dominates behavior and catastrophe. The play begins and ends on such a note, and attention to this emphasis would do much, I suggest, to dispose of the charge of scholars like Schücking that the play breaks apart in the middle—that the sultry Queen of the first three acts could not become the "lass unparalleled" of the final two, or that the Antony who has been a "strumpet's fool" for most of the play could not deserve Octavius Caesar's tears in the last scene.<sup>2</sup> Through

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sister Miriam Joseph, *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language* (New York, 1947), pp. 135-136.

<sup>2</sup> Levin L. Schücking, *Character Problems in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1922), pp. 127ff.

the reiterated paradox Shakespeare would seem to remind his audience that apparent contradictions in behavior are not necessarily ultimate inconsistencies in value and motive; for the paradox serves to hold contradictions in solution, as it were. It is an admission of the unresolved conflict between common sense or current code and a new experience which cannot as yet be explained and therefore can only be reported. In *Antony and Cleopatra* it thus becomes a staple in the utterance of the Roman characters, for they have hitherto been conditioned to a firm, legalistic, and rational world; and now, confronted by the alien culture and mysterious phenomena of Egypt, they can only report and wait.

The most concentrated expression of this sense of the self-contradictory in the Egyptian scene is to be found in the description of Cleopatra and the barge. Like Philo, the rationalistic Enobarbus can express his bafflement only in paradox. A half-dozen times within the course of thirty lines he goes beyond the account in Plutarch, which Shakespeare otherwise so closely paraphrased, to insert paradox or syneciosis. In Plutarch "the oars of silver . . . kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the music of flutes, hautboys, citherns, viols, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge."<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare dispenses with all the instruments except the flutes and substitutes Enobarbus' impression that the oars "made / The water which they beat to follow faster, / As amorous of their strokes" (II. ii. 199-202). By this additional observation on the all but masochistic water Enobarbus would seem to be projecting into his description the paradoxical conduct of love as he has observed it between Antony and Cleopatra. Quite explicitly in the first act (I. iii. 1-10) the Queen has announced to Charmian her technique of captivating Antony by crossing him at every turn—by dancing when he is sad, by feigning illness when he is in mirth. Cleopatra's acts are the strokes of the oars, as Enobarbus has seen, which paradoxically cause the amorous Antony "to follow faster". The climactic stroke comes at the height of the battle of Actium when, as Scarus reports, Cleopatra "like a cow in June" hoisted sail and fled with her sixty ships and Antony "like a doting mallard" followed after (III. x. 14-15, 20-21).

To Enobarbus the magic of Cleopatra seemed not to lie so much in sheer sensuous splendor as in the contradictions in which the splendor is wreathed. Even the "pretty dimpled boys" in the very act of cooling her with "divers-colored fans", he observes, made her cheeks glow and "what they undid did" (II. ii. 207-210). The paradox of the cooling wind which effects the opposite from that which is expected is entirely absent from Plutarch, who is content with describing the magnificence of the scene in which "pretty fair boys apparelled" like Cupid "fanned wind upon her" (II, 38-39). Just as Philo has already concluded that Antony's sighs have served as a fan to "cool a gypsy's lust", so Enobarbus also notes that where Cleopatra is concerned the cooling winds produce an unexpected heat. But not only on the barge, Enobarbus tells Mecaenas and Agrippa, does the Queen mock expectation. Once hopping forty paces through the street she panted breathlessly, only to have her very deficiency be-

Cf. also Virgil Whitaker, *Shakespeare's Use of Learning* (San Marino, 1953) p. 314; and G. B. Shaw, *Three Plays for Puritans* (New York, 1906), pp. xxviii-xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, ed. C. F. Tucker Brooke (New York, 1909), II, 38.

come her peculiar glory: "... she did make defect perfection, / And breathless, power breathe forth" (II. ii. 233-237). For the conclusion of his tribute Enobarbus, in a typical Shakespearian mode, resorts to multiple allusion in an attempt to fix for his hearers the uniqueness of Cleopatra's paradoxical charm: she defies the withering process of age; she makes her victims hungrier even as she satisfies their appetites; her very wantonness is so becoming that it is blessed by the holy priests (II. ii. 240-245). In view of these many interpretive additions to Plutarch's account, it is difficult to accept the dictum of a recent scholarly volume that Shakespeare's Cleopatra is "merely Plutarch's Cleopatra put on the stage" and that "There is no point in Shakespeare's characterization that is not provided for in Plutarch. . . ."<sup>4</sup> To be sure, Shakespeare did not contradict Plutarch's characterization; but he added a paradoxical dimension to it which helped transform Plutarch's didactic account into the more complex stuff of tragedy.

Though Shakespeare makes the Queen the greatest paradox in the play, he again goes beyond Plutarch in developing Antony as a character who is not merely an aggregate of diverse and contrasting traits but rather one who, like Cleopatra, seems to make "defect perfection". This view is introduced in the first act when Lepidus declines to accept Octavius' summary condemnation of Antony as "the abstract of all faults / That all men follow". In refutation Lepidus, through a startling inversion of the normal identification of the stars with the good and the beautiful, construes Antony's faults as the "spots of heaven" which are made "More fiery by night's blackness" (I. iv. 9-13). It is not surprising that Doctor Johnson, noting that stars are usually said to "beautify the night" but ignoring Shakespeare's addition to paradoxical figures in the play, should have pronounced Lepidus' analogy forced and harsh; but Malone more discerningly not only accepted the figure but proceeded to the further implication that "night's blackness" stands for Antony's goodness.<sup>5</sup> Thus in effect Lepidus would seem to be saying that out of the vast darkness of Antony's virtues his faults shine like stars—that his very defects involve a bright beauty. But it is Cleopatra herself, of course, who in her final eulogy of Antony hits upon the more memorable figure to express the paradoxical aspect of his character. The generous abandon which Octavius condemned and Lepidus compared to the "spots of heaven" becomes for her a "bounty" which had "no winter in't" but was an "autumn . . . / That grew the more by reaping" (V. ii. 86-88). Here in this final sublimating portion of the tragedy the paradoxical hints at the transcendental; for, though I should find it difficult to accept a recent argument that Cleopatra bespeaks a Christian pattern of values in her last hours,<sup>6</sup> she clearly repudiates the normal secular view in measuring Antony's richness by what he gave away. To both the Roman reason of Octavius and the possessive mind of the earlier Cleopatra the uncalculating generosity of Antony seemed a foolish and inexplicable denial of self-interest. And so it was to Enobarbus, who, unable to square Antony's magnanimous and affectionate nature with Roman imperialism, deserted, only in the end to give back

<sup>4</sup> Hardin Craig, *An Interpretation of Shakespeare* (New York, 1948), p. 272.

<sup>5</sup> The Variorum *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. H. H. Furness (Philadelphia, 1907), p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Mrs. D. G. Cunningham, "The Characterization of Shakespeare's Cleopatra", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, VI (Winter, 1955), 10-14.

his allegiance to his foolish master to whose overwhelming and perplexing "bounty" he must yield, even as did Cleopatra (IV. vi. 32).

In addition to these concentrations of paradoxical metaphor around Cleopatra and Antony, Shakespeare diffuses lighter touches of the same mode throughout the play. Thus Antony observes that the "slippery people" never love "the deserver / Till his deserts are past" (I. ii. 192-194)—that is, they never love a deserver till he is a non-deserver; and in this judgment Octavius concurs later by finding "the ebbd man, ne'er loved till ne'er worth love" (I. iv. 43). Sometimes the paradox is approached through a pun, as when Octavius complains of the great weight he must bear as a triumvir because of Antony's "lightness" (I. iv. 24-25). Sometimes it is suggested by incongruous or unlikely associations in epithet and noun, as when Agrippa terms Cleopatra a "royal wench" (II. ii. 231), or when Scarus describes Antony as a "noble ruin" (III. x. 19). Or again it may appear with more complex ethical overtones in Ventidius' recognition that a virtue may be an evil—that "ambition, / The soldier's virtue", may serve to demote rather than promote its exemplar, and hence that he must more wisely make "choice of loss / Than gain which darkens him" (III. i. 22-24). Persistently in the last scenes the tragedy injects its paradoxical stresses through Antony's conclusion, just before his suicide, that "with a wound" he "must be cured" (IV. xiv. 78) and that, after his slave Eros' exemplary action in killing himself, the master Antony will die "scholar" to his bondman (IV. xiv. 102). In somewhat the same vein Cleopatra welcomes "the stroke of death" because, like "a lover's pinch", it "hurts, and is desired" (V. ii. 298-299). And in the last scene even Caesar, to express the contradictions of pride and fear and beauty fused in the deaths of Cleopatra and Charmian, must characterize their suicide as a "noble weakness" (V. ii. 347).

From this large incidence of the paradoxical in the lines of the play one can but conclude, I think, that here lay Shakespeare's ultimate construction of the tragedy of Antony and Cleopatra. How much of it was a consciously applied verbal design, how much of it emerged from those uncalculated processes and associations that seem to have been a function of his imagination,<sup>7</sup> one cannot and need not confidently presume to say. But the sense of the paradoxical was surely the matrix from which much of the characterization and the action sprang, and in the more comprehensive sweep of the plot it inevitably passed into the ironic. The line which separates the two elements in the play, indeed, is often hard to fix. Both involve contradiction, surprise, and the variance of the apparent with the real; but paradox inclines toward the static, whereas irony, at least in a dramatic context, looks more explicitly to antecedent expectation and action. A case in point is the role of Octavia. Unlike Cleopatra, she herself is not presented in paradoxical terms, although one feels that Shakespeare might have written of her that "she makes perfection defect". Her marriage to Antony is hastily interpreted by Menas as an alliance that will forever knit Antony and Octavius together; but more perceptively Enobarbus sees this "band that seems to tie their friendship together" as one which will be the very strangler of their amity" (II. vi. 122-130). Or, as he says a few lines later in transposing the metaphorical into the abstract: "that which is the strength of their amity shall prove the immediate author of their variance" (II. vi. 137-139).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. E. A. Armstrong, *Shakespeare's Imagination* (London, 1946), pp. 91 ff.



Octavius, too, has suspicions that this "piece of virtue", Octavia, which should be the "cement" of love between Antony and himself may actually prove to "be the ram to batter / The fortress of it" (III. ii. 28-31). The fact that the "band" is not yet but rather becomes the "strangler" and that time also plays a part in making the "cement" into the "ram" perhaps pushes the figures away from paradox into irony. But whatever distinction one may wish to make between the two modes, they serve here as related media manifesting the mood of paradox which is the imaginative premise from which the major elements of the play are wrought.

In ending the tragedy Shakespeare held to the paradoxical and ironic as a tonic chord. Antony dies a victorious victim, or as he says, "a Roman by a Roman / Valiantly vanquished" (IV. xv. 56-57)—one whose valor "hath triumphed on itself" (IV. xv. 14-15). Around Cleopatra the ironies and paradoxes are even more richly sustained. Still egotistically possessive she feeds her pride by anticipating Antony's grief over the false news of her death; but, unprepared for the suicide which followed her irresponsible ruse, she is ironically pushed further by Antony's magnanimity and example toward her own decision to die. Resolved to end her life in the "high Roman fashion", she yet, as Caesar says, chooses one of the "easy ways to die" in the asp's bite (V. ii. 359). Confessing her self to be but "e'en a woman" like "the maid that milks / And does the meanest chares" (IV. xv. 73-75), she nevertheless dies proudly like a queen in royal robes and with a crown that must not be left awry at her death. Supposing herself to be "marble-constant" and to have "nothing / Of woman" in herself (V. ii. 239-240), she yet vainly preserves such beauty in death that Caesar feels that she could "catch another Antony / In her strong toil of grace" (V. ii. 348-351). Thinking herself all fire and air and purged of the baser elements, she can still jealously fear that Antony will "spend" his first kiss upon Iras after death (V. ii. 292-293, 304-306).

In the aura of such constant paradox a one-dimensional reading of the tragedy would seem scarcely convincing. Certainly a narrow didacticism, whether moralistic or political, gradually dissolves in the cumulative ironies and contradictions of character, plot, and catastrophe. To suppose that Shakespeare should have simply intended the play as an apology for Christian values through Cleopatra's transformation or as a defense of political order through the triumph of the "rational Octavius",<sup>8</sup> is to wind the tragedy too neatly and tightly around a hypothetical Elizabethan thesis. It is also to ignore much of the text and the prevailing response of varied generations of readers and viewers of the play. What we have in the tragedy, I think, is the mirror held up to the disturbance of values when two large and incompatible cultures come into conflict. As Occidentals we incline at first to suppose that the Romans Philo and Enobarbus bespeak Shakespeare's moral and political views if not, indeed, some eternal verities. But Shakespeare is neither Roman nor Egyptian in his dramatic stance, I believe, but is above and beneath both cultural patterns. Hence there is no clear resolution in behalf of any of the characters, as there tends to be in the other major tragedies. The virtue whose feature the dramatic mirror shows here is an as yet undefined synthesis lying

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Mrs. D. G. Cunningham, *loc. cit.*, and Daniel Stempel, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, VII (Winter, 1956), 62-63.

beyond both Rome and Egypt but partaking of the values of both. For this undefined synthesis paradox was the inevitable mode of discourse. Hence at the end of the play we have the paradox of nobility in failure and pettiness in success, of magnanimity in passion and calculation in reason. What Shakespeare precisely intended we can never know. But who is to say that an age which nurtured the art of John Donne would not have found itself even more at home than we with the cumulative paradox that lies at the very heart of *Antony and Cleopatra*?

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## The Spoken Language and the Dramatic Text: Some Notes on the Interpretation of Shakespeare's Language

HILDA M. HULME

**W**HEN a recent essay on "Shakespeare and Elizabethan English" Professor Willcock stressed "the necessity of keeping continually in mind the *oral* aspects of Shakespeare's language, originally conceived in the mind for an actor's voice and published to the world on an actor's lips."<sup>1</sup> Such a reminder is, I suggest, of special significance to the glossarist and commentator trying to interpret what is as yet obscure in Shakespeare's vocabulary. In the study of living language it is to the spoken, not the written text that we give our first attention; we hear many sense distinctions which the normal written language does not record. And when we ask by what means we understand current idiom, we readily accept, as linguistic truth, Wittgenstein's philosophic dictum that the "silent adjustments to understand colloquial language are enormously complicated". We recognize that it is primarily by context, that is, by internal evidence, that we are directed at once to make the appropriate adjustments; an up-to-the-minute dictionary of contemporary speech we neither need nor look to have. Although Shakespeare's text exists for us only in printed form, it is, I think, none the less important to remember that what Shakespeare wrote was originally understood as spoken language. Certainly it is always possible that, where the meaning seems to us obscure, the text may have been incorrectly transmitted; the editor's task will then consist in trying to discover what a scribe or compositor misread. But it is perhaps less often realized that obscurity may also arise through our failure in approach to the spoken language of the original. If we are to hear in the given text what Shakespeare's contemporaries heard, we need at once their linguistic background (what they have spoken and heard rather than what they have read or put into writing) and, arising from that background, their kind, not our kind, of linguistic inventiveness, their way of adjusting to what was new in Shakespeare's language. Our knowledge of the first, of the language that Shakespeare found (as Professor Willcock has so finely expressed it), is gradually being extended; yet with every scrap added we may note afresh how little is recoverable of the spoken record of a past age: external evidence, that is to say, may well be fragmentary. The second requirement, an exclusively Elizabethan response to elements of meaning which appear to be newly-pointed or uniquely-contrived in Shakespeare's language, we can of course

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare Survey* 7 (1954), p. 12.

never completely attain to. I suggest that a readiness to submit to internal evidence may sometimes take us a little way forward.

The following passage from *Othello* may serve to illustrate the problem:

*Desdemona*. . . . Let me go with him.

*Othello*. Let her haue your voice.

Vouch with me Heauen, I therefore beg it not

To please the pallate of my Appetite:

Nor to comply with heat the yong affects [Qq. heate,]

In my defunct, and proper satisfaction.

But to be free and bounteous to her minde:

Theobald believed the penultimate line (I.iii.265), as printed and stopped in the original, a period of stubborn nonsense obtruded by the editors upon poor Shakespeare: "What a preposterous creature is this *Othello* made, to fall in Love with, and marry a fine young Lady, when *Appetite* and *Heat*, and *proper Satisfaction* are *dead* and *defunct* in him! (For, *defunct* signifies nothing else, that I know of, either primitively or metaphorically:)." Subsequent editors have been similarly puzzled. Emendations proposed have taken two main forms: in the first *defunct* is replaced by an adjective or noun of similar consonantal structure (distinct, defect, defenc't, default, disjunct); in the second *defunct* is retained through the grammatical change of *my* to "*me*" with consequent repunctuation (—the young affects In me defunct—as by such recent editors as Aldis Wright (1892), Kittredge (1939), Alexander (1951), Hardin Craig (1951), Sisson (1953)).<sup>2</sup> The grammatical emendation has won the day, I think, by the apparent economy of the change proposed: a single letter only is altered; on the other hand the passage when emended sounds very different in syntax and intonation from the original. And the original rests after all on the combined authority of Folio and Quarto. Might it not be possible that for Shakespeare's first audience, as perhaps for his first printers, *defunct* bore a sense in some way akin to its "collateral Epithet" *proper*, even though such a sense has not been found elsewhere in literary use? Where we may ask could Shakespeare and some at least of his contemporaries have heard this sense often enough for it to become part of their linguistic background? In the Elizabethan schoolroom may be the answer. T. W. Baldwin describes Cooper's *Thesaurus* as "the standard dictionary of Shakespeare's youth" and shows that a copy of it was bequeathed in 1565 to the school of Stratford. *Defungor* is there glossed "Also . . . to bee delyuered, rydde, and no more troubled with a thyng", with these citations among others: "Defunctus fato, escaped his destiny. . . . Periculis defunctum esse, to be past danger. Oportet omnes defungi vnius poena, all must bee delyuered out of trouble by one mans punyishment or condemnacion."<sup>3</sup> *Defunct* might then mean "free—of danger, punishment, penalty incurred", a sense of great significance in this context. Remember the immedi-

<sup>2</sup> I find that H. C. Hart, Arden (1903), retains the original reading; he judges the signification "dead" for "defunct" quite intolerable, and rightly, as I think, asserts that the primary sense of *defunctus* is "discharged from". But this he sees as referring to Othello's "laid aside" marriage rites, an interpretation which, in my opinion, fails to take into account the full implications of immediate and extended context.

<sup>3</sup> *Elizos Dictionarie the second tyme enriched, and more perfectly corrected*, by Thomas Cooper; I quote from a British Museum copy dated 1552.

acy of the heard text, the central theme of the first scenes—the propriety and legality of Othello's marriage to Desdemona. Her father's power to invoke legal penalty is shown at once in his rebuke of Roderigo's uproar (I.i.103); he gathers great forces against Othello. Iago warns his general of Brabantio's "voice potential"

He will diuorce you.  
Or put vpon you, what restraint or greeuance,  
The Law (with all his might, to enforce it on)  
Will giue him Cable.

The Duke acknowledges the right of the injured father,

the bloodie Booke of Law,  
You shall yourselfe read, in the bitter letter,  
After your owne sense.

As "an abuser of the World, a practiser Of Arts inhibited, and out of warrant", Othello faces the ultimate penalty. And it is noteworthy that not until this charge is, by implication, withdrawn ("If she confesse that she was halfe the wooer," I.iii.176) does Othello speak with pride and dignity of "my wife".

Anyone convinced by this interpretation is likely, I am afraid, to overvalue in principle the needle fragment of external evidence; the haystack will not always present itself in convenient dictionary form. It must also be admitted that one is much more likely to find additional written evidence for the dignified Latinism than for the English colloquial phrase. In the cut and thrust of dramatic dialogue, the wit of speaking-character may often depend on swiftly glancing allusion to some proverb or idiom insufficiently evidenced in the literary record. How, for example, are we to understand the meaning of the Fool's last utterance "And Ile go to bed at noone" (*Lear* III. vi. 92)? This proverb comes at a very significant point of the play:

*Kent.* Now good my Lord, lye heere, and rest awhile.  
*Lear.* Make no noise, make no noise, draw the Curtaines: so, so, wee'l go  
to Supper i'th' morning  
*Foole.* And Ile go to bed at noone.  
*Glou.* Come hither Friend:  
Where is the King my Master?  
*Kent.* Here Sir, but trouble him not, his wits are gon.

But unfortunately, until we can postulate the normal range of applicability of this proverb within Tudor speech we cannot fully comprehend either the wit of the speaker or the intention of the dramatist. Tilley's magnificent collection affords several literary citations of the proverb; he does not however attempt a definition; it may therefore be worth while to consider how precisely we can isolate its "straight" meaning from the literary evidence he has made available.<sup>4</sup> John Heywood (*A Dialogue*, 1546 K), like Lear's Fool, takes pleasure in turning back the metaphor to a literal use. A "late old wydow, and than old new wyfe" is reproaching her young husband for infidelity:

<sup>4</sup> *A Dictionary of Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Ann Arbor, 1950. B. 197.

Many kysse the childe for the nurces sake.  
 Ye haue many godchyltren to looke upone,  
 And ye blesse them all, but ye basse but one.  
 This half shewth, what the holle meanth, yt I meeue.  
 Ye fet circumquaques to make me beleue  
 Or thynke, that the moone is made of a grene chese.  
 And whan ye haue made me a loute in all these,  
 It semeth ye wolde make me go to bed at noone.  
 Naie (quoth he) the daie of dome shall be doone  
 Er thou go to bed at noone, or nyght, for me,  
 Thou art, to be playn and not to flatter the,  
 As holsome a morsell for my comly cors,  
 As a shoulder of mutton for a sycke hors.

The figurative element common to Heywood and Shakespeare would seem to lie in reference to overcredulity, a drawing of the curtains to shut out the light of reality. (We may note the fantasy of Lear's direction "make no noise, draw the Curtaines".) A variant idiom "bid goodnight at noon" is found in the work of the poet Grange, 1577. He concludes an epistle dedicatory "Thus trusting to your Honors curtesie, at noone I bid good night" and writes in one poem of his lady who refusing his love "Doth force my harte with woe to pine And biddes my ioyes at noone good night". The common factor here is the reference to over-sanguine expectations, hope of achievement, in poetry and in love, unfulfilled. Some neater correspondence of meaning between the two variants would be useful; any arrangement to produce it would be suspect; the idioms "go to bed at noon", "bid goodnight at noon" overlap, but are not coincident. It may well be, I think, that, if it has hitherto been the Fool's office to voice Lear's precarious sense of reality, Shakespeare intends his last words here to indicate Lear's decision—conscious or half-conscious—to withdraw from reality into the world of hallucination where, as Gloucester says,

woes, by wrong imaginations loose  
 The knowledge of themselues. (IV. vi. 290)

Analysis of the literary evidence available would not preclude interpretation of this kind; it does preclude precise definition of the phrase in abstraction. Instances of usage are too few, artistry in usage too concentrated.

These twin difficulties we are likely to encounter whenever one of Shakespeare's characters applies with point some contemporary proverbial idiom which has not survived into present-day speech. Additional contexts of usage may be found in Elizabethan non-literary sources as yet unsearched, but we need never hope, I think, to come upon permanent record of any proverb's origin—that deliberate, primary linkage of literal and figurative sense on which, in the absence of manifold and non-epigrammatic citation, precise definition would depend. Moreover the form of the proverb may well conceal a secondary meaning; its point may lie in a hidden allusion. Those "in the know" will delight in brevity and economy; what might serve as clues for the outsiders will have been trimmed away. To offer written evidence of the earlier stages of a proverb-joke may well be impossible; if, on the other hand, we regard the given phrase—in its oblique, compressed, final form—as spoken, not written



language, we may be able to guess at how the jigsaw puzzle once fitted together. Let us consider first a proverbial idiom unpointed in Shakespearean usage. The phrase "dead as a door nail", recorded some two hundred years before Shakespeare's time, seems, in his day as in ours, no more than a formal unit of known contextual appropriateness.<sup>5</sup> At what period of the language, we may ask, did the idiom spring into life; when, that is, did the community know at once why a *door-nail* (rather than, for instance, a coffin-nail) should serve to intensify the idea of deadness? The answer might well be, I think: when one word, in general use, happened to signify both concepts; the missing piece of this jigsaw, I suggest, may be the word *charnel*. As a "nail" it was exclusively a door-nail in the sense of a hook or hinge on which a door hangs; as a "burial-place, charnel-house" it held more of death than the single grave. If my conjecture is right, I hope that some scrap of written evidence may one day be found: perhaps a pun on *charnel* in variant proverb-form, or even a fragment of *char-nail/door-nail* juggling in an early text. The evidence I have seen at present shows only *ded as a dorenail* current from c 1350, with the joke apparently already over.<sup>6</sup> Whether or not my postulate is accepted, the instance will serve to emphasize the kind of "evidence" we may have to work with, in trying to understand the clipped colloquialism. Present-day speech can offer examples also. Textile workers knew of *fag-ends* before they smoked "fags".<sup>7</sup> Those who know the related sense "fag-end of a rope" and have as children drawn lots by "taking a bunch" cannot but derive the dialectal *Fogger*, "My turn first", from the drawing of lots by each seizing a loop of the bunched rope, priority being given to the first to claim possession of an end. Had Dr. Johnson been accomplished at skipping-rope (my references are from N. Staffs.) I am tempted to think that such an etymology might by now be traditional.

When Johnson envied the finery of his neighbors, his mother would tell him that "Brag was a good dog, but Holdfast was a better" (*Rambler*, 197, 3). Pistol, off to the wars, uses a moiety of this proverb when counselling his wife, the tavern hostess, not to give credit (*Hen. V.*, II. iii. 543: "The world ["word"] is, Pitch and pay: trust none: for Oathes are Strawes, mens Faiths are Wafer-Cakes, and hold-fast is the onely Dogge"). It would seem nowhere to have been remarked that the inception of the proverb is the interconnection, through the word *dog*, of a double series of puns. *Brag* is a large nail (perhaps of a special

<sup>5</sup> *Henry IV.*, V. iii. 127: What, is the old King dead? As naile in doore.

<sup>6</sup> *Henry VI.*, IV. x. 43: if I doe not leaue you all as dead as a doore naile.

<sup>7</sup> *Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* shows the variant forms Dead (Deaf, Dumb) as a door-nail (door-tree), and glosses door-nail as "A beam used for fastening the door. Cf OE. *nægl*." The first citation of the proverb is c1350, *ded as a dore nail*. *NED* shows *charnel*, "burial place" from 1377 and *charnel*, "hinge" from c1470. If a *charnel* pun precedes the proverbial phrase, as I suggest, we should need to suppose both senses of *charnel* current in speech before these dates. (Non-literary archives frequently show a word or sense in currency a hundred years, sometimes three hundred years, before *NED*'s first citation.)

I happen to have come upon the two senses of *charnel* side by side in sixteenth-century parish accounts; the wardens of Rye, Sussex, for instance, in 1577 paid "for a kay and the mending off a loke to the Charnell house"; later years show the entries "for a paire of charnells for the said dore", "for vi paiers of Charnells for said pew dore". I should find it difficult to believe that no pun on *charnel* was ever made at such parish meetings, even if the origin of the door-nail simile had by then been long forgotten.

<sup>7</sup> *NED*: *Fag-end*, "The last part of a piece of cloth . . . Of a rope: An untwisted end". I suggest that *fag* would come to be used for the cigarette when once the metaphorical *fag-end* had been applied to the cigarette-end. The phrase *fag-ends of cigari* is cited by *NED* for 1853.

kind serving as a bracket), *dog* a mechanical device for gripping or holding—a catch, lever, spike, etc., and *holdfast* a staple, hook, clamp or bolt. For Johnson the proverb is a formal unit only; why Brag ever seemed apt as the name of a dog has been forgotten; to the eighteenth-century editor Pistol's *holdfast* makes a single point. For Shakespeare and his audience, I suggest, the proverb is still doubly-significant in its separate parts. Pistol can chip off and apply just the bit he wants. In a momentary interchange with the clown Sir Andrew Aguecheek aims another fragment "I am dogge at a Catch" (*Twelfth Night* II.iii.64), picked up and returned at once in the complementary answer "Byrlady sir, and some dogs will catch well." *Dog-bolt*, applied to a man as a term of contempt, and *bolt*, "pimp, pander", come, no doubt, within the same semantic range.<sup>8</sup> Once more the chief card of the commentator is the coherence of the evidence.

In the quoted examples we may see the economy of wit; two words can stand for the complete proverb. In some cases it may even happen that, given the right context of situation, one word may suffice to suggest the whole. Here especially we shall come up against the difficulty of citing external evidence. We know that Shakespeare has little use for the jest "sole-singular"; he is never so gravelled for lack of matter that he need dwell on the single point. Are we then justified in agreeing without more ado when the single word in his text seems to invite us to recognize quotation from a proverb which is only later recorded in full? When Pistol is turned out of the tavern and Falstaff protests how valorously he has attacked him, Dol counters his boasting with a mixture of acquiescent flattery and pitying appraisal:

Dol. . . . alas, poor Ape, how thou sweat'st. . . . Thou art as valorous as  
Hector of Troy . . . tenne times better then the nine Worthies. . . .

Fal. . . . I will tosse the Rogue in a Blanket

Dol. Doe, if thou dar'st for thy heart: . . .

Fal. . . . A Rascall, bragging Slaue: the Rogue fled from me like Quick-silver.

Dol. And thou followd'st him like a Church: . . . when wilt thou leaue  
fighting . . . and begin to patch vp thine old Body for Heauen?

Does Dol's use of the phrase *like a Church* here (2 *Henry IV*, II.iv.250) presuppose an earlier currency for the proverb "Church work goes slowly" (for which Tilley's first citation is 1629)?<sup>9</sup> Elsewhere a joke may be found in a single instance preceding Shakespearian usage. John Heywood, in 1566, cites an epigram on Bay windowes:

All Newgate wyndowes bay windowes they be  
All lookers out there stand at bay we see.<sup>10</sup>

If we had only this scrap of evidence we might wonder whether the bay-window pun was current in Tudor speech or whether Heywood had himself invented it. That it continued current in Shakespeare's time is suggested, I think, by the following exchange between the clown and the imprisoned Malvolio (*Twelfth Night* IV.ii.40):

<sup>8</sup> Cf. NED's suggestion for Dog-bolt 2: "Perh. orig. = Mere tool to be put to any use".

<sup>9</sup> Tilley: C 273. 1629 T. Adams. If the Queneers looke not well to the busenes, too many will make Church-works of it; for such loytering is now fallen into a Prouerbe.

ODEP: 1639 Fuller.

<sup>10</sup> Three hundred Epigrammes upon three hundred prouerbes.

Clo. . . . sayst thou that house is darke?

Mal. As hell sir Topas.

Clo. Why it hath bay Windowes transparent as baricadoes.

Sometimes the fragmentary allusion may be offered in the dramatic text with variant meaning. When the Clown says to Autolycus (*Winter's Tale* IV. iii. 99)

there's no vertue whipt out of the Court: they cherish it to make it stay there; and yet it will no more but abide.

the word *abide* is intended, I suggest, to echo the proverb "Things well fitted abide" (first recorded 1640); "if Virtue felt herself at home she would remain at court".<sup>11</sup> But by adding the "no more but" qualification the clown has given *abide* a second sense, quite opposed to that in the proverb, namely, "to stay only for a moment, to pause before going on".<sup>12</sup> We are likely, I think, to be most handicapped by our lack of contemporary linguistic background when the speaking-character finds pleasure in using a proverb not with variant meaning but in variant form. In a passage in *Anthony and Cleopatra* (II. vii. 5), editors and glossarists have been puzzled by the servant's comment that Lepidus has already drunk too much:

*Lepidus* is high Conlord ["Coulord"]  
They haue made him drinke Almes drinke.

The first difficulty is that, while the phrase "drink Almes drinke" is not elsewhere recorded, the explanations usually offered suppose it to refer to an accepted social custom which is nowhere else the subject of comment.<sup>13</sup> Another factor is that the phrase is not presented as if it were fire-new, a unique flash. It is not a jest sparked off by an adept who has got up speed in some preliminary skirmishing, and whose wit we must interpret in the light of what has gone before. The comments here are detached, the speakers non-involved observers; the phrase is telling in isolation; it could shift its position in the sequence and lose nothing. Laconic delivery may have given the audience time to pick up the joke; the speaker takes it for granted that no trail of clues is needed. May we accept then that he is "quoting", not creating? There would, I suggest, be no difficulty of interpretation could we suppose that, with the words "drink alms-drink" the servant is merely changing the known idiom "drunk as a beggar", getting his laugh by delaying recognition of a current phrase.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Tilley: T 207. 1640 Herbert.

<sup>12</sup> NED: Abide, 1. To wait. *Obs.* 1634 last cit; 2. To wait before proceeding further . . . *Obs.* 1535 last cit.

<sup>13</sup> Schmidt: "the leavings".

NED: "the remains of liquor reserved for alms-people".

The difficulty here would be in equating "what is left over to be shared out later" with "what is sufficient to inebriate now"; if the implication is "what ought to have been, and customarily is, left over for distribution to the poor", then we should expect to find other reference to the custom—and its breach—in Shakespearian society and Shakespearian language. And wouldn't it, in fact, be the servants, not the poor, who got the lion's share of anything left over? Some editors have adopted Warburton's ingenious, but, it seems, equally unsubstantiated, interpretation: They have made him drink Alms-drink. A phrase, amongst good fellows, to signify that liquor of another's share which his companion drinks to ease him. Kittredge notes "induced him to drink more than his share" (1936); Alexander glosses "taken on another's behalf" (1951).

<sup>14</sup> ODEP and Tilley give several seventeenth-century citations, the earliest (ODEP) 1609 *As foxe as forty beggars* (*fox*, "drunk"), (Tilley) 1616 *As drunken as a Rat or beggar*. Tilley quotes

I have tried with these examples to show some of the ways by which we can test out, and perhaps increase, our sensitivity to the spoken language of a past age. The attempt itself may be judged presumptuous: external evidence is inevitably fragmentary; textual analysis may seem verbose and heavy handed. But we have not reached finality in our understanding of Shakespeare's language. What has lived once, lives yet.

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Ray's note of 1670: This Proverb begins now to be disused, and people instead of it are ready to say, As drunk as a Lord.

## Shakespeare's Plays in Armenia

EDWARD ALEXANDER

**I**T is now almost four decades since the Armenians of the Caucasus were absorbed into the Soviet Union. But despite the deep injury that Soviet domestic policies have inflicted on Armenian society, the creative cultural spirit of this ancient people remains virtually unimpaired. For, heavily beset with the urgent problems of survival though they be, the Armenians are engaged nevertheless in the perpetuation of their native culture in spite of the regime's attempts to mold it into "socialist art".

In this silent internal struggle a major source of inspiration for Armenian intellectuals has been the works of William Shakespeare. The heritage of the Elizabethan poet, in the form of his major tragedies, has been available in Armenian for close to seventy years. These plays, chiefly *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *King Lear* and *The Merchant of Venice*, are read, performed and studied by the Armenian people as the works of no other foreign writer and more than many Armenian writers. The reasons for this are rooted in the communist system itself.

The Soviet regime, particularly during the thirty years of Stalin's rule, had as its purpose in culture the development of an art which was to be "national in form and socialist in content". In practice this encouraged the production of literature in Armenian—and the more than one hundred other languages of the Soviet Union—but within the rigid framework of adherence to the tenets of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

This could not and did not produce literature of much value. In fact, it resulted in the accumulation of novels, plays, and short stories designed to indoctrinate politically rather than ennoble spiritually. To escape the onslaught of such literature, the Armenian people attempted for a period to take refuge in the older classical Armenian writers, but this was discouraged by the regime which launched a policy of nihilism directed at all national achievement prior to Soviet rule.

It was in the face of this predicament that the people turned to available western writers. Some of these were American, including James Fenimore Cooper, Jack London and Theodore Dreiser. But most of all, the people on all levels seized upon Shakespeare. For one reason, the English poet dealt in elevated manner with events removed perhaps chronologically and geographically from the Armenian scene but spiritually very much akin. For another, Shakespeare could be read in a series of translations of the utmost purity, economy, and beauty of language, devoid of the forcibly injected Russian words with their reminders of the present.

The author of these translations, themselves classics now, was Hovhannes

Mahseyan, an Armenian who had among other things served as Iranian Ambassador to Great Britain. He devoted 40 years of his life to studying and translating Shakespeare, and in 1916 was invited to participate at Stratford-upon-Avon in the 300th anniversary commemoration of the dramatist's death. Mahseyan hailed his memory in the name of the Armenian people and in his address pointed out the significance of Shakespeare in the growth of the Armenian theatre. Mahseyan is buried today in the cemetery of the Armenian Church at Vanag, in Iran, his name all but forgotten, his flat grave marked only by a simple cross.

The little that is known about Mahseyan is concerned chiefly with his work, and this information is to be found in the prefaces to some of his translations. He is most informative in his introduction to *Hamlet*, wherein he tells of the enormous response of the Armenian public to his first translation of Shakespeare in the 1890's (*Hamlet*), which encouraged him to proceed to some of the other plays. Eventually he translated twelve, of which seven were lost and five published.

The huge problems which confronted him are discussed briefly by the gifted translator. He makes the interesting remark that his first translations of Shakespeare were made under the influence of Victor Hugo, who regarded every word of the original text as sacrosanct. But when Mahseyan encountered other translations, such as the German of Schlegel, he found that good translators were guided by entirely other principles, and that an artistic translation of Shakespeare demanded certain departures from the original in order to retain its spirit and meaning. Mahseyan also took note of the fact that in this respect the French translations of Maeterlinck had gone so far as to provide the reader (or performer) with a variety of interpretations.

The intelligent translation is, of necessity, an interpretation of the original. The responsibility of the translator is heavy, not merely to give the letter but the spirit of the original. It is the latter obligation which is the undoing of most translators, and it is here that Mahseyan proves his mettle. He compared himself to the painter who beholds in wonderment mixed with despair the scene in nature he must translate to his canvas. The success of Mahseyan's effort is attested by the fact that just as every line of the original is marked with that individuality which enables immediate identification, so too is the Armenian infused with that same "breath of Shakespeare". Mahseyan points out that in his first translation (he did *Hamlet* twice) he tried to adhere to the ten-to-twelve-syllable line in compliance with the decasyllabic English. But the length of Armenian words made this virtually impossible, so that the final form contained sometimes lines of fifteen or more syllables. An example of this is provided in the passage which has evoked the admiration also of Freud for its succinctness—

... the funeral baked meats  
Did coldly furnish forth the marriage tables.

The original contains eleven words, the Armenian only six. Yet, in illustration of Mahseyan's difficulty, where Shakespeare employs seventeen syllables in all, the Armenian, despite its fewer words, produces no less than twenty-six syllables!



It has been noted that a translation must needs be an interpretation. In the process subtlety is at times sacrificed for clarity, as for instance, in Claudius' first address to Hamlet and the famed rejoinder, which in Mahseyan's translation emerges as

*Claudius:* And now, Hamlet, my brother's son, and even as son. . . .

*Hamlet:* A little more than brother's son, less than son.

Similarly, Macbeth's well-known observation becomes: "If when it were done, it were ended, it would be well to do quickly."

Though Mahseyan stands out unquestionably as the foremost translator of Shakespeare in Armenian, he is by no means the first. The Armenian people pride themselves on being among the earliest in the East to translate and stage the works of the English dramatist. Long before any of his works were completely translated, the greatness of his art was known. The eighteenth-century writer and fighter for Armenian liberation, Hovsep Emin, in his *My Life and Adventures*, mentions *Othello* and *The Merchant of Venice*, but most interesting of all, in a letter to an English friend, he requests that greetings be conveyed to "my dear friends Mr. and Mrs. Garrick". Emin had apparently seen the great actor perform Shakespeare at the Drury Lane Theatre.<sup>1</sup>

Armenians first read Shakespeare through translated excerpts of some of the plays. The very earliest that is known has been traced to India. In 1812 in Madras there was published a translation in classical Armenian (no longer in use) of Voltaire's *Julius Caesar's Death*. This was not, of course, pure Shakespeare but is mentioned inasmuch as the French scholar Emil Dechanelle maintains that Voltaire's tragedy is the condensed French translation of Shakespeare's play.

The first genuine Armenian translation of Shakespeare appeared in 1822, in an Armenian weekly called *Shdemaran* ('Treasury') in Calcutta.<sup>2</sup> It consisted of isolated lines from the plays and ran in several issues, along with descriptive articles. The longest excerpt was fourteen lines from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. These were followed in 1840 by more excerpts translated by Mgrdich Emin, Professor of Literature at the Lazarian Academy in Moscow. He used many of these in his lectures on Shakespeare. They included parts of scenes from *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry IV*, *Julius Caesar* and *Antony and Cleopatra*. The first complete scene—from *Julius Caesar*—was translated in 1853 and appeared in *Pazmaveb* (Polyhistory), a publication of the Armenian Order of St. Mekhitar, whose monastery is situated to this day on the island of San Lazzaro near Venice.

At this time a small body of Shakespearian scholars had already been formed, the pioneer among whom was Sarkis Dikranian of Moscow University with a volume, published in 1834, containing biographical and analytical information about the dramatist and his plays. Thirteen years later, in another publication of the Mekhitar Monks, *Europe*, an article on Shakespeare concluded with an English excerpt from *The Tempest*.

<sup>1</sup> George Pellissier in his *Shakespearean Drama in France* points out that Shakespeare's name first appeared in France in the early eighteenth century in an English-French grammar, so that Armenians cannot be considered to have lagged too far behind.

<sup>2</sup> Armenians have always been well received in India and have made valuable contributions to the life of that country, attested by the many Armenian street names in Indian cities.

By mid-century, thanks to the efforts of a few individuals, there existed complete (if not perfect) translations of *Merchant of Venice*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Comedy of Errors* and *Hamlet*. One admirable though doomed attempt to translate all the plays was made in the 1860's by A. Dedeyan, an Armenian from Smyrna. According to press reports of the time, he succeeded in completing a handful of the dramas, which were eventually lost. In the 1870's more and more students of Shakespeare appeared on the scene, and in consequence more translators, among whom should be mentioned Parkhoudarian and Malkhasian. A few years later Hovhannes Mahseyan appeared on the scene, and in him Shakespeare and the Armenian people found that happy combination of poetry, intellect, and scholarship which are prerequisites for this almost insuperable task.

At this time the first stirrings of interest in Shakespeare on the Armenian stage were in evidence. The first professional performance in the Caucasus took place in 1866 when George Chemesigian acted in *The Merchant of Venice* (in his own translation), as well as scenes from *Othello*. Just about the same time in Western Armenia (that is, the portion which lay in Turkey), there is recorded a performance of *Macbeth*. Without doubt, the foremost Shakespearian actor on the Armenian stage of this period was Bedros Atamian. He achieved his greatest fame in *Hamlet*, though his *Othello* and *King Lear* were of almost equal renown, especially in Russia. Critics in Tiflis and Moscow considered him one of the greatest of Hamlets. Atamian first performed this role in 1880, following it with *The Merchant of Venice* and later *The Taming of the Shrew*. It was in 1883 that Atamian and his Armenian Theatre Group performed *Hamlet* in the Armenian language at the Pushkin Theatre in Moscow. The acclamation of both critics and the public led from one triumph to another for Atamian who, meanwhile, also created a minor reputation for himself as a poet and painter. The tradition which he began in the Armenian theatre was continued in the work of succeeding performers: Apelian, Zarifian, Armenian, Manvelian, Papazian (more of him later) and the actress Siranoush, who was considered the best Hamlet after Atamian.<sup>3</sup>

To those familiar with Armenian history it is indeed astonishing that a people incessantly exposed and subjected to persecution, invasion, and even annihilation could find the time or have the inclination to study Shakespeare. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were years of intense torment for the Armenians. When the Iron Curtain descended on Armenia finally in 1921, the nation was subjected to a stern program of collectivization that was not limited to agriculture, but included politics, economics, society—and culture.

It might be said of Armenia under Soviet rule that a great deal of its cultural output is art of predetermined purpose, controlled from the moment of its inspiration to its final exhibition. In the case of Shakespeare, this approach is of course more difficult. But in the matter of interpretation and emphasis, even Shakespeare has not passed completely unscathed.

The eager receptivity of the Armenian people to Shakespeare has played into the hands of the Soviets, who have exploited the Bard's popularity as proof of the intellectual superiority of people under communism. The Soviet Govern-

<sup>3</sup> Other Shakespearian actors: Kapanagian, Khorazian, Sevounian, Pourchalian, Vosganian, Jasmine, Nervissian, Vaghartshian, Vartanian, Khachanian, Janibegian, Avedisian.

ment of Armenia—and Moscow—does not hesitate to make boasts in this direction, as for instance:

Everyone knows the love and respect which communism bears for Shakespeare. The USSR is a country wherein the presentation of Shakespeare on the stage surpasses in number all other countries of the world. The same can be said concerning the translation of his works. The systematic translation and publication of Shakespeare's work has been achieved only during the Soviet regime.<sup>4</sup>

The Soviet authorities are indeed pressing for the translation of the complete works into Armenian by 1964, that is the 400th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, much as though it were a worker's norm in a factory. Nineteen plays are now available in three volumes but, with the exception of Mahseyan's masterful translations of five, none of the other fourteen have been available for comparison. Three of these are by V. Sourenian, S. Alajajian and V. Djerbashian—all of them unknown. The remaining eleven plays have been translated by the Armenian poet Khachig Dashdents. An article mentioning his work some months ago in the Soviet Armenian press characterized Dashdents as the worthy successor to Mahseyan. He was credited with having "completely captured Shakespeare's gleaming metaphors, epithets, deadly sarcasm, never-ending humor and delicate implications." It was also claimed that Dashdents's language is livelier than Mahseyan's, employing contemporary terminology. Within the same article is registered the complaint that Dashdents's achievement goes unrecognized in his own country, and for this the article berates the critics. However, it would be difficult to find anyone—English being a language spoken hardly at all in Armenia—capable of doing full critical justice to the Dashdents translations, which encompass 35,000 metric lines and fifteen years of work.

On the other hand there is in Soviet Armenia an interpreter of Shakespeare whose fame has spread to countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain. His name is Vahram Papazian, and though he is nearing seventy, his *Othello* is still a major attraction throughout the Soviet Union. He has performed also in Britain (in London in 1916), France, Italy, Austria, Spain, and Belgium. A year ago last June, many westerners had an opportunity to see Papazian's *Othello* in Moscow during a ten-day Festival of Armenian Drama and Art. Though it would ordinarily have little credibility as an objective source of information, the newspaper *Pravda* does not hesitate to castigate poorly performed native art, particularly in Moscow, where it is exposed to non-communist view. The following evaluation therefore is worthy of note:

Papazian's performance as Othello is great work by a genuine artist. From Othello's first famous monologue, Papazian paints colors of such richness and intonation, astonishing for their artistic truth, that one realizes how thoroughly suffused with his role Papazian is—how long he has lived with it and studied its every detail. It is a technique of unsurpassable expressiveness. Papazian is superb in expressing the transition from sublime self-control to love's tenderness; from the wonderment of a naive child to a

<sup>4</sup> *Kragan Tert* (Literary Weekly), April 30, 1956.

man tortured by the fires of suspicion; from his belief in the radiance of life, its joy and happiness into chaos and final fanatical judgment.<sup>6</sup>

Vahram Papazian has won the distinction of being a Peoples' Artist of the Armenian, Georgian and Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republics. He performs *Othello* regularly in the capitals of all three Caucasian republics, usually for two weeks at a time. He has just completed another tour terminating at the Soundukian State Theatre of Drama in Erivan in his native Armenia. All told, he has performed as Othello over 3000 times since he first attempted the role in 1909.

Papazian himself is a strong personality with a tremendous personal following. He has documented his long life in the theatre and in interpreting Shakespeare in an autobiography, *Looking Back*, Volume Two of which appeared a few months ago. He devotes many pages, as might be expected, to *Othello* and some to *Macbeth* and *Hamlet*. He calls Shakespeare the "great poet of my soul", and says of the Moor—"Othello's death is like the wreck of a mighty ship in a boundless, bottomless, black and stormy sea, in a place known to no one."<sup>6</sup> At the same time, he reveals a robust sense of humor in the following comment on his many leading ladies—"I have had some Desdemonas whom I should have strangled in the first act . . . and some whom, despite their advanced years, it was a shame to strangle even at the end." His enactment of the final scene is famed for its realism and always eagerly awaited by the audience, if not by the Desdemona of the evening.

*Othello* is, of course, by no means the only work of Shakespeare's which is performed in Armenia. Although an occasional visit by a Moscow troupe will take place, performances by local theatre groups are responsible for most of Shakespearian theatre in Armenia. The latest of the new productions took place in April 1956 when the Apelian State Theatre of Drama in the city of Kirovakan put on *A Winter's Tale*. A press notice pointed out that this play had been long in appearing "only because it is one of the most difficult to stage, hence why so few theatres in the world try it."<sup>7</sup>

Greater emphasis is put on Shakespeare and his plays on the several traditional occasions during the year when some anniversary is commemorated. On April 23, 1956, for instance, in the Erivan House of Artists there was celebrated the 340th anniversary of the dramatist's death. Participating in the ceremonies were famous Armenian writers, artists, scientists, and students. Shakespeare's role in the development of Armenia's theatre and literature were the themes of special papers and ensuing discussions. In the evening there was a double bill of *A Winter's Tale* on the stage and *Romeo and Juliet* on the screen (with music by Aram Khatchaturian).

The devotion which the Armenians feel towards the Bard can perhaps be demonstrated by the fact that in 1944, at the height of World War II, the 380th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth was fully observed with a Scholars' Conference and Festival in Erivan. In addition to the customary analyses and seminars, in which many Shakespearian scholars from different parts of the

<sup>6</sup> *Pravda*, June 11, 1956. In the same review the paper found too much emphasis on the roles of Iago and Cassio.

<sup>6</sup> *Sovetskaya Arvest* (Soviet Art), July-August, 1956.

<sup>7</sup> *Sovetskaya Hayastan* (Soviet Armenia), June 10, 1956.

Soviet Union participated, the following productions were staged: at the Soundukian State Theatre, *Hamlet* and *Othello*; at the Spendiarian Theatre of Opera and Ballet, Verdi's *Othello*; at the Leninakan State Theatre, *Twelfth Night*; and at the Mikoyan Children's Theatre, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

In conclusion, a brief look at Shakespearian criticism today in Soviet Armenia. All art in the Soviet Union is viewed from a Marxist point of view, as suggested earlier. If the class struggle is not immediately evident, some form of conflict between oppressor and oppressed is introduced into literary criticism. This is evident in such a review as appeared in the Armenian newspaper *Kommunist* when *Hamlet* was performed in December 1955 in the Caucasus by the Mayakovsky Theatre Group of Moscow. This particular production is known throughout the USSR and is directed by N. B. Okhlobgov, with sets by V. F. Rindin and with E. M. Samuelov as Hamlet. In his review the critic, A. Mgrdichian, takes western critics to task for underlining Hamlet's pessimism, indecision, and the weaker aspects of his nature. On the contrary, says Mgrdichian, Soviet artists must and do bring out all that is "progressive" (1) in his character: the moral principles of his humanistic philosophy, his pure nobility, his intense desire to remove the evil and corruption about him. The Soviet critic does not find Hamlet weak of will but full of energy to fight for justice and happiness. Here, according to the critic, occurs the great tragedy of this play: Hamlet protests and fights against the medieval conditions of injustice and dishonesty around him, knowing, however, that he will eventually be destroyed in the unequal struggle.

Here again, as in most other areas of art, or science, or politics, one may observe the Soviet rejection of the human factor; in this case, Hamlet's vital relationship to Claudius and Gertrude.

It is clear, however, that though Soviet critics have lived in compulsory isolation they have not necessarily become the slave of dogma. In evidence there is the following comment by Alexander Araksmanian, one of the best known of Soviet Armenian critics and himself a playwright. Writing in an Armenian monthly on "theatrical truth", he tells of his extreme pleasure on viewing the performance of *Hamlet* given by the British theatrical group in its visit to Moscow early in 1956:

That was genuine theatre in the widest sense. We sat there enthralled, without knowing the language, transfixed by this manifestation of Shakespearean truth. Director Peter Brook had achieved that truth by his own road, which differed completely from the road of Soviet director Okhlobgov. At any rate, both directors have reached the heights of *Hamlet* by means of untrodden paths.<sup>3</sup>

Araksmanian shows concern over the decline of directorial authority in the Armenian theatre. He points out that the great names of the Armenian stage are to be found among the actors while, as he ironically notes, the only way in which directors display variety is in their biographies. Araksmanian complains of the production of *King Lear* as done at the Soundukian State Theatre in Erivan: "it is devoid of any flights of imagination on the part of the director; the plot moves in two-dimensional fashion, while the philosophical meaning of

<sup>3</sup> *Soviet Art*, April 1956.

the work becomes lost in a mountain of words." He concludes that the viewer can do nothing but sit and suffer. Apparently, the dearth of good directors is not confined to Armenia, for he makes similar complaints about a recent staging by the Moscow Art Theatre of *Twelfth Night*: the production had beautiful sets, costumes and music, and was not lacking in comedy, but, in his words, "lacked the one essential—Shakespeare".

So long as critics may exercise such objective self-criticism, coupled with tolerance for "outside art", it is safe to assume that the Armenian theatre and its Shakespeare repertory will continue to flourish despite the confining influence of ideology.

Even more, the greatest literary-dramatic heritage of the western world may be assured of continuing to provide intellectual and spiritual nourishment to the Armenian people of the Soviet Caucasus.

#### *Alexandria, Virginia*



## Producing Shakespeare in India

S. PREMA

**E**VEN in England, producing Shakespeare raises many problems. Each director or producer solves them as best as he can. Patient research has revealed something about the way Shakespeare's plays were produced in his own life-time. A crude bare stage—colorful rich costumes—loud quick delivery—expressive gestures: these somehow “delivered the goods”. Could—or should—the same conditions be reproduced today? Most modern producers would answer in the affirmative.

Producing Shakespeare in India, however, raises additional problems. Elizabethan blank verse is not modern conversational English, and even modern English is but a “foreign” language to Indians. If Shakespeare is to be produced at all in India, the articulation has to be clear enough and probably slow enough for an Indian audience to follow.

Whatever the future of English studies in India, for the time being Shakespeare is being taught in our colleges as a compulsory subject. Most educated Indians are familiar with the plays in the original or at least in translation or adaptation. Film versions of several of the plays have been widely shown in the country. Earlier this year (1957), the British dramatic troupe, Shakespeareana, produced at the Andhra University Experimental Theatre two of Shakespeare's plays—*The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*, on the 23rd and 27th July respectively—before appreciative audiences. It is natural therefore that our students also should desire to produce Shakespeare, if only as an adventure in interpretation. The task is admittedly difficult; the difficulty itself is the principal attraction!

Under the auspices of the University Dramatic Association, the English Association of the Andhra University presented on 10 December 1957 a few scenes from *Julius Caesar*. The scenes were carefully chosen: the Temptation Scene (I.ii), in which Cassius wins over Brutus to his side; the Conspiracy (II.i), in which Brutus, Cassius, Casca, and the others work out the details of the assassination to be attempted the next day; the Assassination (III.i), and the two Orations (III.ii). Played in quick succession, the four scenes should give some idea of the power and amplitude of Shakespeare's play, though many things would no doubt be missed—notably the Portia scenes, the Cassius-Brutus quarrel scene, and the excitement and bustle of the battle. But the main force of the play would be retained: the conspiracy, the crime, and the beginnings of the retribution.

Not only the scenes, but the actors too were well chosen. No doubt, all the characters looked rather too young for their parts: subject to this qualification, Caesar (I. E. Srinivasachari) looked like Caesar, Brutus (L. S. R. Krishna

Sastri) had the serious intention of Brutus, Cassius (K. V. Subba Rao) seemed at once self-possessed and wily, Casca (P. Koteswara Rao) was impulsive and comic, and Antony (A. L. Narayana Rao)—as he should—grew into his part as the play proceeded. The settings were not elaborate, the costumes were colorful and apt, and the special effects adequate.

The first of the four scenes was a good beginning: Brutus slowly responsive, Cassius adroitly pursuing his purpose, and Caesar striding across the stage loftily indolent and defiantly self-confident. The second scene was played in rather a subdued key: that the leadership had gone from the scheming Cassius to the upright Brutus could have been more convincingly shown. The assassination scene was hurried through, and with the arrival of Antony—a new Antony—the drama acquired some real intensity. Antony's soliloquy beginning with—

O, pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth . . .

was very well rendered, and when the tempo of the delivery rose to screaming pitch with—

Cry 'Havoc', and let slip the dogs of war . . .

the audience (over a thousand) gave a spontaneous burst of cheering.

The orations followed. Brutus as becomes his nature should have spoken with more poise and deliberation. The real test, of course, is Antony's oration. Hundreds of great actors have bent their energies in the past towards achieving success in this star part, and nothing succeeds like success. Our Antony erred perhaps by beginning at too high a pitch. The proper thing would have been to begin almost haltingly, and work up slowly and deliberately to a pitch of frenzy—yet controlled frenzy; for Antony is at no time lost in his emotion, though he seems to be so! There were no doubt striking and effective moments in Mr. Narayana Rao's rendering of Antony's part, but as a whole the oration rather fell short of the expectations raised by him in the previous scene.

Shakespeare's great creations—Hamlet, Falstaff, Othello, Shylock, Antony, Cleopatra—mean so much to us that no single actor, be he even a Gielgud or Olivier, could quite satisfy us. That Mr. Narayana Rao, Mr. Krishna Sastri and Mr. K. V. Subba Rao could not quite succeed in giving a wholly satisfying Antony, Brutus or Cassius, does not mean therefore any serious criticism of their acting. They did very well indeed, and Shakespeare did the rest. It occurred to me, however, that all of them spoke a little too fast. For an Indian audience, a slower pace and clearer articulation would have been more appropriate. The various actors, the director (Sri M. Indusekhara Sastri, Lecturer in the English department), the producer (Sri K. V. Gopalaswami, University Registrar), all deserve to be congratulated on their valiant and on the whole successful attempt at producing a Shakespeare play under Indian conditions.

*Andhra University*



The *King Lear* panel, one of nine bas-reliefs by John Gregory (1879-1958) on the north façade of the Folger Shakespeare Library—from the clay model. This is the only panel seen by Henry Clay Folger before his death in 1930. Photo by Peter A. Juley & Son, New York.



The 1 Henry IV panel. By John Gregory.

## John Gregory's Shakespeare Bas-reliefs

ABRAM BELSKIE



AN appreciation of the late John Gregory's (1879-1958) bas-reliefs on the north façade of the Folger Shakespeare Library illustrating nine of Shakespeare's plays.

The genesis of the Folger Shakespeare Library may have taken place between the covers of an old magazine. Whether this same magazine is still extant I do not know, but if it is, it should become the birth certificate of this beautiful building and all that it means.

The magazine was one containing an address by Emerson in 1864 commemorating the three hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, which chanced to be read by Henry Clay Folger while a student at Amherst. Emerson's observations sparked Folger's interest in the bard, which during the years that followed developed into a scholar's passion. He became so inspired with his dream that he determined to gather together in one place a prized collection of Shakespeare folios, the myriad literature relating to the bard, and relics of the Elizabethan era, including all objects and items related to the poet.

The Folger Shakespeare Library then evolved through the collaboration and close fellowship of an architect and a sculptor who worked together to clothe this dream with reality. The beauty of this building with its panelled rhythm of lyric poetry took form and has now become the mecca of scholars from all over the world. The nine bas-relief panels by John Gregory on the north side of the library depicting several of Shakespeare's plays are now inseparably linked with the bard whom it commemorates, and the building for all time becomes a lasting monument to the founder and to the artists and craftsmen who have so ably contributed towards it.

The first of the series of nine panels prepared in clay was the *King Lear*. It was the only one that Henry Clay Folger ever saw near completion before he died, and I recollect as he gazed long and intensely at it, I heard him say, as if to himself, "I shall sleep well tonight." *Lear* must have surely been close to his consciousness, for it is this greatest of Shakespeare's tragedies that may well teach us to draw the line more clearly between a wise generosity and a loose-handed weakness of giving.

John Gregory labored greatly over these bas-reliefs. The tradition such as guided the masters of the past fortified and disciplined him. Each panel was a discipline of exacting trial and revision, but his own consummate taste was his final criterion.

Here breadth, simplicity, and finish unite, a sense of dignity and control is everywhere apparent, the composition of the groups which cover different periods of time and the play's locale are identified and blended in harmony

creating one determining element of unity throughout. The sins of taste which could have surrendered to the costuming were carefully restrained on Cret's classically inspire façade, and none of the panels conflict with each other, torture the stone, or play havoc with the archeological record. Having to select from a bewildering array of characters thronging the playwright's scene, John Gregory mastered the problem of scale and design within the rigid dimensions of the block of stone previously determined and with great skill and understanding made this limitation become a virtue.

His work reflected his character, as his studio reflected his way of life. He was never tolerant of disorder and did not countenance the fallacy that creativity must take place in the midst of an artistic clutter.

It was my privilege to be John Gregory's assistant during those years, to witness and aid in the progressive stages of this work. I watched him work as a young man watches an older man, and I realize now with clearer understanding that his path towards this excellence was conscious and most discriminating. This deliberative thought, which has produced an effect on all of us who value his art for its serene dignity and seeming effortless simplicity, was hard won. The memory of that experience will always be an inspiration. His bas-reliefs now eternalized in stone will ever move us. The Folger Shakespeare Library has become indeed a universal shrine preserving the noble reaches of language revered within as its sculptured inspiration gives its testimony on its walls without.

John Gregory performed his work without greed or fear, knowing that in work lies the secret of a man's strength and fortitude, the balance of a confident mind and a stout heart—to work, to dream, to hope, to learn, to live deep instead of fast, to take root and to bear fruit. Here then is the image of greatness as we pay tribute to one who has indeed plucked the strings of Apollo—and all is harmony.

*Closter, New Jersey*



## Reviews

*Les Fêtes de la Renaissance. Études réunies et présentées par JEAN JACQUOT.* Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche, Scientifique, 1956. Pp. 492. 3000 francs.

Every review of this most important and excellently produced volume should begin with the name of one man—Jean Jacquot. His was the inspiration which led to the conference held at the Cercle Culturel de Royaumont, in which a group of scholars from many countries concentrated attention upon one of the most fascinating and characteristic manifestations of Renaissance artistic activity—the festival celebrating either the entry of a prince into some large city or else an event of closely associated nature. Obviously such shows were ephemeral, and that perhaps explains why they have not yet received the full and detailed scrutiny which they deserve. As M. Jacquot observes in his introduction, these festivals, these entries, despite their seemingly flimsy and fleeting quality, go deep into the life of the time; they had, indeed, a deep significance; about them hovered an aura of religion, of ritual, of ceremonial; in them symbolism and allegory were predominant; and all the arts combined in an effort to enrich their content and to express philosophical ideas in beautiful forms.

In this volume, well over thirty essays are devoted to the theme; and, in addition to the individual contributions, M. Jacquot has added excerpts from the discussions following the delivery of the various addresses. Clearly, in a compilation of this kind where numerous separate articles are gathered together there cannot be that logical development of subject-matter which we expect from the work of a single hand, and consequently a reviewer finds it difficult to convey an adequate idea of its contents: the very variety presented here is embarrassing in its richness. Maybe the most serviceable procedure is to give a brief indication of the scope of the material dealt with by rearranging the order of the contributions and by treating them in groups.

1. One section is composed of historical accounts, based on documentary evidence, of particular shows. Thus Leo Schrade deals with the festivities at the marriage of Francesco dei Medici and Bianca Capello in 1570, F.-G. Pariset with those at the marriage of Henri de Lorraine and his Gonzaga bride in 1606, J. Vanuxem with a "carrousel" or horse-show in Paris (1612), G. Tani with the Turin ballets, Glynne Wickham with London's "Arches of Triumph" (1604), C. A. Beerli with a series of presentations at Berne, M. Querol-Gavalda with others at Barcelona. Most of these offer new historical material; for the most part, the references to preceding studies are adequate, although occasionally it might have been helpful to add to these: no indication, for example, is given of the fact that well over a score of the Turin designs have already been published.

2. In these accounts passing allusions are made to the emblematic-symbolical concepts of those concerned with the presentation of these shows, and this theme is specifically dealt with in a second group of studies. The theme of the Prince in sixteenth-century Parisian entries occupies the attention of Antoinette Huon; D. J. Gordon discusses the philosophical aims of Chapman in his masque of 1613; the same general aspect of the festivals also forms part both of G. R. Kernodde's essay on the "Déroulement de la procession dans les temps ou

espace théâtrale dans les fêtes de la Renaissance" and of the concluding conference discussion.

3. Naturally, since these entries were largely unliterary, poetry assumes but a small place in the contributions: yet the poets were called in, sometimes to plan the subject-matter, sometimes to provide the verses attached to the visual representations, sometimes to prepare dialogue. Important articles on the role of early French poets appear from the pens of V. L. Saulnier and Frances A. Yates, while Jean Robertson deals interestingly with the preparation for London's Lord Mayors' shows (an essay unfortunately missed out of the contents-list).

4. Such shows, however, made their first appeal to the eyes, and it is but fitting that many of the articles should treat of the work of the painters and architects. R. Lebègue examines French staging methods in the early sixteenth century; the Valois tapestries, now in Florence, are scrutinized by Jean Ehrmann and P. Francastel; T. E. Lawrenson calls attention to a series of engravings at the Bibliothèque Nationale which are probably inspired by the theatre; a résumé of A. Chastel's contribution presents material on "Le lieu de la fête"; open-air shows are discussed by Suzanne Sulzberger; in dealing with arches of triumph used as frontispieces to books H. F. Bouchery demonstrates how the tableaux vivants gradually ceded place to paintings; medieval traditions are traced by B. Dahlbaeck in Primaticcio's costume designs; Agne Beijer discusses celestial and infernal visions as represented on the stage; aquatic effects form the theme of Jean Rousset, and fireworks that of Marie-Françoise Christout.

5. Above all these topics soars the subject of music. The music for the Florentine intermedii of 1589 is examined by D. P. Walker and F. Ghisi; F. Lesure presents valuable historical records, now lost in their original form, from a "recueil de ballets" of Michel Henry; the work of early Tudor composers is discussed by D. Stevens; J. P. Cutts deals with music in Ben Jonson's masques, Helena M. Shire and Kenneth Elliott with the cultivation of the "fricassée" (a three-part song) in Scotland; from paintings by Filippino Lippi, Piero di Cosimo and Lorenzo Costa, E. Winternitz illustrates strange musical instruments, and F. W. Sternfeld writes on the musical symbolism in some of Shakespeare's plays as presented at court, drawing particular attention to the significance of the octave, with its concord, as an image of royal authority.

Sternfeld's essay is virtually the only one in which Shakespeare's name appears, and this is but right and proper. Since far too many attempts have been made in the past to involve Shakespeare, during his last years, in the atmosphere of the masque, we welcome the restraint with which he is referred to in this volume. Nevertheless, the subjects treated here formed an important part of the spirit of his age, and even if Shakespeare did not directly enter into this sphere every one of the essays in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* is at least indirectly pertinent to the fuller understanding of his work.

Jean Jacquot and his collaborators are thoroughly to be congratulated on producing a study of prime significance, and we must all eagerly look forward to the promised second volume, which, it is announced, will be devoted to the court of Charles V and Renaissance culture.

*The Shakespeare Institute*  
*Stratford-upon-Avon*

ALLARDYCE NICOLL

*King Henry VIII* (New Arden Shakespeare). Edited by R. A. FOAKES. Harvard University Press, 1957. Pp. lxx + 215. \$3.85.

During the century which followed Spedding's essay "Who Wrote Shake-

spere's *Henry the Eighth?*" (1850) few were so bold as to question his ascription of the play largely to John Fletcher. As expressed by Professor Kittredge in 1936, the orthodox opinion has been "That the greater part of *King Henry the Eighth* is not Shakespeare's is certain. . . . The rest [all but I, i and ii; II, iii and iv; the first 203 lines of III, ii; and V, i] is proved—to all intents and purposes—by style and manner, and especially by metre, to be the work of John Fletcher." Indeed many—among them Dr. Foakes's predecessor as editor of the Arden *King Henry VIII*—accepted Fletcher's participation as more certain than Shakespeare's. Editors especially have tended to be orthodox.

Opinion, however, seems at last to be changing. Among recent editors, Hardin Craig in 1951 wrote ". . . there is no need for the assumption of the hand of Fletcher", and three years later C. J. Sisson declared "the theory [of Fletcher's collaboration] is unproved and offers more problems than it purports to solve". Dr. Foakes also seems ready to discard Fletcher's participation. "If Fletcher has to be introduced", he writes, "then I think his share must have been considerably less than the usual division ascribes to him, and that he worked only as an occasional reviser or toucher-up, who perhaps contributed one or two scenes." Seeing a close relationship between *Henry VIII* and Shakespeare's late tragi-comedies, he emphatically denies that the general scheme or plan of the play could have been Fletcher's. The claims for Massinger's participation he discards in a brief footnote.

Dr. Foakes thinks it pointless to seek to identify *Henry VIII* with an earlier play on the same theme. He sees it rather as first written in early 1613, when the fear of Catholic plots was widespread and when the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Protestant Frederick was reason for great rejoicing. Though *Henry VIII* was not one of the plays presented at court during the marriage festivities, Dr. Foakes argues that there was some connection between play and marriage and that the last scene of the play was intended to compliment not only Queen Elizabeth and King James but Princess Elizabeth as well, who by her marriage "was following her namesake in her support of the true religion".

Dr. Foakes follows Greg and Chambers in thinking our only text of *Henry VIII*—that of the Folio—was set from a fair copy of the author's manuscript, not from a prompt copy, principally because many of the stage directions use the language of Holinshed. He presents a carefully prepared and unusually conservative text—much more conservative than that of the original Arden edition—preferring the Folio whenever it can be defended. Aside from changes in punctuation, he offers, I believe, only one innovation. Because Holinshed mentions "Gilbert Perke priest, the dukes chancellor", most editors have changed *councillor* in I. i. 219, to *Chancellor*, although retaining Peck(e) both here and in II. i. 20. Dr. Foakes prints *Perk*, observing that "c and some forms of r are easily confused in secretary hand." But is either emendation necessary? That both compositors who set the play read Peck(e) suggests that the error was not theirs. Was it then the copyist's or Shakespeare's? Must we insist that Shakespeare's history be accurate? Should we assume that Shakespeare, when ever borrowing from Holinshed, checked and rechecked the accuracy of his memory?

As in all modern editions, speech prefixes have been normalized, although variations are carefully noted. Misleading, however, is the following sentence concerned with "irregular variations . . . probably in the manuscript": "In IV. ii Katherine appears as *Kath.*, but elsewhere as *Que(en)* or *Qu.*; the *Old L(ady)* of II. iii becomes simply *Lady* in V. i; the Lord Chamberlain is intro-

duced as *L. Ch.*, but in V. ii becomes *Cham.* . . ." Katherine's speeches are headed *Que(en)* or *Qu.* as long as she is queen; they are headed *Kath.* only after Anne has been crowned. (In the same way, although there are variations in later scenes, *Car(d)* is the invariable prefix for Wolsey's speeches until a second Cardinal appears with him; then *Wol.* is substituted throughout II. ii, and for all but two brief speeches opening II. iv, before Cardinal Campeius speaks.) It is by no means certain that the Lady of V. i, is the same as the Old Lady of II. iii; and although in I. iii, the Lord Chamberlain's first three speeches are headed *L. Ch.* and the next eight *L. Cham.*, the prefixes on his five later appearances (beginning with I. iv) are, save for one *L. Cham.*, always *Cham.* But this is but quibbling.

The punctuation adopted in the text represents a compromise—to this reviewer a strange and unsatisfactory compromise—representing neither the punctuation of the Folio nor that of modern usage. "The Folio punctuation", we are told, "sometimes makes nonsense, and may in any case not be Shakespeare's, as a scribe or editor or compositor may have intervened. But . . . it . . . has been followed as far as possible; the alterations that have been made are generally reductions from rather than additions to the Folio's heavy pointing." As departures from the Folio punctuation are seldom noted, one wonders what is gained by the compromise and what type of readers the editors had in mind.

Readers of all types, however, will welcome the New Arden *King Henry VIII*. It is by far the best edition available. Its text is superior, its format is attractive, and its careful introduction and full notes reflect the advances made by recent scholarship.

University of Iowa

BALDWIN MAXWELL

*Shakespeare in the Theatre, 1701-1800. A Record of Performances in London, 1751-1800.* By CHARLES BEECHER HOGAN. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. xii + 798. 70s. net.

About a dozen living scholars know from first-hand experience the travail entailed in compiling for a bygone age a complete list of plays and their casts for an extended period. Infinite patience to collect infinite details, to check thousands of items for accuracy, to cross-reference minutiae, to organize for maximum usefulness, and to keep a sharp look-out for changes in cast, title, or date! But zest develops in the process, and the search once in the blood drives one on, and on, and on. Beecher Hogan, in tribute to Shakespeare, caught the fever long ago. In 1952 he gave us with unprecedented completeness his *Record of Shakespeare Performances in London, 1701-1750*, and now he gives us a companion volume half again as long for the period 1751 to 1800.

His is a monumental accomplishment, and part of a sensible modern trend to restore the study of Shakespeare to the theatre. The glory of Shakespeare lies not in text alone, but in the performances with all their changes which through the ages reflect the many shifts in taste and sensibility upon which succeeding generations have insisted. The 18th century was an age of great acting, and Mr. Hogan has now shown in gigantic concentration the extent to which the most popular of all English dramatists was acted during that hundred-year span. With this aid, statisticians and textual analysts will now have a field day, comparing the Shakespeare output of the various London theatres season by season, year by year, and decade by decade. We will know much more about the appeal of Shakespeare as a result. It could be that Mr. Hogan has missed a performance or two, or even misdated one now and then, but before one even mentions such a possibility, let one first count to 3,988 with

proper humility. Mr. Hogan's is an exceedingly accurate and comprehensive daily record of Shakespearian performances, economically organized and well annotated in eight parts: the calendar of performances; the record re-capitulated for the individual plays; four useful appendices dealing with the dramatist's popularity in comparison with that of other dramatists, the order of popularity of his separate plays (*Hamlet* No. 1 with over 600 performances, and *Henry VI, Part III*, No. 36 with but a single performance), brief facts about the London theatres, 1750-1800, and valuable material on the sources of his information for the calendar; and two extremely valuable and painstaking indices of actors and characters.

The calendar follows the pattern set up in Hogan's earlier volume taking the January-December year for the unit. Some would find it more profitable if the listing had been organized on the basis of the theatrical season (Winter from September to June, and Summer from June to September). But one using Mr. Hogan's work can quickly adjust himself to the annual calendar pattern if need be. Because of the bulk of the work, references to special treatments of the plays by various scholars is necessarily limited, for the most part, to general standard works such as those of Genest and Odell. Useful synopses of text alterations are made. Appendix A, listing the discrepancies in his various sources (playbill, newspaper advertisement, casts in printed editions, etc.) is a caution to all theatrical scholars not to rely for complete information on any single source. Appendix D is an excellent brief identification of 27 minor theatres, whose total activities for Shakespeare have seldom been considered in scholarship. The index of actors is probably the most thorough source of information on these thousands of interpreters of Shakespeare's lines now extant. This volume together with its predecessor are musts for every research library and for every serious student of Shakespeare and British drama. Mr. Hogan announces he will move next into the record of Shakespeare on the Dublin Stage.

New York University

GEORGE WINCHESTER STONE, JR.

*Not Wisely but too Well. Shakespeare's Love Tragedies.* By FRANKLIN M. DICKEY. San Marino, California: The Huntington Library, 1957. Pp. xii + 205. \$5.00.

Since Dr. Dickey describes Lily B. Campbell as "the 'onlie begetter' of this book" (p. viii), we are not surprised to learn that Shakespeare's characters who love not wisely but too well are slaves of passion, in this case, lust. He has read widely in Elizabethan literature "to determine the *idées reçues* of Shakespeare's audiences" (p. 146); and, he insists, "unless we are quite sure that everything we think is superior to what Elizabethans thought, we must accept their probable interpretations as valuable" (p. 46). And valuable they are in reopening Shakespeare's works to our inspection. He treats Romeo and Antony and Cleopatra; despite the title he includes the comic Troilus but thinks it strange that anyone should consider *Othello* a love tragedy (p. 8). Venus and Tarquin, he tells us, also loved not wisely but too well. In his emphasis upon the passion and frenzy of these characters, he seeks to correct what he finds among many critics (like Bradley, Knight, Stauffer, Van Doren, O. J. Campbell, and Whitaker) a post-Hegelian belief in the plays as "beyond good and evil and conventional morality" (pp. 4, 123, 177), and since he reads plays closely, paying rewarding attention to imagery, he finds much convincing evidence to support his view.

This singleness of view—that Elizabethan literature demands that we see

Shakespeare's lovers as undone by passion—rightly emphasizes one of the poles of these works; but it is a dangerous limitation. All tragic emotion (or comic, for that matter) takes place in a tension between condemnation and admiration (cf. the *discours* of Cornille, one of Shakespeare's near contemporaries, whom Dickey might have consulted as profitably as many another of his authorities). Romeo's fault, he holds, lies in his love. But as he himself points out, hatred is as powerful a force in the play; and, as Goddard brilliantly showed, Romeo's killing Tybalt, upon which all later tragic action depends, is not a matter of love-lust but a failure in love, and the lusty Mercutio and the lusty Nurse are "the positive and negative instigators of the blood that stains the love" (*The Meaning of Shakespeare*, pp. 128-131, 391). In exhibiting *Venus and Adonis* in what he is sure is the Elizabethan moral framework, Dickey takes too little account of the fact that Venus, the offender, is immortal, and the moral Adonis mortal. He makes a great deal of "Th' expense of spirit in a waste of shame", but forgets that "Love is not love / Which alters when it alteration finds". In spelling out the moral censure of Troilus' lust, he ignores the other side of the coin which creates a tension between our "expectation" of what Homeric heroes will be and what the play shows us, or between all that Ulysses and Achilles and Hector and the others know of honor, order, and morality and what they can perform. As for Antony and Cleopatra, he takes Philo's side. I suppose that the world will ever be divided between Romans and Egyptians and that Dickey has a right to be a Roman. As for me, I prefer what Joyce called the Holy Both.

Nor am I convinced of many of his premises. Even though he gallantly allows the contraries of many of them, he proceeds to argue with them. Perhaps I am least sure of the assumption that Shakespeare, or any artist, ever fulfills expectations; usually he exceeds them. For example, Dickey argues that Chaucer's Cleopatra is not "orthodox", out of the main stream (pp. 154-155). Is Shakespeare, then, the greatest conformist of them all if we adopt Dickey's standard of the main stream? Further, Dickey knows that what Brooke wrote and what Shakespeare invented are different, and he knows how to use a source as a suggestion of how else a work might have been written, but in his argument likenesses and differences add up to the same thing: Shakespeare gave the people what they were looking for.

Engaging in a kind of battle of the ancients and the moderns, he seems to feel (e.g., pp. 45, 65, 96) that the Elizabethans' view is the readiest way to understanding and evaluation. No doubt it is fun to know what they felt, even to dally with the false surmise that they all felt alike. No doubt such dalliance can provide much material for exegesis. But *their* judgments are not the only way. I am not at all sure that they alone saw the divided nature of love, its glories and its dangers, nor that only from them can we learn that reason or even common sense may restrain passion. Recently Louise Bogan wrote of the Greeks: "The grave choruses of the tragedies continually warn, caution, and seek to make reasonable the man or woman in the throes of whatever overweening passion; the gods are sure to punish such pride" (*The New Yorker*, 12 October 1957, p. 193). In connection with less exalted wisdom, Dickey tells us, Benvolio's "'Take thou some new infection to thy eye' is the very medicine ordered by most of the respectable physicians" (p. 79) of the Renaissance; but might we not learn the same remedy from Dorothy Dix?

Since I object both to the limitations of what he finds in the plays and the assumptions he makes about morals and history, I might as well carp at little things too. Although Princeton University Press has made a physically attrac-



tive and readable book, I am puzzled by the editing in such things as the lineation of prose quotations (pp. 42, 136) and by an erratic use of ellipsis dots (p. 34).

But "A plague of opinion! A man may wear it on both sides like a leather jerkin."

University of Arkansas

ALBERT HOWARD CARTER

*The Phonetic Writings of Robert Robinson*. Edited by E. J. DOBSON. Oxford University Press (EETS No. 238), 1957. Pp. xxi + 95. 28s.

For determining Early Modern English pronunciation, there are three kinds of evidence: (1) contemporary usage as reflected in the writings of the time—more particularly, in the spelling, rhyme and meter, and punning found there, (2) contemporary testimony describing or prescribing the pronunciation then current, and (3) inferences from phonological history. None of these three can be ignored by the serious investigator, who is, however, likely to give greater credence to one kind or the other depending on his particular aim or bent. Thus E. J. Dobson, in his *English Pronunciation 1500-1700* (Oxford, 1957, 2 vols.), pays special attention to the testimonial evidence, and this is all to the good, for during the past couple of decades scholars have been inclined to look down their noses at the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pronunciation authorities, dismissing them as spelling-reform cranks and utterly incompetent phoneticians or singling out one or another as meriting attention and ignoring the rest. Dobson has reexamined them all sympathetically as well as critically—a task requiring enormous patience and time—and as a result is qualified to assess their worth collectively and the special merit of any one of them.

Among these early pronunciation authorities, the one totally neglected until recently is Robert Robinson, the author of *The Art of Pronuntiatiōn*, published in 1617. Since he was a phonetician of sorts—enough of a one at any rate to be able to distinguish between letters and sounds—and a Londoner—hence not suspect of unwittingly misrepresenting London pronunciation—this neglect is unfortunate but also understandable, for his work seemed to have little if any practical value. His description of the English sound system and the phonetic alphabet he devised were of possible interest only to the historian of phonetic science and transcription. (In the latter connection see R. W. Albright, *The International Phonetic Alphabet: Its Backgrounds and Development* [International Journal of American Linguistics, XXIV, no. 1, 1958].) The merits and faults of Robinson as a phonetician are assessed by Dobson in *English Pronunciation 1500-1700*, pp. 200-214, and in an earlier essay printed in the *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 1947, pp. 25-63.) What the historian of phonology wants and fails to get from Robinson's little book is any clear notion of how English was pronounced at the time. Yet he was not remiss in this regard, for he had provided fairly extensive phonetic transcriptions of current pronunciation, the longest of them a transcription of Richard Barnfield's poem *Lady Pecunia* (1605). The trouble was that these transcriptions, employing his very odd phonetic alphabet, were taken to be cipher writings, and thus neither they nor the book were properly appreciated. The transcriptions need the clarification which his book provides, though only in part, and the significance of the book becomes apparent only when supplemented by his transcriptions.

Dobson's edition brings the two together. It consists of a reprint of *The Art of Pronuntiatiōn*, hitherto available only in the unique Bodleian copy, a translit-

eration of Robinson's phonetic transcriptions, a brief introduction explaining why transliteration is necessary and how it was done, and an index of words occurring in the transcriptions. The transliteration, it should be noted, involves extensive modification of Robinson's original transcription.

University of North Carolina

NORMAN E. ELIASON

*Timon of Athens* (New Shakespeare). Edited by J. C. MAXWELL. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1957. Pp. [lvi] + 190. \$3.50.

It is an invidious task to review another's edition of a play which one has just edited oneself<sup>1</sup>; where there are differences, criticisms of the other edition will only too often be re-statements of what has been said in one's own. It is therefore all the more important that I should begin by asserting that the "New Cambridge" edition of *Timon* is the best we have; and I offer my congratulations to Mr. Maxwell on its completion (the edition clearly may be called his, although he records that "the notes with the initials 'J. D. W.' represent only a small fraction of what the General Editor has done to improve all parts of the edition", and the jacket, with a true English compromise, uses the formula: "The New Shakespeare / *Timon of Athens* / Edited by J. Dover Wilson and J. C. Maxwell").

In his admirable Introduction, Maxwell first accepts the theory that the play is unfinished but entirely of Shakespeare's authorship. Here he is convincing but brief; he says nothing, for example, of the patterns of imagery which, occurring both in scenes generally agreed to be Shakespeare's and in those often attributed to others, may be shown to destroy the case for collaboration or revision by another. He favors a date of composition before *Lear* but, fairly, admits that if the reference in III.iii.32-33 is to the Gunpowder Plot, as he himself suggests that it may be, then a later date must be accepted; and I personally am grateful for this added reason for believing that the play belongs rather with *Coriolanus* and *Antony and Cleopatra*, to which it is related by similar contrasts of character as well as by source. Of the sources of *Timon*, divided into the Plutarchan and Lucianic, Maxwell gives a most helpful account. The main problem concerns the relationship of Shakespeare's play to the "old" anonymous *Timon*, edited by Dyce for the Shakespeare Society in 1842; and he concludes, although "with some reluctance", that "Shakespeare somehow came across the anonymous play. If it was a London school play, as Adams thinks, he could have been dragged to see it by some fond father of his acquaintance." M. Bonnard's theory of a common source is rather easier to accept than this, but it is not a matter on which either of us would wish to be dogmatic.

The critical section of the Introduction is based on, but is not identical with, Maxwell's essay on the play in *Scrutiny* XV (1947-8). Its strength is in its level-headed rejection of Campbell's theory of tragical satire and of other accounts of the play which oversimplify in various ways; its weakness, I feel, is that Maxwell himself oversimplifies when he gives a too complimentary account of Alcibiades and a too uncomplimentary one of Apemantus. He speaks, for example, of "the criticism of *Timon* that is implied in the figure of Alcibiades"; but what of the criticism of Alcibiades that is implied in the figure of *Timon*? Surely the contrast is not between "inhuman excess and balanced humanity"; is it not because *Timon* is *more* human than Alcibiades that his

<sup>1</sup> The "New Arden" edition, in the press (1958).

agony of disillusionment with Athens and mankind cannot be alleviated merely by making war on the city?

In his note on the copy for the 1623 Folio, Maxwell writes of his "failure to discover anything that helps to decide the question" whether the copy was transcript, as the late Philip Williams believed, or foul papers, as has generally been assumed. I myself believe that there is evidence showing that the copy was both (and Dr. Charlton Hinman has independently come to the conclusion that it must have been in two hands). Such a belief necessarily affects the editing: at III. v. 63, for example, where F has "Why say my Lords ha's done faire service", Maxwell reads "Why, I say, my lords, has done fair service"; but if one believes, as I do, that "ha's" is not an error but the compositor's version of a transcriber's habitual "h'as", then whatever an editor does with the first half of the line, he must read "h'as" as being closer to the author's MS. than any other reading we are likely to get, and thereby he will preserve what I take to be one of many abbreviations in the play that give the language, deliberately, a colloquial flavor. And generally my complaint would be that, conservative as Maxwell's text is, it is not conservative enough. To read at I. i. 43 "The senators of Athens—happy man!" is surely unjustifiable when F's "men" makes good sense, even if the editor *prefers* "man" and can argue that it *could* be a compositor's error. At II. i. 33-34, F "Take the Bonds along with you, / And haue the dates in. Come" also makes good sense, and "in compt", although traditional, is only a guess and unnecessary. At II. i. 78 and 106, "mistress" for F "Masters" is justified by Maxwell on the reasoning that the F compositor misunderstood MS. "mastres"; but pages and mistresses do have masters, the F reading is thus not impossible, and any editor accepting the usual emendation leaves himself open to the unwelcome suspicion that, even if he gives a bibliographical explanation, he is really printing what he thinks Shakespeare would have written had he ever revised the play. In brief, I think that F ought to be preserved in some two dozen of the relatively few places in which Maxwell departs from it, and would mention as further instances II. i. 33, III. i. 57, III. ii. 66, III. iii. 12, III. iv. 78, III. iv. 79 S.D., III. v. 14, III. v. 51, IV. ii. 41 (a particularly undesirable F4 "correction" of Shakespeare's grammar—and there are others), IV. iii. 122, IV. iii. 205, IV. iii. 224, V. i. 115, V. iv. 24, and V. iv. 37. In every case Maxwell, like the good editor he is, has noted his alteration and given reasons for it—least convincingly, I feel, when metre is involved, because to me he does not seem to allow enough for the heavy rhetorical stress which can easily "make up for" the allegedly missing syllable. Conversely, I have noted only one line where F is followed too scrupulously: the preservation of the Elizabethan comma at III. ii. 71-72, "He ne'er drinks, / But Timon's silver treads upon his lip" seems to me wrong in a modern-spelling edition.

The only fault of the Explanatory Notes is their occasional undue brevity (e.g. on III. ii. 84). Mr. C. B. Young has added to the value of Maxwell's edition by his full and interesting stage-history of the play.

*The University of Sydney*

H. J. OLIVER

*Shakespeare's Sources. Volume 1. Comedies and Tragedies.* By KENNETH MUIR. London: Methuen, 1956. Pp. ix + 267, 25s.

In *Shakespeare's Sources* Professor Kenneth Muir has attempted to remedy the neglect Professor Allardyce Nicoll complained of when he said "imaginative consideration of Shakespeare's creative genius in the light of these sources—is still largely waiting to be done." To the volume now published, devoted

as its title indicates to the comedies and tragedies, a second will be added in which Professor Muir will concern himself with the histories "and also with the influence of particular books and authors on Shakespeare." Although Professor Muir seems unaware of the fact, when in 1952 Allardyce Nicoll was recommending such a study, Professor Virgil Whitaker was preparing one for publication. *Shakespeare's Use of Learning* (1953) is precisely the kind of book for which Muir says (p. vii) he waited twenty-five years. It was reviewed in *TLS*, by Miss M. C. Bradbrook in *RES*, October, 1954, and by I. A. Shapiro in *Shakespeare Survey*, 1955. The oversight is particularly unfortunate because one can only suppose that acquaintance with Whitaker's more philosophically conceived and thoughtfully executed work would have helped Professor Muir to produce a more significant study.

The books, while they treat the same material, are rather parallel than identical. Although the grouping of the plays by types breaks down chronological order, Muir takes up individually all plays for which sources are known and thus deals with several Whitaker did not treat. This method makes Muir's work a more useful handbook to Shakespeare's sources. But the study has, of course, more ambitious purposes, and these Muir has attempted to squeeze into too narrow confines.

One of these purposes is to bring together for presentation and evaluation new information which he and others have garnered in recent years. His work is well-documented, though this volume lacks a bibliography, and his footnotes provide a helpful guide for those seeking direction to such studies. Still, it is in this area that Muir is most uncertain in the execution of his aims. All too often "the imaginative consideration of Shakespeare's creative genius" ebbs into argumentation for particular and sometimes improbable source materials, grounded for the most part on parallelisms that will probably seem less impressive to readers than to the author. Indeed, *Shakespeare's Sources* will prove a happy hunting ground for those so thoroughly infected with what the ever-to-be-lamented Tucker Brooke called "the morbid disease of source hunting" that the remotest similarity yields conviction. They should take particular delight in the fifteen pages devoted to *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*, primarily to the sources for the Pyramus and Thisbe interlude. There is no reason to suppose Shakespeare had not read and remembered many versions of the story including, perhaps, that in Thomas Mouffet's *Of the Silkwormes and their Flies*. But one wonders whether Shakespeare's writing-table was really so heavily laden with books and how Professor Muir learned (p. 47) that "Shakespeare had compiled an anthology of bad poetry". Shakespeare may have delighted in reading execrable verse, but the parallelisms Muir discerns between Mouffet and Shakespeare will scarcely convince a sturdy sceptic that the poet whose imagination conceived the delicious comedy of Oberon and Titania needed to consort with Mouffet or Dunstan Gale to learn how to be tedious and brief, merry and tragical. Muir's penchant for reading the dust of Shakespeare's mind is most strikingly displayed in the statement (pp. 47, 48) of Shakespeare's purposes in writing the burlesque: "A third purpose was to show intelligent members of the audience that *Romeo and Juliet*, written just before, was an unsatisfactory tragedy because it depended too much on accident." We all perpetrate at times the gentle art of Shakespearian clairvoyance, but seldom with such necromantic certainty.

It is inevitable and right that the point of view and scope of treatment should vary from play to play. Nonetheless, more uniformity would have been desirable. Three pages do not permit an adequate summary of Professor

Prouty's *The Sources of 'Much Ado About Nothing'* or provide sufficient basis for the reader to judge the validity of Muir's dismissal of Prouty's view that the nuptials of Hero and Claudio were to sanctify a marriage of convenience. On the other hand, the major tragedies and most of the comedies are dealt with in ample detail. Professor Muir's attention, however, is so constantly divided between major and minor concerns that this volume of *Shakespeare's Sources* seems neither "flesh, fish, nor fowl". The author's usual critical vigor and perspicuity dissipate while he practices persuasion. His admirers will hope that his next volume will be more philosophical and illuminating.

University of Colorado

RUFUS PUTNEY

*Shakespearean Tragedy and the Elizabethan Compromise.* By PAUL N. SIEGEL. New York University Press, 1957. Pp. xvi + 243. \$5.00.

The thesis of Prof. Siegel's study is that Shakespeare's tragedies champion the cause of Christian humanism and that the order manifested in them "is explicitly Christian" (p. 82).

The book is in two parts of five chapters each. In part I Prof. Siegel defines the Elizabethan compromise and estimates its influence upon contemporary literature. He begins with an analysis of the political causes contributing to Elizabeth's extraordinarily successful reign. That reign derived its strength from the fact that an equilibrium had been achieved among the three political parties: the weakened old aristocracy could not challenge the Queen; the bourgeoisie was not capable of ruling the land without a centralized force to maintain law; and the new aristocracy derived too much profit from the *status quo* to desire change. In thus helping to maintain this equilibrium the new aristocracy acted as mediator between the crown and the bourgeoisie: it supported the Queen and at the same time fostered commerce and industry. But the compromise could not endure, and the conflict between the bourgeoisie and the Queen was suddenly crystallized by the defeat of the Spanish Armada, a brilliant victory for the bourgeoisie. The triumph gave that party independence and a sense of power, and these, expressed in the House of Commons, provided effective opposition to the Queen. The long struggle between these two was on, and the new aristocracy, having outlived its function as mediator, soon disappeared as an independent political force. But that was precisely the time, Prof. Siegel argues, when the world outlook of the new aristocracy began to find expression in great works of literary art.

The world view of this aristocracy was Christian humanism, a "synthesis of Christian faith and classical reason". This view saw society as an "integrated hierarchy which reflected the cosmological order and the psychological nature of man" (p. 44). It set down the duties and prerogatives of princes, it defined the courtier and the gentleman. But it also pointed to the constant threats to this integrated hierarchy from the nature of man's fallen state: his overthrown reason might at any moment cause social chaos leading to universal disintegration. When the new aristocracy began to lose power, its ideology suffered in proportion, and soon became the target of the young intellectuals, the satirists of the late 1590's. Under the influence of satire the theatre turned from the glorification of aristocratic society to "the exploration of the murky depths of human nature" (p. 77). Not so with Shakespeare, says Prof. Siegel. In his drama "the soaring wings of the Renaissance are not clipped; he retains his sense of the grandeur of man" (p. 78).

In an introductory chapter of Part II Prof. Siegel offers four alterations in

Bradley's "picture of Shakespearean tragedy: (1) Shakespearean tragedy conveys a sense of divine providence; (2) this divine providence visits a poetically appropriate retribution upon the guilty; (3) characters and action suggest analogies with the Bible story; (4) there are intimations of the heaven and hell of Christian religion" (p. 82). These alterations Prof. Siegel attempts to justify in the last four chapters through an analysis of the four great tragedies. In *Hamlet* he finds that "the conflict between the humanist outlook on life and cynical disillusionment with it rages within the hero" (p. 99). There is some difficulty here, for it would seem that Hamlet is disillusioned with "particular men" rather than with an ideology which, as defined above, takes account of man's fallen state, the ultimate cause of Hamlet's disillusionment. At any rate, Prof. Siegel suggests that at a certain point in the play Hamlet, whose sea voyage has caused him to suffer a "sea change" into the "ideal prince he once was", chooses to wait, that is to say, to postpone action until Providence should call him to it. By waiting "for the time allotted by God [Hamlet] has done his work as His instrument without incurring His wrath" (p. 115). He abandons revenge, and although in the end he kills the king, he nevertheless saves his own soul. He acts the part of "the Christian gentleman" (p. 115). But does Hamlet really do so on his return to Denmark? Does the graveyard scene or his description of the death of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern support this view? And if Hamlet chooses to wait, why and against whom does he complain so bitterly of the delay?

And is't not to be damn'd  
To let this canker of our nature come  
In further evil?

When Horatio reminds him that Claudius will shortly hear from England, Hamlet replies: "It will be short; the interim is mine." Does not this mean that he intends to kill the king on his own initiative and in revenge, and is not his vague plan overtaken by Claudius' counterplot?

In *Othello* Prof. Siegel sees, in addition to the conflict outlined in the remarks on *Hamlet*, strong analogies between characters in the play and those in the "Bible story". Iago is, of course, a devil, while Desdemona acts the part of a redeemer. "Belief in her", says Prof. Siegel, "the symbolic equivalent in the play of belief in Christ, is a means of salvation for Cassio as well as for Emilia" (p. 134). Her "intercession brings martyrdom for herself, a martyrdom prefigured by the words 'Thy solicitor shall rather die / Than give thy cause away' . . . which remind us of the steadfastness of Christ in sacrificing Himself for mankind" (p. 136). The play illustrates also the ways of Providence in distributing poetically appropriate retribution. Roderigo is killed in the manner he had planned to kill Cassio; and "Iago himself, who has put Othello 'on the rack' (III, iii, 335), is sentenced to torture" (p. 138). No doubt there are analogies in the play, but they are far fewer than meet Prof. Siegel's eye. For instance Iago reminds us of Satan, but that is about all; and certainly *Othello* would be a theological treatise if it contained all the analogies and correspondences cited by Prof. Siegel.

In *Macbeth* and *King Lear* the clash is again, says Prof. Siegel, between Christian humanist values and anti-Christian humanist values; and again there are the analogies with biblical characters and action. Macbeth reminds Prof. Siegel of Lucifer and Judas (p. 144); Malcolm is the innocent lamb (p. 145) and Lady Macbeth is like Eve and Pontius Pilate (p. 144). In *King Lear* Cordelia is a Christlike redeemer, and Prof. Siegel cites the oft-debated lines:



Thou hast one daughter  
Who redeems nature from the general curse  
Which twain have brought her to.

In the same play divine Providence distributes poetically fitting retribution, although one is tempted to conclude that its poetic justice depends on the critic's phraseology. "Gloucester", says Prof. Siegel, "blindly credulous, is punished by being made actually blind" (p. 169); and Lear, "who had acted with insane anger . . . becomes indeed mad" (p. 170). Finally, there is an intimation of heaven, for which Lear has been redeemed by Cordelia's death. I think this is very difficult to follow. Certainly Cordelia's filial devotion has transformed Lear, but it is not clear what her death has to do with his salvation. One wonders if Lear's salvation is at all relevant in the closing scene.

Although I disagree with Prof. Siegel's reading of the tragedies, I have found his book a welcome addition to similar studies of the relation between Elizabethan literature and the society which produced it. Part I of the volume is a fine review of that relationship. Part II is much less satisfactory. No doubt humanistic ideals are scattered throughout Shakespeare's plays; and the tragedies certainly contain unavoidable correspondences, in character and action, with the Bible story. But these matters do not establish an order in the play which is explicitly Christian. For they nowhere lie at the core of the action; neither do they stand as limits restricting the development of theme or character. The laws governing the structure and meaning of Shakespeare's tragedies have reference to art rather than to a received faith. The tragedies are explorations rather than illustrations. And this is true in spite of the fact that their moral and ethical commitments may be called Christian.

*The University of North Carolina*

PETER G. PHILAS

*The Frame of Order. An Outline of Elizabethan Belief. Taken from Treatises of the Late Sixteenth Century.* Edited by JAMES WINNY with introduction. New York: Macmillan Company, 1957. Pp. 224. \$6.00.

This book is a useful anthology that brings together eleven treatises on various aspects of Elizabethan belief concerning the nature of man, the state, and the universe. The editor's purpose is to provide, as he says, a rudimentary handbook to Elizabethan belief for those who study the literature of the period. The selections, necessarily excerpted, are large enough to give a clear idea of each author's theory. Moreover, taken all together they present clearly the Elizabethan fondness for analogies, the deeply entrenched idea of the microcosm-macrocosm, and the basic concept of order and degree which form the intellectual background of the poetry and drama of this period. This book is superior to the average anthology of Elizabethan prose which attempts through snippets from too many authors to give a picture of the varieties of prose style as well as the multiplicity of ideas.

Mr. Winny's first section of fifty-seven pages contains extracts from Lemnius' *The Touchstone of the Complexions*, Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholy*, and John Woolton's *A Treatise of the Immortality of the Soul*. The fifty-five pages of the second section contain selections from Edward Forset's *A Comparative Discourse of the Bodies Natural and Politic*, de La Primaudaye's *French Academie*, Louis Le Roy's *Of the Interchangeable Course of Things* on the art of invention and from Rene de Lucinge's *The Beginning Continuance and Decay of Estates*. The last section, sixty-five pages, is composed of extracts from Thomas Digges' *A Perfect Description of Celestial Orbs*, portions

of Fulke's discourse on meteors from *A Goodly Gallery with a Pleasant Prospect*, a section on planetary influences from Maplet's *The Dial of Destiny*, and a discussion of universal proportions from Annibale Romei's *The Courtiers Academy*. An introduction and glossary complete the book.

The introduction reviews the familiar themes inherited from the Schoolmen of degree and order, the hierarchical theory of the state, the Elizabethan acceptance of the world as a static manifestation of God's will, the pervasive sense of mutability, and the longing for a universal harmony. The belief that all things seek their appointed end and order gave a dynamic quality to Elizabethan life which is reflected in the tragedies and the urgency of the lyric poetry.

Anyone teaching Renaissance literature would find his lot made easier because *The Frame of Order* makes available significant primary material. The introduction is valuable as a survey of ideas for a student unfamiliar with recent scholarship on this subject. It has, however, many limitations. The description of William Perkins' *Golden Chain* is misleading. Vague references such as "a theological treatise published in the year of Shakespeare's death" and "'All creatures in general' remarks Du Vair in a work translated in 1598" are irritating. (It takes no more space to say "Godfrey Goodman's treatise *The Fall of Man* published in 1616" or "remarks Du Vair in *The Moral Philosophie of the Stoicks*". Precise, informative statements are more valuable.) To give the source for some quotations and not for others shows a lack of a consistent scholarly method and lessens the value of this work for a more serious scholarly audience.

The absence of factual information about texts and authors is disappointing. A statement like this: "Fulke and Lemnius ran through several editions: the others—Digges again excepted—made no second appearance on the book stalls" is incorrect. *The Short-Title Catalogue* lists translations of *The French Academie* appearing in 1586, 1589, 1594, 1602, 1611; the second part appeared in 1594 and 1605; the third part in 1601; and all four books in 1618. If it never reached the book stalls, why all these editions?

The absence of an index and a bibliography might be blamed on the cost of printing, but their absence is a serious defect which reduces the usefulness of the book. The glossary at the end of the book might have been more useful had the significant words been glossed at the end of each text. Although every editor must make arbitrary decisions about his choice of words, such words as "brackish", "brook", "catholic", "lineage", "mere", "predestinate"—to mention only a few—would not seem to require definition, even for an undergraduate who has read a little Shakespeare.

In conclusion, this book serves a genuine need by making primary material available, but the absence of essential factual information and the casual inaccuracies lessen its value for the serious student of Elizabethan thought.

University of Rochester

KATHRINE KOLLER

## SHORT NOTICES

*Shakespeare and The Tempest*. By FRANCIS NEILSON. Rindge, New Hampshire: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1956. Pp. [x] + 181. \$3.50.

The British-born author of this not-too-heavy volume became a dramatic critic for the *Theatre Magazine* as early as 1897, and later was, successively,

actor with the Gillette and Frohman companies, stage director for Frohman, and author of some twenty-five plays. Among several other activities he has been a member of the Board of Governors of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre and of the British Parliament. Having this background plus acquaintance with a number of the best recent Shakespeare studies, he is in position to write authoritatively about problems of staging *The Tempest*, with pleasant digressions drawn from his own fruitful years.

On factual details of the "dark years" in Shakespeare's life and the formation of his political and religious beliefs, the author's opinions cannot be accepted so readily. He considers *The Tempest* "the only piece by Shakespeare which gives an insight into the mind of the poet" (p. 2). To Neilson the "Golden Age", presented specifically by Gonzalo's speeches in *The Tempest*, has reference to England of an earlier day, probably known to Shakespeare through stories told to him by his father and grandfather. "The events—economic, political, and religious—that took place in England from the time of the coming of the Tudors until the advent of the Stuarts, were so calamitous that no thoughtful person, whether or not he was able to read or write, could be impervious to it, for it affected every class in the kingdom and brought about horrors worse than war" (p. 3). Shakespeare, "born to be a historian of singular genius", in Neilson's judgment, recognizes these conditions as other writers do not, and so becomes in this play "a student Prospero searching for an Ariel who would help him in some supernatural way to right the wrongs of the time" (p. 11).

Knowledge of actual habits of playwrights past and present leads the author to reject a strictly autobiographical interpretation of this play, and emphatically to deny suggestion of identical authorship between Shakespeare and Marlowe. His study of the text of those dramas brings him to recognize, as Miss Campbell has done, that the history plays reflect a marked political conservatism, an antipathy to rebellion even against a bad king. But he too readily accepts the fantastic theory of Keen and Lubbock that a recently found copy of Hall's *Chronicle* contains genuine annotations in Shakespeare's hand, thus proving his service as a youth in Sir Thomas Hesketh's household. Having such ready access to a well-stocked private library, no right-minded young man, genius or otherwise, would have abused this privilege by inserting his own frequent notes in one of his master's treasured volumes.

In evaluating evidence as to the Bard's early education and his competence as a historian, Neilson would have profited from information given in Baldwin's examination of *William Shakspeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke*, particularly with regard to Hesiod, and in Whitaker's more recent work on *Shakespeare's Use of Learning*. The varied theatrical experience and the acknowledged stagecraft of Granville-Barker take on an added grace through that critic's employment of the highly specialized knowledge of academic scholars. Had Granville-Barker included in his *Prefaces to Shakespeare* a chapter on *The Tempest*, his conclusions would have been less speculative than those in the book under review.

The University of Texas

ROBERT ADGER LAW

*John Ford and the Drama of his Time*. By CLIFFORD LEECH. London: Chatto & Windus; Fair Lawn, N. J.: Essential Books, 1957. Pp. 144. \$2.30.

More than half-a-dozen books have been devoted to Ford in the last twenty years—a tribute which perhaps no other "minor" Elizabethan dramatist has been paid. This is partly due to the isolated position of Ford as a Jacobean

playwright in the reign of Charles I, and also to the complexity of "the problem of John Ford", to use the title of a recent study. But I believe that the very fine—and possibly unique—quality of Ford's dramatic writings is also responsible for the attention given to him. I do not mean to say, like Lamb, that he is next to Shakespeare and "of the first order of poets" (though his poetic talent is often very great), but he is unique in so much as he has created a kind of tragedy which is no longer the pure Jacobean tragedy (except *'Tis Pity* perhaps), a Fordian tragedy in which "suffering, not action, is the dominant strain". This, and many other characteristic features, have been excellently analyzed by Clifford Leech. Yet, while he clearly intends to emphasize the novelty of the Fordian drama, Professor Leech is also concerned with the drama of Ford's time. He would not probably repeat after Swinburne: "He stands apart among his fellows, without master or follower". He is well aware of Ford's debts to his predecessors and, in particular, to Shakespeare.

Ford's conscious or unconscious borrowings have been often pointed out. What Clifford Leech shows is that they were almost always turned into something new. What he says of the difference between Shakespeare's and Ford's treatment of histories may be quoted here as a general statement on the two dramatists:

But the difference arises also from a special peculiarity of Ford. His was a simpler dramatic world than Shakespeare's, a simpler attitude to human conduct. Shakespeare found his examples of tragic greatness in a murderer like Macbeth, a great-hearted child like Othello, a man who loved, as Lear did, both ease and ceremony: he saw their imperfections along with their greatness: he saw, in a sense, the justice of each man's fate, and also its dreadful lack of mercy. In Shakespeare's tragedy, as we have seen, there is something of protest, something of regret. For Ford there is no protestation to be made: the march of events is of course irresistible, it is not to be regretted: the characters who win his praise are those who do not attempt resistance but step grandly on to the scaffold.

A further difference probably lies in their respective vision of the world. With Shakespeare man stands out against a cosmic background which gives his actions their full significance. He is part of a whole. With Ford, to use Prof. Leech's words, we are kept "remote from the cosmic scheme". The Fordian hero stands alone in front of his fate. His aloofness is akin to that of the stoic but it is tempered, humanized as it were, by the natural nobleness and aristocratic dignity of the character. In this sense, when he reaches his best, Ford "dignifies not only human passion but the human condition".

Paris

R. DAVRIL

*Central and Flexible Staging. A New Theatre in the Making.* By WALDEN P. BOYLE. Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1956. Pp. [x + 117]. \$3.00.

A concise, comprehensive contribution to stimulating staging makes Walden P. Boyle's *Central and Flexible Staging* a must for anybody's drama library. The book is compact, easy to handle—about the size of actors' sides. And herein are but one hundred and ten pages of sound material clearly presented in both words and pictures and, where needed, sketches.

Each phase of stage production is carefully coordinated and the beginning director is helped by pictures, sketches and the section on Notes to the Text Figures.

This book fairly bulges with the wealth of experience Walden P. Boyle has

accumulated in the medium of flexible staging. The seasoned professional and the long-time teacher are Boyle's beneficiaries.

*The Catholic University of America*

REV. GILBERT V. HARTKE, O.P.

*Shakespeare, Sophocles: Dramatic Modes.* By MARTHA HALE SHACKFORD. Natick, Mass.: The Suburban Press, 1957. Pp. 37. \$1.00.

The three essays are: I. Sources of Irony in Hamlet. II. Stichomythia, Chorus, Soliloquy, as Dramatic Forces. III. Discovery, Recognition, Reversal, in *King Oedipus* and *Othello*. (No. I is reprinted from *The Sewanee Review*.)

Professor Shackford has read widely in both Elizabethan and classical literature. As the titles indicate, topics, not plays as such, are her subjects. Analysis of them is discriminating and well phrased. As artistic units, literary forms, being what they are, afford thousands of special topics of interest. In treating them, a not uncommon danger is obsessions. Some appear here. Shakespeare "was born ironic". "*Hamlet* is the most ironic of his works." This "temper of mind", "endowed by nature", marks authors from Plato to Meredith. The "best known and most thoroughly tragic irony is that of *Oedipus Rex*." "Shakespeare never read *Antigone* or other Greek tragedies." (Probably. But even with his "less Greek" he may well have heard talk about them. He mentions Plato and Aristotle.) Stichomythia is "that essentially Greek type of dialogue." "The Chorus represents a radical difference between the Greek view of dramatic art and the Romantic." (The Greek-like Chorus in *Wint. V.i* is not mentioned.) Seneca developed the Soliloquy "into a mannerism"; it is "a long aside"; in general, it has "only a psychological appeal". A "sort of a soliloquy is heard in the plays of Aeschylus." (We may admit both Chorus and Soliloquy as impermanent features of drama.) Aristotle's "Discovery and Recognition", common to both Greek and Elizabethan tragedy, perhaps call for "a useful distinction."

Before a second printing, such a slip as "How great a piece of work is a man", and numerous textual errors—some making nonsense—in passages cited should be corrected and references indicated.

*La Jolla, California*

A. H. R. FAIRCHILD

*Wit, Humor and the Comic in Shakespeare and Elsewhere.* By A. HAIRE FORSTER. New York: The William-Frederick Press, 1956. Pp. 16. 50 cents.

No branch of Shakespearian studies is so slippery as the study of his sense of humor. It needs a nimble, wary and experienced critic to calculate exactly where each laugh will (or should) occur in the theatre, to discern exactly the aim of each shaft of wit, and to appreciate the pervasiveness of Shakespeare's humor. Indeed few critics have been attracted directly to this subject, and this is a great misfortune—for, undoubtedly, wit, humor and the comic are important elements in every one of Shakespeare's plays.

Dr. Haire Forster's essay on the subject is therefore particularly welcome. It is a short work, and highly discursive and fragmentary (with anecdotes or quotations from such as Lamb, Aristophanes, Sir Thomas More, elderly gentlemen and absent-minded—and anonymous—professors), and furthermore it has some eccentric judgments (as that *Troilus and Cressida* ends "feebly"). But it has the merit of pursuing its theme in *all* the plays, comedies, histories and tragedies, and (in consequence, it seems to me) it has the power of provoking further exploration by its readers—it is salutary to be reminded, for example,

that Hamlet and Falstaff are emanations of the same sense of humor. This is a modest yet enlivening essay.

Birmingham University

J. R. BROWN

*The Pelican Shakespeare*. General editor, ALFRED HARBAGE: *Richard II*, ed. by MATTHEW W. BLACK; *1 Henry IV*, ed. by M. A. SHAABER; *2 Henry IV*, ed. by ALLAN CHERTER; and *Henry V*, ed. by LOUIS B. WRIGHT and VIRGINIA FREUND. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1957. \$50 each.

The general reader desirous of having explanatory notes at the foot of each page may welcome four more plays to *The Pelican Shakespeare*, under the general editorship of Professor Alfred Harbage. Each volume offers a sound text prepared by the individual editor with a brief Introduction as well as Harbage's essay, "Shakespeare and His Stage". Act and scene divisions follow the Globe edition with rare exceptions and appear in the margin; a printer's ornament indicates these divisions. For the several editors maintain the general purpose of providing the continuous impact of the action.

The Introductions are not repetitious, though these plays form a tetralogy; indeed the question of whether this tetralogy develops by chance or the author's intent matters not so much to one editor as to another. Although each Introduction bears the hall-mark of its individual author, all conform to the general purpose of evoking the reader's attention to understanding the play as Shakespeare's audience understood it. Yet the brevity of these introductions does not permit the scholarly discussions of which these writers are capable. Scholarly theories appear indirectly, if at all. For example, questions of ceremonial content, the influence of certain sources on interpretation, and in general the historicity of persons and incidents appear in the footnotes rather than in the Introduction. Here learning wells forth aplenty, though one may reserve assent to the particular kind of bench on which Falstaff is alleged to have slept. Yet certainly the reader without a dynamic lecturer to arouse his interest should find all four Introductions stimulating in spite of the imposed limitations, or rather, perhaps, because the scholarly debates are omitted.

University of Rochester

WILBUR DUNKEL

*The Tempest* (Kétnyelvű klasszikusok). With a Hungarian version by MIHÁLY BABITS. Budapest: Corvina, 1957. Pp. 207. Ft. 22.-.

A new edition, with English and Hungarian text on opposite pages, of *A vihar* translated by Babits Mihály (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1916). Mihály Babits (1883-1941), an outstanding Hungarian poet, belonged to the famous literary circle called "Nyugat" (West). The translation is given in verse and prose, following the original text, but it is not a literal translation. The introduction and some of the notes, signed O. L., are written by László Országh, Hungarian philologist, head of the Lexicographical Department, Linguistic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. László Országh has published *A Concise Dictionary of the English and Hungarian Languages* (Budapest: Franklin, [194?]).

Folger Shakespeare Library

NATI KRIVATSY

*Literature and Psychology*. By F. L. LUCAS. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957. Pp. [340]. \$1.75.

Mr. Lucas' volume covers a wide range, but the material especially relevant to readers of *SQ* is on *Hamlet* and *Lear*, and, more briefly, *Othello* and *Mac-*



*beth*. His comments are those of a literary scholar, not a psychologist, and the psychology in the book is not likely to offend literary scholars. His interpretation of *Hamlet*, for example, takes issue with Freud and Ernest Jones (i.e., he rejects the relevance of the Oedipus complex), and states that Hamlet's delays result from his disillusionment with his mother rather than from any unconscious identification with Claudius. Readers who have enjoyed Lucas' other intelligent books will similarly enjoy this reprint of *Literature and Psychology*.

Tufts University

SYLVAN BARNET

*Shakespeare's Four Giants: Hamlet Macbeth Othello Lear*. By BLANCHE COLES. Rindge, New Hampshire: Richard R. Smith Publisher, Inc., 1957. Pp. 126. \$2.50.

According to the publisher's blurb and also according to a hint in the Introduction, Mrs. Coles sets out to prove that Hamlet was not a procrastinator, that Macbeth was not a murderer, that Iago was not jealous of Cassio because of his promotion, and that Lear was not foolish almost to insanity in dividing his kingdom. Good scholars have made out a case for some of these propositions, but it can scarcely be said that Mrs. Coles's cosy ramble proves anything. Examples of her method: Wittenberg was not a co-educational institution. . . . Brabantio refers to [Othello's] "sooty bosom", but may he not have meant his hairy chest? Some rather fair men have black hair on their chests. The word "sooty" seems to apply more aptly to this interpretation than it does to a mere black body. . . .

In fact once the reader has taken up this book, he will not want to put it down until he has absorbed the whole of it.

Washington, D. C.

HEREWARD T. PRICE

*Shakespeare's Villains*. By CHARLES NORTON COE. New York: Bookman Associates, 1957. Pp. [xii] + 76.

I am still left wondering why Professor Coe wrote this book; it adds nothing to our present knowledge; it is neither detailed enough in its treatment nor sweeping enough in any new generalizing way to hold a serious Shakespearian scholar's attention longer than a few minutes to flip through it.

It is claimed to be based on the impression these eleven villains "would make on an audience viewing the play for the first time". The audience is never really defined. It certainly is not Shakespeare's audience, and hence the value of the historical approach with all its wealth of detail is sidetracked, but presumably a modern audience with an open mind—but how can there ever be such an audience that has been partly conditioned neither by its school training in Shakespeare nor by what the critics propound? Who is this hypothetical first viewer of Shakespeare's plays—a thirteen-year-old on his first introduction? The level of the book is just such, I should say, on first and last impression.

Professor Coe seems to allow no theory of Shakespeare's, developing technique: Aaron is compared unfavorably with Iago as if it were Shakespeare's *fault*.

The book might have the beginning of an idea, but a really worthwhile study would consider the role of the villain in Elizabethan drama as a whole and Shakespeare in particular. Against such a broad and carefully considered background Professor Coe's observations might have some real relevance; at present they are random, sporadic, off-centered, and few and far between—a

good proportion of the book being taken up with liberal quotation some of which might reasonably have been taken for granted.

This is a book I cannot recommend.

University of Missouri

JOHN P. CUTTS

*A History of Hamlet Criticism, 1601-1821.* By PAUL S. CONKLIN. New York: Humanities Press, 1957. Pp. x + 176. \$3.75.

This unamended photographic reprint again makes available a standard work now ten years old (King's Crown Press, 1947). It is unfortunate that this kind of reproduction does not permit the correction of misprints, of which the book has its full share.

Folger Shakespeare Library

GILES E. DAWSON

## Queries and Notes

### THE EARLIEST KNOWN MUSIC FOR DESDEMONA'S "WILLOW SONG"

PETER J. SENG

The original version of Desdemona's "Willow Song" has long been known. It is preserved in British Museum Addit. MS. 15,117, fol. 18, where the words of the song are scored for voice in standard notation, and provided with an accompaniment in lute tablature. The manuscript dates from about 1600. An even earlier version of the music, in lute tablature alone, occurs in Thomas Dallis's manuscript Lute Book (1583), pp. 25-26, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. Not sufficiently noticed until now, however, is a third—and probably the earliest—version of the music: a setting in lute tablature in Folger MS. 448.16, fol. 19.<sup>1</sup> This version may have been set down as early as 1572 and, in any event, almost certainly antedates the Trinity College manuscript by a number of years.<sup>2</sup>

Discovery of such an early version of the music is important because it supports the antiquity of the willow song which Shakespeare adapted for use in *Othello*. That song was one of many willow songs in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, all employing the traditional burden, or variations on it. It was perhaps as early as 1530 that John Heywood wrote a song, titled from its refrain, "All a grene wyllow, wyllow, wyllow, All agrene wyllow is my garland."<sup>3</sup> Thomas Howell in *H. His Devises* (1581), sig. C<sub>2</sub>, has a poem with virtually the same title, which is probably also its refrain. Thomas Deloney varies the conventional burden in *The Second Part of the Gentle Craft* (1639), sigs. E1-E1<sup>r</sup>, as does Robert Jones in *The Muses Gardin for Delights* (1610), sig. D1<sup>r</sup>. Parodies of willow songs, such as the one in *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* (1606), sig. K2, as well as numerous references to them in contemporary works, attest the age and popularity of this genre.<sup>4</sup>

#### Northwestern University

<sup>1</sup> J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps gave it cursory notice in 1887 in *A Calendar of the Shakespearean Rarities, Drawings and Engravings, Preserved at Hollingbury Copse, Near Brighton*, when he catalogued the manuscript as containing (p. 152) "the original music to a number of songs and dances, including several that are either quoted or mentioned by Shakespeare, and no doubt familiarly known to him", but he was apparently unaware of the early date of the music.

<sup>2</sup> The music is in the hand of the "B" scribe, and the manuscript apparently came into his possession about 1571. See *July and Julian*, ed. Giles Dawson, Malone Society Reprints, Oxford (1955), pp. v-viii, for the evidence for dating the various entries.

<sup>3</sup> Included by Halliwell-Phillipps in *The Moral Play of Wit and Science*, Shakespeare Society, London (1848), pp. 86-88.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Breton, *Wit's Trenchmour*, 1597 (*Works*, ed. Grosart, 1879, II, b, 20); Thomas Middleton, *Blurt, Master Constable*, 1602 (*Works*, ed. Bullen, 1885, I, 14); *Laugh and Lie Downe: Or, The Worlde's Folly*, 1605, sig. C3; John Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Shakespeare's *Works*, ed. Kittredge, 1936, IV, l. 80). A parody of the song in Playford's *Pleasant Musical Companion*, 1686, pt. II, no. 17, evidences the long life of the form.



The earliest known setting, in lute tablature, for Desdemona's Willow Song; from Folger Shakespeare Library MS. 448.16, fol. 19.

#### AN UNFINISHED PROMPT-BOOK

KENNETH MUIR

*No-Body and Some-Body*, described by its first editor with some exaggeration as "exceedingly clever and interesting", was popular enough to have been taken to Germany in 1608, and to have been translated into German in the same year. There is a copy of the original quarto (S. T. C. 18597), probably published soon after March 1606 (entry in S. R.) in the Folger Shakespeare Library, which contains a number of stage-directions in an early seventeenth-century hand. Letters in square-brackets have been cropped by the binder.

- A3] Florishe (To mark entrance of Cornewell and Martianus)
- A4] Senete (For entrance of Archigallo)
- B1\*] [F]lorishe (For exit of Archigallo)
- B2] John Wood[s] (In a different hand)
- B2\*] [E]nter (To warn of entrance on next page)
- B3] The words and *Elidure* (S.D.) are deleted. In place of them is written *Eledur Elidu*. Oh ambitious youthes. (This line is deleted) (The two alterations on this page may be explained by the assumption that it was intended to cut *Elidure's* appearance in this scene as he had only three words to say, but that the intention was abandoned)
- B3\*] [F]lorish: (To mark exit of Archigall)

As the margins are cropped, some later writing may have been cut off; but it looks as though it was decided not to produce the play before the prompter

# NO-BODY, AND SOME-BODY.

*flourish*

*Enter Cornwell and Marizmus.*

*Corn.*

*Mar.*

*Corn.*

*Mar.*

*Corn.* You are sad my Lord.

*Mar.* You melancholy.

*Corn.* So,

The state it selfe mournes in a robe of Wo.

**M**Y Lord *Marizmus.*  
My Lord of *Cornwell.*

Morrow,

Morrow,

*Perid.* To entertaine forreine Embassadors.

*Vig.* And haue our names ranckt in the course of kings.

*Perid.* Shadow vs State with thy maiesticke wings.

*Enter King, Cornwell, Marizmus, and  
Escrowe*

*Vige.* Now fir, my brother *Archigall* depolde

*Corn.* Depold! did you heare that my Lord.

*Vig.* For his licentious rule, and such abuses

As wele pretend gainst him in parliament.

*Arch.* Oh monstrous brothers.

*Escrowe.* Oh ambitious youthes.

*Vig.* Thus wele deuide the Land, all beyond Trent

See, see, two of our strict lu'd Counsellors

In secret conference; they cannot indure

This freedome.

*Perid.* Nor the rule of *Archigallo*,

Because tis subiect to his libertie.

Are they not plotting now for some insurrection

And change of state: old gallants if you be

T will cost your heads.

*Vige.* Bodies and all for me.

List them, such strict reproouers should not liue,

*John Wood*

had got beyond sheet B. The book probably belonged to John Woods, an actor who took an English company to Leyden in 1604 (cf. A. Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany*, 1865, p. lxxvii) but of whom nothing else appears to be known, unless he is the John Woode who is mentioned in 1623 (cf. G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, II, 625). If his name is in his own handwriting the prompt-book was prepared by someone else. Perhaps this copy was taken on a later continental tour: it may even belong to the German tour which was the cause of the 1608 translation.

University of Liverpool

### TWELFTH NIGHT AT THE MIDDLE TEMPLE

G. P. V. ABRIGG

According to the diary of John Manningham, Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* was performed at the Middle Temple on February 2nd (Candlemas), 1602. A number of scholars have been inclined to put the writing of the play a year or so earlier. On the other hand, Dover Wilson in the "New Shakespeare" edition of the play accepted 1601-1602 as the date for it in its original form and drew attention to the abundance of legal jests "clearly penned for performance at the Inns of Court" (p. 95). In 1950, however, J. W. Draper made the suggestion that *Twelfth Night* had received its première not at the Middle Temple in 1602 but at Whitehall in 1601 as "the Queen's Twelfth Night entertainment to regale the living Duke Orsino".<sup>1</sup> Draper's suggestion has since been taken up with enthusiasm by Leslie Hotson.<sup>2</sup>

There is, however, within *Twelfth Night* evidence, apparently hitherto unnoted, that seems to point clearly to the middle Temple and not Whitehall as the place for which the play was written. The lines which are important here are those spoken by Malvolio during his incarceration. He laments to the Clown that the place of his imprisonment is as dark as Hell. To this the Clown expostulates:

Why, it hath bay windows transparent as barricadoes, and  
clerestories towards the south-north as lustrous as ebony—  
(IV. ii. 40-41)

What we have here, of course, is a sudden, amusing switch from the dramatic scene to the actual scene, from the "dark room" in which Malvolio is confined to the great Tudor hall in which the play was being presented. Particularly interesting, in consequence, is the plural reference of "bay windows" and the directional mention of "clerestories towards the south-north". What we must do is to follow Shakespeare's two clues if we are to identify the hall.

First, the bay windows. The oriel or bay window was, of course, an important feature of Elizabethan architecture and interesting enlargements of its design and use were being made. Generally speaking, the Elizabethan halls which employ it can be divided into two classes. The first of these, by far the more common, has a single oriel so set towards the end of one of the side walls

<sup>1</sup> The "*Twelfth Night*" of Shakespeare's Audience (Stanford, 1950), p. 259.

<sup>2</sup> *The First Nights of "Twelfth Night"* (London, 1954).



as to give the benefit of its brightness to those seated at the high table at the upper or dais end of the hall. In the opposite side wall, balancing the oriel, is an entrance door. So much for the "single oriel" hall. Sometimes, however, there was no entrance door in the upper end of the hall, the only access being by way of the "screens" at the lower end. In such a case, as in the hall of Trinity College, Cambridge, a second bay or oriel window might be set opposite the first, in place of the doorway, so that the two faced each other in direct symmetry across the width of the hall at its upper end. This gave the "double oriel" hall. Shakespeare's reference to "bay windows" indicates that it was a "double oriel" hall which was to see the presentation of his play.

The hall at Whitehall perished in the great conflagration which destroyed most of the palace in 1697. Its plan, however, has been preserved for us.<sup>3</sup> One look at the plan reveals an insurmountable obstacle to accepting this as the hall of *Twelfth Night*, for what we discover is a hall of the "single oriel" type, its only bay window being that of the oriel shown on the eastern side. Facing it on the west is the usual entrance door.

We turn now to the Middle Temple Hall, once more standing in its original magnificence, reconstructed after the ravages of the Blitz. We find that here the Elizabethan builders employed the "double oriel" design, setting bay windows in large square projecting bays at the south-west and north-west corners of the hall.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, since the hall was orientated east and west, the rows of handsome high windows rising above the wainscoting of the side walls were indeed "clerestories towards the south-north". A particular feature of the hall, we may note, was the "Great Window" in the southwestern bay. Set here were the arms of Edmund Plowden, "Procurator and Promoter" when the building of the hall was begun in 1562. Little wonder that Shakespeare seized upon these windows as a means of identifying the hall where *Twelfth Night* was to have its first night.

Shakespeare had a purpose in identifying the hall so explicitly and unmistakably for his audience. He was preparing to have a bit of fun with them. Already, earlier in the play, he had sported directly with the men of law and their friends. This earlier instance had come when Sir Toby advised Sir Andrew to "accost" Maria, "front her, board her, woo her, assail her", and received from him the reply, "By my troth I would not accost her in this company" (I.iii.59-62), "this company" being the Society of the Middle Temple and the legal dignitaries who were their guests. But let us return now to the fourth act, realizing that here, during the play's first performance, we have the men of the Middle Temple, proud of their magnificent hall with its fine large windows having to listen to Malvolio speaking of its being as "dark as Hell". It was an open invitation to the spectators to enjoy themselves by hooting him. But even more mock provocation and fun were to follow. No sooner has the identification of the hall been effected, and its darkness commented upon, than there follows a further exchange:

*Clown:* Madman, thou errest, I say there is no darkness  
but ignorance, in which thou art more puzzled than

<sup>3</sup> London County Council, *Survey of London* (1930), XIII, 48.

<sup>4</sup> A plan of the Middle Temple Hall is to be found in J. Bruce Williamson's *Middle Temple Hall* (London, 1928), p. 30.

the Egyptians in their fog.

Malvolio: I say, this house is as dark as ignorance.

(IV. ii. 46-50)

"I say, this house is as dark as ignorance"! It is hard not to see Shakespeare grinning with delighted anticipation as he wrote that line. This play was to be performed before "an heap of learned men", the Society of the Middle Temple. To the Candlemas feast<sup>5</sup> reported by Manningham would be invited, by custom, all the judges and sergeants who had formerly belonged to the society. Probably present were "Chief Justice Sir John Popham, Chief Baron Periam, Mr. Justice Fenner of the Common Pleas, Mr. Baron Savile of the Court of Exchequer"<sup>6</sup>. These men and the benchers and barristers of the Middle Temple regarded themselves as nothing if not learned, and here was this miserable Malvolio not only declaring their fine hall "dark as Hell" but "dark as ignorance". Here was mockery in the true Twelfth Night vein!

But Shakespeare was not yet quite done. Right after these gibes comes a capping legal allusion from Malvolio:

And I say there was never man thus abused. I am no more  
mad than you are. Make trial of it in any constant question.

(IV. ii. 50-53)

Little imagination is needed to see the trial Malvolio must have received. The whole previous passage on darkness and ignorance must have brought the house down, and the plea for a fair trial have come just as learned benchers and justices had risen left and right to hoot Malvolio in good-natured retaliation. It must all have been grand fun. And surely it all goes to show that *Twelfth Night* was tailor-made for the Middle Temple.

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#### AN "ECCE HOMO" OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY AND THE PAGEANTS AND STREET THEATRES OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

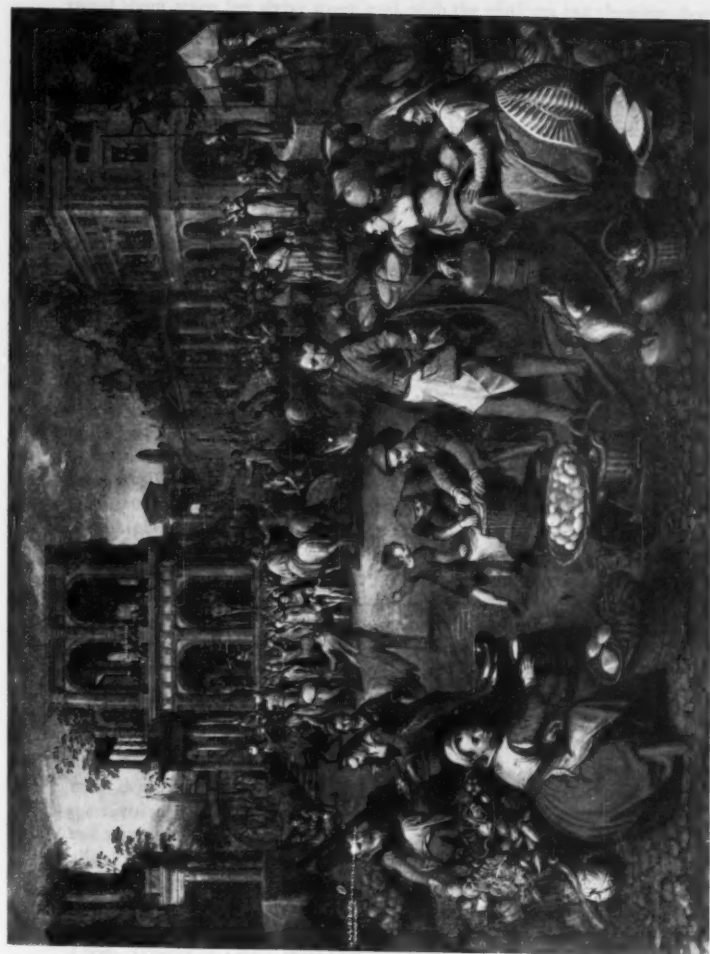
M. C. BRADBROOK

In the possession of Captain Huddleston of Sawston Hall, Cambridgeshire, is a large oil painting attributed to Pieter Aertsen of Amsterdam (1507-1573) or to one of his pupils. The history of the picture is not established, but it has been at Sawston Hall for many years. It is known as an *Ecce Homo*.

A market is taking place in a public square, with buildings in the style of the Italian renaissance; but the crowd is dressed in Flemish clothes. In the left

<sup>5</sup> It is, of course, impossible to say whether or not Candlemas 1602 was the first time *Twelfth Night* was presented at the Middle Temple. It may have been a repeat performance of a play which had delighted when staged on Twelfth Night a year or so earlier. On the other hand Manningham may have witnessed the play's première and he speaks as if the play were a new one. Candlemas, like Twelfth Night, was associated with Christmas and *Twelfth Night* may have been very loosely named. The sub-title "What You Will" suggests as much. As good an explanation as any would be that the play was commissioned for Twelfth Night 1602 and delays of some sort caused postponement to the neighboring festival of Candlemas, a few weeks later.

<sup>6</sup> J. Bruce Williamson, *The History of the Temple, London* (London, 1925), p. 239.



"Ecce Homo", attributed to Pieter Aertsen or a pupil. Reproduced with the permission of Captain Huddleston of Sawston Hall, Cambridgeshire.

Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the National Gallery, London.  
 The painting is in the collection of the National Gallery, London.  
 A reproduction of this painting is in the collection of the National Gallery, London.



background, isolated in the middle of the square, is a structure consisting partly of ancient ruins, with trees sprouting from a broken classical portico, and partly of a two-storied arcade in renaissance style. This arcade consists of two arches raised about seven feet above street level, with the platform just showing above the heads of the crowd gathered before it; above, two similar arches make a kind of double loggia. Christ stands in the lower right-hand arch; the left-hand arch shelters St. Peter and the servants; two other figures stand behind Christ, and there are also two figures in each of the upper arches.

The structure does not suggest a building, but a pageant or perhaps a street theatre. The fantastic ruins on to which it is backed are clearly separated from it, for the sky can be seen through the arches. The ruins belong to the time of Christ, but the arches, like the crowd, belong to the artist's own day. The crowd forms the main interest of the composition; not only the square but the windows of adjoining palaces are filled with spectators, as for a play, pageant, or triumphal entry. The placing of the main point of interest far in the background may have been a protective device, designed to tone down the real purport of the picture (many of Aertsen's works were destroyed by zealots) but it has also allowed the painter to display the virtuosity of his perspective. In doing so, it directs interest to the distant object, and differs from such genre pictures as Pieter Brueghel the Elder's *Christ Carrying the Cross*, in which the hill of Golgotha recedes into the far background and Christ is lost among the milling crowds in the middle distance. There is perhaps a closer likeness in composition to the secular genre painting of Pieter Brueghel the Younger (1564-1636) *A Village Fete*<sup>1</sup> where a street theatre of the simplest type, a trestle stage backed by a small booth without a roof, appears in the middle of a market place. As in Aertsen, some groups are giving it their full attention and one group has climbed on a well head to see the better.

Closest of all in the general design, however, is an etching of Rembrandt, *Christ being shewn to the people*,<sup>2</sup> dated 1655. This, as Hodges says, is probably based upon "a theatre shew seen and sketched . . . in a Flemish street. The central structure has a marked resemblance to the Rederyker stages" (*The Globe Restored*, p. 102).

Aertsen depicts a larger surrounding area than Rembrandt, but both stages have lower and upper levels, with a flight of steps leading up from the street to the main stage level. In Aertsen, as in Rembrandt, there appears to be a very small forestage on to which Christ is stepping out; Aertsen's stage has much more depth than Rembrandt's. The most curious feature of Aertsen's stage is the division of both main and upper level into two compartments by the central supporting columns. In the Elizabethan theatres, the main stage was spatially divided (not, as far as is known, by curtains) into three areas by the presence of the two stage "posts". The nature of the divisions of the upper stage is a matter of conjecture. The four division of Aertsen's stage resemble rather the "houses" of the earlier renaissance stages, such e.g. as those depicted in the Lyons *Terence* of 1493.<sup>3</sup> Here four or five curtained compartments are shewn

<sup>1</sup> Now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

<sup>2</sup> Reproduced in C. Walter Hodges, *The Globe Restored*, London, 1953.

<sup>3</sup> Reproduced in Allardyce Nicoll, *The Development of the Theatre*, London, 1927.

(though all on the same level), each labelled with the name of the character who inhabits it.

Of late years it has been increasingly recognized how close was the connection between the arts of painting and of theatrical design.<sup>4</sup> The same artists worked on canvases for the palace, for the triumphal entry, and for the theatre. In a Triumph, life at its most ritualistic was blended with dramatic representation, life and art were fused. Among the most popular solid structures for processional triumphs were arcades, arches and façades, according to Kernodle. Throughout the early sixteenth century, splendid civic festivities sustained the processional mode of dramatic representation which had been that of the older theatre of the miracle pageants. The triumphal cars of earthly rulers rolled where the triumphs of Christ had been shewn, and in the same mode. These processions often passed under one or more arches upon which a *tableau vivant* was mounted. Or they might halt before a scaffold, upon which such a tableau was displayed. During the latter half of the sixteenth century, the living figures were replaced by painted ones upon the triumphal arches;<sup>5</sup> but the scaffolds continued to sustain living figures, enacted by the Rederyker or "Chambers of Rhetoric", societies which existed to celebrate public festivals by dramatic performances or recitals.

In Aertsen's paradoxical Triumph of Christ with the crown of thorns, there is a most fantastic blend of realistic and imaginary scene, of Italy with Flanders, of the ancient with the modern world, of real life with various dramatic forms.<sup>6</sup> The pictures carries no single simple significance, and this, to the historian of the stage, reduces its interest. Yet however difficult the composite nature of Aertsen's art may render it, the existence of this work, contemporary with the elder Brueghel but linked with Rembrandt, suggests that painters may have preserved an iconographic tradition for this particular incident in the Life of Christ, deriving either from triumphs or from the street theatres of the Rederyker.

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#### SANGUINE EXPECTATIONS: DR. JOHNSON'S SHAKESPEARE

ARTHUR SHERBO

The February number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1745 announced the speedy publication of some *Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth*; in March the same periodical put the date of publication at April 6;

<sup>4</sup> See especially G. R. Kernodle, *From Art to Theatre*, Chicago, 1944.

<sup>5</sup> See Kernodle's essay in the volume *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Ed. du Centre National de La Recherche Scientifique, Paris 1956). A volume specifically dealing with triumphs in Flanders, which I have not seen, is Irmengard von Roeder-Baumbach, *Verzierungen bij Blijde Inkomstengebrucht in de Zuiderlijke Nederlanden gedurende de 16o en 17o eeuw* (Antwerp, 1943).

<sup>6</sup> The story of the Passion is actually shewn *seriatim*: under the archway to the left of the stage can be seen the scourging of Christ and in the street to the right leading up to a gate He is sinking under the weight of the Cross. These figures are so tiny as hardly to be distinguishable. The convention is familiar from pictures, but the two supporting incidents are not given a theatrical setting.

In the left arch of the main stage however a soldier dismantles the whipping post.



and in the April list of Books Published the advertised work duly appeared. It was accompanied by proposals for an edition of Shakespeare and a short specimen text. Eleven years later, June 1, 1756, Samuel Johnson, the anonymous author of the *Miscellaneous Observations*, issued another, more elaborate set of proposals for an edition of Shakespeare, promising publication "on or before Christmas 1757". This would allow him about a year and a half to edit the thirty-six plays of the then-accepted Shakespeare canon. If, as the 1745 proposals had stated, the editor would correct the text, remark the various readings, and examine the conjectures of former editors and supply their omissions, even the compiler of the famous English Dictionary would be hard pressed to meet this optimistic deadline. That he did not is, of course, a familiar story; the edition was finally published on October 10, 1765.

Why, or how, could Johnson promise to edit Shakespeare's plays and, presumably, see them through the press in the impossible time of eighteen months? I believe the answer lies in a body of work undertaken by Johnson before the 1745 *Miscellaneous Observations*, a body of work part of whose vestigial remains can be seen in the edition. How much of this work, completed before 1745, finally went into the edition can only be surmised; I have elsewhere showed that Johnson transplanted virtually all of the *Observations on Macbeth* into the edition, but there is no extant evidence for his procedure with the rest of the commentary. In editing Johnson's notes on Shakespeare for the *Augustan Reprint Society* I was struck by a handful which suggested work done earlier than, say 1756, and one note on *Macbeth* which possibly antedates 1745. Thus, on Macduff's "This avarice / Sticks deeper; grows with more pernicious root / Than summer seeming lust", Johnson comments, "When I was younger and bolder I corrected it thus, *Than fume, or seething lust*. that is, Than angry passion or boiling lust" (IV, 504, 2).<sup>1</sup> This conjectural emendation, like the other notes I shall quote or cite, appears also in the 1765 edition but nowhere earlier; it does not, furthermore, stem from an emendation suggested in the *Dictionary* (see the second definition of "To Hurd, v.a." for one example of such an emendation). It represents, then, I believe, work done very early, for Johnson would not be calling attention to conjectures made and discarded in the course of his editorial labors between 1756 and 1765. Twice in the 1773 edition, however, he used the words "I once believed" to point to notes in 1765 which he now disavowed (see 1773, II, 129, 4 and III, 167, 9 and compare 1765, I, 369, 1 and I, 437, 1).

There are, in all, nineteen notes which strongly suggest a period of early work on Shakespeare, a period probably coinciding with the writing of the *Miscellaneous Observations* which would then be only a part of the total effort. In short, I am led to believe that Johnson had studied and provided commentary for more than just *Macbeth* by 1745. This hypothesis is corroborated by the range of plays represented in these nineteen notes. The notes are on fourteen plays, at least one of which number occurs in each of the eight volumes of the 1765 edition where they make their first appearance.

I shall quote a few of these notes to show what Johnson was doing and merely list the others. Styan Thirlby had suggested "strives" for "strays" in the

<sup>1</sup> The text quoted and referred to throughout is the 1773 Johnson-Steevens *Variorum*. The page reference is to the beginning of the note; often the notes extend to two or three pages.

lines "And as the butcher takes away the calf, / And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays" in 2 *Henry VI*. Johnson's comment reads "The emendation is admitted by the succeeding editors; and I had once put it in the text. I am, however, inclined to believe . . . that *strive* is the best word, but *stray* is the right" (VI, 309, 3). Here Johnson displays a commendable reluctance to accept an emendation needlessly. In another note he discards an early conjecture only to suggest a different one. Don John, in *Much Ado About Nothing*, says "I had rather be a canker in a hedge, than a rose in his grace." Johnson's note reads, in part, "I once read thus, *I had rather be a canker in a hedge, than a rose in his garden*. . . . But a less change will be sufficient: I think it should be read, *I had rather be a canker in a hedge, than a rose by his grace* (II, 242, 8). There is no need to quote others; the following list, including the notes already quoted, will allow the interested student to consult the notes for himself. One comment is in order, however: in all but the note on *Much Ado About Nothing* quoted above, Johnson is retracting his early conjectural emendations or those of other critics. The statement in the Preface to Shakespeare comes to mind: "As I practised conjecture more, I learned to trust it less; and after I had printed a few plays, resolved to insert none of my own readings in the text." But here is the list:

I, 220, 2 and I, 305, 4 (*Merry Wives*); II, 20, 3 and II, 113, 3 (*Measure For Measure*); II, 177, 7 (*Comedy of Errors*); II, 242, 8 (*Much Ado*); IV, 504, 2 (*Macbeth*); V, 27, 3 (*King John*); V, 141, 6 and V, 173, 7 (*Richard II*); VI, 185, 1 (1 *Henry VI*); VI, 309, 3 (2 *Henry VI*); VIII, 259, 1 (*Anthony and Cleopatra*); IX, 27, 8, IX, 91, 1 and IX, 107, 5 (*Troilus and Cressida*); IX, 173, 5 (*Cymbeline*); IX, 333, 8 (*King Lear*); and X, 330, 1 (*Hamlet*).

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## OTHELLO'S DICTION

PHILIP A. SMITH

Everyone who has read *Othello* has noticed the extraordinary eccentricity of Othello's speech. He speaks a kind of English which is literally *sui generis*, in or out of Shakespeare. There is a very necessary, even compelling reason for his peculiarity of diction which so far as I know has never been pointed out. Before I try to indicate what this reason is, let me enumerate briefly some of the distinguishing features of Othello's intentionally strange locution. I shall make no mention of the "poetry", his fondness for the big metaphor, nor the picturesque quality of his verse. The imagery of Othello's utterance has been severally examined (by Bethell, Foakes, Heilman, Spurgeon, Elliott, Morozov, and especially Clemen) with what I think in some respects to be misleading results. Sufficient mention has been made by the commentators of the exotic nature of these images, the "colorful picture of the world of Othello's origin" they reveal, the "spontaneous", dynamic quality of Othello's images as contrasted to the "calculated", static images employed by Iago, etc. All this is cer-

tainly not beside the point, but such discussion leads to the (erroneous) impression that Othello was somehow naïve, which he was not. It is my purpose in this note to exhibit how Othello's diction not only illuminates character but is intentionally linked up with the demands of plausibility in plot-structure as well.

Othello's speech, which Shakespeare of course intended to assist in defining his completely *outré* (not naïve) character, is marked by a formal, copybook style altogether unidiomatic in its structure, uncolloquial in its nature. He is deliberately made to sound "foreign", as though he were speaking an acquired tongue, with none of the ease or naturalness of the native. Except for the poetry which graces his normal utterance (when not tormented on the rack of jealousy), it almost seems as though Othello were composing his sentences out of Lily's grammar on a slate. He speaks as though he had learned English very carefully as to grammar and (less well) as to syntax, precisely as one might learn it in school before taking up residence in an English-speaking country. The familiar accents of everyday speech, so notable in the most casual phrases in the dialogue between Iago and Roderigo or Cassio, are altogether lacking. The want of suppleness, of malleability and flexibility, in Othello's language make him appear to be an *Auslander*, unsophisticated, culturally unassimilated.

Expressions like "blown and exsufflicate surmises", "matching thy inference", "salt and sorry rheum", "circumscription and confine", "agnize", "due reference of place and exhibition"—phrases such as these were assuredly never heard on English land or sea. Notice incidentally, in the phrases just quoted, Othello's habit of using compound adjectives, the one heavily Latinate, the other Anglo-Saxon. This trick of pairing adjectives before a noun became a prominent feature of the *genus grande* as practiced by English writers of oratorical prose, and an especially prominent component in Sir Thomas Browne's writings. The impression of aloof detachment which Wilson Knight finds in Othello's imagery proceeds rather from this untutored habit of speech than from any disparate qualities of the verse. Othello himself almost put his finger on it in complaining that he had not "those soft parts of speech which chamberers have".

This apparent unfamiliarity with indigenous speech-patterns strongly suggests a more significant unawareness of cultural patterns. In turn, this presumed unfamiliarity renders possible (and highly plausible) Iago's most telling thrusts regarding Desdemona's alleged infidelity, a series of remarks rapidly built up by Iago from, "In Venice they do let heaven see the pranks / They dare not show their husbands", through, "She did deceive her father, marrying you; / And when she seemed to shake and fear your looks / She loved them most". These increasingly cogent insinuations are in themselves but repeated left jabs to keep Othello off his logical balance lest he inquire too closely into the implications of any one taken by itself; nevertheless, they accumulate in Othello's agonized "I am abused, and my relief / Must be to loathe her". Here indeed is Iago's erring barbarian duped by a super-subtle Venetian. The whole process was no doubt facilitated by Othello's predilection for compensatory posturing, for attitudinizing in order to assuage his wounded *amour propre* (exhibited in part by the predominance of the personal pronoun in his anguished breast-beating).

It were otiose to remind anyone that plays, unlike children, are meant to be both seen and heard, not simply read. Here Othello's odd lingo serves as a constant reminder, deliberately pointed up, of his tragic inability to comprehend

not Desdemona but Iago. But for Shakespeare's putting Othello into this trick of speech-singularity, the otherwise incredible celerity in the ripening of his jealous passion (according to the so-called "short" time-scheme, which is the only verifiable one) would have been hopelessly unpalatable.

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# ARIEL AS CERES

IRWIN SMITH

In Act IV, Scene i, of *The Tempest*, Ariel makes fleeting mention of the fact that he played the part of Ceres in the Masque recently concluded:

... when I presented Ceres  
I thought to haue told thee of it [Caliban's plot],  
but I fear'd  
Least I might anger thee (lines 167-169).<sup>1</sup>

His reference to his playing of the role is so casual as easily to escape notice;<sup>2</sup> and yet his doubling of parts, and the need to provide time for his two changes of costume,<sup>3</sup> have a pronounced effect upon the structure of the scene, and tend strongly to corroborate the theory that Shakespeare inserted the Masque as an afterthought, presumably in compliment to the Princess Elizabeth and the Elector Palatine on the occasion of their betrothal, on 27 December 1612.

Quite apart from the Ariel-Ceres complication, there has already in the scene been some evidence that the Masque was not included in the play as originally written. Prospero's orders to Ariel (37-39, 43):

... goe bring the rabble  
(Ore whom I giue thee powre) here, to this place:  
Incite them to quicke motion. ... I: with a twincke.

and Ariel's reply (44-47):

Before you can say come, and goe,  
And breathe twice; and cry, so, so:  
Each one tripping on his Toe,  
Will be here with mop, and mowe.

seem to herald the immediate entrance of a large group of dancers. But no dancers enter until nearly a hundred lines later; the Masque intervenes. Instead of dancers, Iris enters at 59, some twenty lines after Prospero gives his festinate command, and after her Ceres and Juno.

Ariel's playing of Ceres was probably caused by a shortage of boys capable of taking women's parts. What with Miranda and Iris and Ceres and Juno

<sup>1</sup> Quotations are from the First Folio. Line numbers are from *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. G. L. Kittredge (Boston, 1936).

<sup>2</sup> The Furness Variorum *Tempest* of 1895 fails to comment upon the line in any way whatsoever.

<sup>3</sup> My attention was first directed to the costume changes by John Dover Wilson in the Cambridge New Shakespeare Edition of *The Tempest*, p. 81. To his illuminating observations I have added others of my own.

and an indefinite number of Nymphs, the resources of the King's Men were perhaps overtaxed, and therefore the delicate Ariel was called upon to double. But his doubling of parts necessitated two changes of costume, from Ariel's original garb to Ceres' gown in the first instance, and back to his former costume in the second. For both of these changes time must be provided; and the manner of its providing suggests in both instances that the time-allowance was imposed subsequently upon a text which made no such provision as initially written.

To gain time for the first change, the dramatist has Prospero dismiss Ariel without explanation at line 49. Ariel is no longer being sent to summon the rabble; the plans have been changed: the dancers will not enter until later. Now, therefore, instead of speeding Ariel away on his errand, Prospero gives him the watered-down negative command (lines 49-50):

do not approach  
Till thou do'st heare me call. . . . *Exit* [Ariel].

With Ariel gone, Prospero repeats the sermon about premarital incontinence that he gave less than two minutes before, and Ferdinand repeats his pledge of chastity; then, in lines that seemingly have survived the change of plans, Prospero calls:

Now come my *Ariell*, bring a Corolary,  
Rather then want a Spirit; appear, & perty.

But Ariel does not come, nor can he, for he is in the tiring-house changing his apparel and donning his wig; Iris enters instead. Ariel will not re-enter, in his own character, until more than a hundred lines later. At line 75 he enters as Ceres. Prospero's and Ferdinand's dialogue, plus Iris' fifteen-line opening speech, have given him 25 full lines (about one and a quarter minutes of acting time) to prepare for his entrance.<sup>4</sup>

After the Masque is over, two separate sequences of thought are interrupted by the insertion of irrelevant material to give time for the recharge. The first sequence begins with a few words in the stage-direction at 138 and with the lines immediately following:

. . . Prospero starts sodainly and speaks . . .  
I had forgot that foule conspiracy  
Of the beast *Calliban*, and his confederates  
Against my life: the minute of their plot  
Is almost come.

which, parenthetically, seems out of character in a man of Prospero's supernatural powers. But in spite of his tardy awareness of personal peril, 23 lines go by before he says to Ariel, "We must prepare to meet with *Caliban*" (166).

The second sequence begins with Ferdinand's

This is strange: your fathers in some passion  
That works him strongly (143-144)

<sup>4</sup> Sir Edmund K. Chambers explains the sequence of pre-Masque lines by saying that "Ariel is told to get ready quickly, and then told to delay the actual entry until Prospero gives the word; which in fact he does at 57" ("The Integrity of *The Tempest*", *R. E. S.*, I, 142). But those whom Ariel was told to get ready quickly are not those who enter; and Ariel himself, in spite of Prospero's bidding, does not enter at 57.

which Miranda echoes with her

Neuer till this day  
Saw I him touch'd with anger, so distemper'd.

But not until 14 lines later does Ferdinand's comment bring a reply from Prospero:

Sir, I am vext,  
Beare with my weakenesse, my old braine is troubled:  
Be not disturb'd with my infirmitie.

Both sequences are interrupted by the insertion of the same eleven lines. They are those eleven lines which, be one however much on guard against reading autobiographical intimations into the plays, still seem to suggest a farewell to the stage:

Our Reuels now are ended: These our actors,  
(As I foretold you) were all Spirits, and  
Are melted into Ayre, into thin Ayre,  
And like the baselesse fabricke of this vision  
The Clowd-capt Towres, the gorgeous Pallaces,  
The solemne Temples, the great Globe it selfe,  
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve,  
And like this insubstantiall Pageant faded  
Leaue not a racke behinde: we are such stuffe  
As dreams are made on; and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleepe.

Can it be that Shakespeare wrote such magnificence on the spur of the moment, under pressure of the need to provide time for a costume change? or did he originally intend to use the lines somewhere else, and move them to their present position to meet that need? The latter alternative is perhaps the more probable, for the speech is but slightly related to its present context. But be that as it may, the eleven lines, together with their neighbors, give Ariel precisely 25 lines (138-163) to resume his own dress.

*Garden City, New York*



## Correspondence

Sir:

Recently Professor Arthur Eastman wrote a generous review of my *Samuel Johnson, Editor of Shakespeare* in *SQ* (Autumn, 1957); in the same issue he made one chapter in my work the subject of a review article. Professor Eastman's interpretation of certain facts is entirely different from mine: this is understandable and healthy. And while I would continue to argue for my interpretation, there is a matter of greater importance which I would rather discuss briefly. Other scholars have questioned, and presumably still others will question, the fact that Johnson borrowed without acknowledgment (i.e. plagiarized) from certain Shakespearian critics, for so I interpret the evidence. Where these other scholars and I differ widely is in the magnitude of the misdemeanor and its effect upon our picture of Johnson. I still admire Johnson greatly even if I'm right and he did plagiarize from Heath. I don't think he's an Iago, and I'm truly surprised that Professor Eastman should feel that my examination of the evidence makes him one. What is more, I'm further surprised that Johnsonians and Shakespearians should feel it necessary to rally to Johnson's defense; I'm sure he would continue to feel like the monument in the face of my charges. I'm not trying to be an iconoclast; I'm simply giving my interpretation of the facts as I see them.

Michigan State University

ARTHUR SHERBO

Sir:

I hope that the editors will permit me the opportunity to reply, if only in brief, to the criticism of my article "The Damnation of Othello" (*PMLA*, LXVIII [1953], 1068-178) made by Edward Hubler in his 1957 MLA paper, published in the present issue of *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

Professor Hubler is against the reading of *Othello*, made by S. L. Bethell and me, as one in which the hero goes to hell, because "unless we are told where a character goes when he goes off the stage, he doesn't go anywhere at all." This proposition is eminently reasonable, but it is quite beside the point. The dramatist never "tells" us any thing directly, for he does not speak in his own person; he can only speak indirectly, through the implications of the words and actions of his characters and of the consequences of these words and actions. It was my contention that if we attend to *Othello* with our ears and eyes open to words and actions that would have had religious significance for Elizabethans we find that Shakespeare has "told" us that his hero is damned.<sup>1</sup> It was Professor Hubler's task, in seeking to refute my reading, to confront me with the text, pointing out in detail where I had wrenched or disregarded it. Instead most of his paper is devoted to generalities to the effect that not all

<sup>1</sup> Although Hubler regards the notion that the damnation of Othello is implied as one that is alien to the experience of the theatre, Bethell and I were anticipated in it by Granville-Barker, a man of the theatre if ever there was one (*Prefaces to Shakespeare* (Princeton University Press, 1947), II, 80): "Othello wakes as from a nightmare, only to kill himself, his prospect hell."

Elizabethans were unswervingly orthodox in thought and action, that imaginative literature is not merely a re-statement of dogma, and so forth. These are statements with which few will disagree—but to find the commonplaces of thought of his age used by a great dramatist for a complex aesthetic effect is not the same as to find his plays to be simple religious lessons mechanically repeated for an audience mechanically assenting to them.

Where Hubler does depart from generalities, it seems to me that he fails to come to grips with my interpretation of the play or that he fumbles in doing so. Thus, without trying to show by reference to the text the falsity of my presentation of a poetically appropriate retribution being visited upon Cassio, Roderigo, Iago, and Othello, he asserts, "The view of tragedy as the dispensation of justice strikes me as childish." Apparently, by "justice" he means a distribution of rewards and punishments so mathematically exact that the audience has no sense of loss or regret, feeling that everything has come out perfectly right. But it should have been clear to him that in speaking of Othello's damnation as "terrible and pitiful", of Desdemona's suffering as a "deeply painful" spectacle made only "tolerable" by her transcending it, and of the entire vision of life resulting from my interpretation of the play as one which heightens our sense of "tragic waste", I was not giving the happy ending of *tragi-comedy* to the drama which I approvingly quoted Bradley as calling "the most painful of all tragedies". Although the perception of poetically appropriate retribution in this world contributes to our sense of reconciliation, it does not obliterate the tragic fact that evil acts hurt the good before they boomerang upon the ill-doers. Similarly, although, there is, as I said, "suggested to the imagination of the audience a heaven and a hell", "attention is focussed on this world", and consequently the intimation of another world does not become so strong that the suffering of the good seems trivial in the light of eternity.

Hubler objects to my description of Act III, scene iii, as one in which Othello makes a pact with the devil because he finds that Iago "grows in evil and symbolic value . . . and stands revealed as a demi-devil" only at the end. I can only say that if Hubler sees the diabolism of Iago only at the end he is somewhat slow. He misses the profound irony of Iago's speaking of Othello as "the Devil" to Brabantio and of his persuading Othello that Desdemona is a "fair devil"; he misses Iago's revelation of himself in his chilling soliloquies, including the one at the end of the first act in which he exclaims as he hatches his plot, "I have 't. It is engender'd. Hell and night/ Must bring this monstrous birth to the world's light"; he misses the significance of Othello's vowing, as he kneels side by side with Iago, to dedicate himself to hate instead of love as well as the ironic inversion, so characteristic of Iago, of "I am your own for ever."

Hubler objects also to my statement that Roderigo is "the ordinary weak man led on by his sensual desires to damnation." "We are not told that he has gone to hell", he says, "nor can I find any suggestion of it." But I devoted more than a page to pointing out just such suggestions, and Hubler makes no attempt to refute what I had to say. Instead he comments that Roderigo is too contemptible a creature to have such a statement made of him. This is to say that to become representative of humanity a literary character must be that statistical myth, the average man. Alas, poor Hamlet!

Finally, Hubler comments that Othello's murder of Desdemona would not have convinced Elizabethans of his damnation, for they would have remembered that the mercy of God is great. However, as I stated in an addendum to my article (*PMLA*, LXXI [1956], 279-280), which he does not mention,<sup>2</sup> Othello's exhibition of the heinous sin of despair in asserting that the "demi-devil" Iago had "ensnared my soul" would have confirmed Elizabethans, with their strongly held belief that one can be saved only if he has faith in the mercy of God, in the impression that his soul is lost. "This impression they would have gained from observing the dramatic irony of his failure to realize that it is his own salvation, not Desdemona's, which is at stake, as he rejects her entreaty to be given time to pray, forgetting that those who do not forgive will not be forgiven."

To sum up, I believe that Professor Hubler, who has justifiably acquired a reputation as the spokesman for a common sense which answers over-subtle readings by referring to the plain meaning of the text, is in this paper rather the spokesman of a traditionalism which, refusing to listen for overtones for which our modern ears have become dulled, attenuates the complexity and the richness of the score.

Long Island University

PAUL N. SIEGEL

<sup>2</sup> He also fails to mention my book *Shakespearean Tragedy and the Elizabethan Compromise* (New York University Press, 1957), which was published more than four months before he delivered his paper. In this book, which among other things deals with the attitudes of the Elizabethan audience and Shakespeare's use of Christian doctrine, my *Othello* article is expanded to become part of a chapter.

## Notes and Comments

### ILLUSTRATIONS

The Frontispiece is a reproduction of the woodcut published in the early part of January 1568 to illustrate the royal proclamation (STC 8000) of the first great lottery in the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. In addition to bags of coins, the prizes included silver pitchers, urns, goblets, and other articles representing the craft of Elizabethan silversmiths. An enlarged reproduction of the inserted woodcut showing the judgment of Solomon appears on page 320.

The four engravings reproduced on pages 346 and 356 are from *Le Centre de l'Amour Decouvert subs Divers Emblemes Galans et Facetieux* (Paris, c. 1650). They appeared first in two works by Peter Rollos: *Vita Cornelianae* (Berlin (?), 1624) and *Euterpe Soboles* (c. 1630). The amatory verses in Latin and German are illustrated by pictures of indoor and outdoor games and sports.

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### CHANGE IN THE EDITORIAL BOARD

After many years of faithful service on the Editorial Board, Professor Harold S. Wilson of University College, the University of Toronto, has found the pressure of other academic responsibilities so heavy that he was constrained to offer his resignation. This was reluctantly accepted, with the understanding that he will continue to lend his counsel and will read manuscripts occasionally. His successor is Professor Virgil K. Whitaker, Chairman of the English Department of Stanford University. His recent book, *Shakespeare's Use of Learning*, is well known to members of the Association.

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### ENGLISH STUDIES IN AFRICA

It is a pleasure to recognize the appearance of a new English journal, especially when the editor has been a contributor to *Shakespeare Quarterly*. The first number of *English Studies in Africa*, edited by Professor A. C. Partridge, and published at Johannesburg by the Witwatersrand University Press, came from press in March 1958. The editorial, "English Scholarship: A Transmutation of Species", reviews the history of English studies in English universities. The "roll of first occupants of English Chairs in some leading universities in Great Britain" with the dates of appointment will surprise many readers. The first entry is "1760 Rev. Hugh Blair, University of Edinburgh." With this should be read C. O. Gardner's sometimes caustic "The English School at Oxford." "Examinations in English: Two Points of View", giving the ideas of G. H. Durrant and L. T. Bennett, is well worth reading. So are the two papers on Shakespearean topics: "*Troilus and Cressida*", by E. Davis, and "The Weird Sisters in *Macbeth*", by M. D. W. Jeffreys. The journal will normally appear in March and September, and manuscripts are solicited—it does not appear whether there is any restriction upon the place of residence of contributors.

## THE SHAKESPEARE CLUB OF NEW YORK CITY

The Shakespeare Club of New York City, of which Mrs. Christopher Wyatt is president, held fifteen regular and three festival meetings in 1957-58. Six plays of Shakespeare were read and discussed—*Merchant*, *Much Ado*, *Henry VIII*, *Timon*, *Winter's Tale*, and *Tempest*—and one of Dekker's—*Shoemaker's Holiday*. As guest speaker, Professor John H. H. Lyon, Honorary President, addressed the Club on "Shakespeare and his Times". The annual Twelfth Night celebration was held on 6 January, a dinner at the National Arts Club. Judge Francis X. Giaccone presented ten distinguished guests to the large assemblage, including Mrs. Carroll and Messrs. Goldman, Ruskin, and Lawrence of the Shakespearewrights; Mr. Tom Terriss; Mr. Calvin Hoffman; Messrs. Walter McKibben and Ephraim Sigermann, who provided vocal and instrumental Shakespearian music; Mr. Richard Durham, who gave a fine rendering of Leontes in the jealousy scene from *W.T. I*; and Mr. Winston Ross, who sang unaccompanied Shakespearian songs. The annual Shakespeare dinner was held on 20 April, and on 23 April a wreath was placed at the Shakespeare statue in Central Park.

Other officers of the New York Club are:

## Vice Presidents

|                      |                         |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Hon. F. X. Giaccone  | Charles Webster         |
| David S. Houston     | Bernard Harland         |
| Miss Marian McCarthy | Mrs. Rosamond Reinhardt |

Secretary      Miss Rowena Meyer

Treasurer      Sydney R. Cohen

## Committee Chairmen

|                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| House and Entertainment | Hon. F. X. Giaccone |
| Study Program           | Gerald Ippolito     |
| Membership              | Bernard Harland     |
| Dramatic Reading        | Charles Webster     |
| Auditing                | David S. Houston    |

## THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY OF LOUISVILLE

The programs of the Shakespeare Society of Louisville feature an imaginative combination of study and entertainment. In October 1957 there was a careful preparatory study of *Hamlet* by Dr. Richard Kain ("As Literature"), Mr. Douglas Ramey ("As Drama"), and Dr. Walter Creese ("As Spectacle"). This was followed at the next meeting by a showing of the Olivier film of *Hamlet*. The Society contributed liberally towards the purchase of a copy of this film for the Louisville Public Library. At later meetings there were performances of Elizabethan music and study of other plays including *Troilus*. The organization of the Society has been the charge of Edgar Bottigheimer, William Bowmer, Charles Breslin, Patricia Evans, Ernest Hassold, Richard Kain, Mary Lou Morrison, and Milton Morrison.

## ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Shakespeare Association of America, Inc., was held on Wednesday, 7 May, at the Grolier Club, 47 East 60th Street, New York City, with more than 250 members present or represented by proxy. Following the reading of reports by officers and committee chairmen, Mrs. Donald F. Hyde and Mr. John F. Fleming were reelected President and Secretary-Treasurer respectively. There was animated discussion of the state of Shakespeare studies and stage production in this country and abroad and of the opportunities and responsibilities of the Shakespeare Association. There was high praise for the Annual Shakespeare Bibliography compiled by Professor Paul E. Jorgensen and for Current Theatre Notes, compiled by Professor Alice Griffin.

Following the adjournment of the Annual Meeting, the Directors met in annual session. The incumbent Directors were reelected, and then Dr. Alice Griffin was elected a Director. Mrs. Griffin has compiled the annual report of performances of Shakespeare's plays throughout the world, "Current Theatre Notes", for many years and has made a signal contribution to the activities of the Association. The resignation of Professor H. S. Wilson from the Editorial Board was accepted with regret and the expression of the Association's gratitude to him for his loyal service. No other changes were made in the Editorial Board, and there were none in the Advisory Board, of which Professor W. T. Hastings is Chairman. Plans were outlined for extending the scope of the Association's activities, the details of which will be announced as they are put into effect.



## Contributors

DOCTOR G. P. V. AKRIGG is Professor of English at the University of British Columbia.

MR. EDWARD ALEXANDER has for many years been chief of the Armenian Service, USSR Branch, Voice of America. Earlier, he handled public relations for the Lawrence Olivier films of *Henry V* and *Hamlet*.

JONAS A. BARISH is Assistant Professor of English at the University of California at Berkeley.

DOCTOR SYLVAN BARNET, of Tufts University, is one of the editors of *The Tragic View: Eight Great Tragedies*.

ABRAM BELSKIE, formerly an assistant of John Gregory, is a Fellow of the National Sculpture Society and an Associate of the National Academy of Design.

MISS MURIEL C. BRADBROOK, Fellow of Girton College, Cambridge, is the author of many books about Elizabethan literature—the latest, *The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy*.

MR. JOHN BRILEY, a graduate student at the University of Michigan and the Shakespeare Institute, is engaged in writing a biography of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke.

MR. JOHN RUSSELL BROWN of the Birmingham University, is editor of *The Merchant of Venice* (New Arden).

PROFESSOR ALBERT HOWARD CARTER is Head of the English Department at the University of Arkansas.

MR. JOHN CROW, of King's College, London, is a member of the Council of the Malone Society, for which he edited *Jacob and Esau* recently.

MR. JOHN B. CUTTS has been visiting professor of English this year at the University of Missouri.

PROFESSOR ROBERT DAVREL is Executive Officer of the United States Educational Commission for France.

DOCTOR GILES E. DAWSON, of the Folger Shakespeare Library, has in preparation an edition of a selection of the Bagot Family Letters.

DOCTOR WILBUR DUNKEL is Professor of English at the University of Rochester.

PROFESSOR NORMAN ELIASON has recently returned to the University of North Carolina after a year at the University of Innsbruck as Fulbright Fellow.

DOCTOR A. H. R. FAIRCHILD, Professor Emeritus of the University of Missouri, is the author of *Shakespeare and the Arts of Design* and *Shakespeare and the Tragic Theme*.

THE REVEREND FR. GILBERT V. HARTKE, O.P., is Head of the Speech and Drama Department of The Catholic University of America.

PROFESSOR EDWARD L. HUBLER, of Princeton University, is the author of *The Sense of Shakespeare's Sonnets*.

MISS HILDA M. HULME, who lectures on English language at University College, London, is engaged in a study of Shakespeare's language.

PROFESSOR KATHERINE KOLLER, of the University of Rochester, has been serving as a member of the Phi Beta Kappa Visiting Scholars Board.

NATI KAVIATSY (Mrs. Peter) who was formerly a reference librarian at the Library of Parliament in Budapest, is now in the Catalogue Department of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

DOCTOR ROBERT ADGER LAW is Professor Emeritus of the University of Texas.

DOCTOR CLIFFORD P. LYONS is Professor of English at the University of North Carolina. From 1953 to 1956, he was a member of the Executive Council of the Modern Language Association of America.

PROFESSOR BALDWIN MAXWELL of the State University of Iowa has in preparation a book discussing the authorship of Shakespeare.

KENNETH MUIR, Professor of English at Liverpool University, is completing the second volume of his work on Shakespeare's sources.

PROFESSOR ALLARDYCE NICOLL is the founder and director of the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford-upon-Avon.

HAROLD J. OLIVER, Professor of English at the University of Sydney, is editor of *Timon of Athens* (New Arden), now at press.

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PROFESSOR H. T. PRICE is bringing to completion his Variorum Edition of *Titus Andronicus*.

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DOCTOR PETER J. SENO, Instructor in English at Northwestern University, is making an extensive study of music in Shakespeare.

DOCTOR ARTHUR SHERRILL, of Michigan State University, is editing Doctor Johnson's Notes on Shakespeare for the Augustan Reprint Society.

PROFESSOR PAUL N. SIEGEL, Chairman of the English Department of Long Island University, is the author of *Shakespearean Tragedy and the Elizabethan Compromise*.

MR. IRWIN SMITH is the author of Shakespeare's Globe Playhouse.

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PROFESSOR BENJAMIN T. SPENCER is Chairman of the English Department at Ohio Wesleyan University.

PROFESSOR GEORGE WINCHESTER STONE, JR., is Secretary of the Modern Language Association of America.

THEODORE A. STROUD is Professor of English at Drake University.

MARGARET THORP (Mrs. Willard) is the author of *Charles Kingsley, America at the Movies*, and *Female Persuasion: Six Strong-Minded Women*, and joint editor with Professor Willard Thorp of *Modern Writing*.

DOCTOR MARSHALL WAINGROW is Assistant Professor of English at Yale University.

PROFESSOR H. S. WILSON, of University College, Toronto, is the author of *On the Design of Shakespearean Tragedy*.



"A very rich Lotterie generall"—woodcut illustration to Queen Elizabeth's proclamation of 1, 2 January (?) 1568, showing some of the prizes (*STC* 8000). See also pp. 320 and 436.  
From the Folger Shakespeare Library Copy.



Queen Elizabeth I, reproduced from the Folger Shakespeare Library copy of the engraving (1603-4) by Crispin van de Passe after the portrait by Isaac Oliver. One of five recorded copies. The dress is that usually worn at the opening of Parliament. See p. 596.

# Measure for Measure and Lucio

WILLIAM W. LAWRENCE

## I

**L**UCIO is a character deserving of special attention, a striking portrait, drawn from life, of one of the dissipated young men, of good natural ability, who were wasting their fortunes and ruining their health in the vices of the Bankside. A good actor can make him not only entertaining but psychologically interesting, though just how this had best be done is not always clear. In the first two acts he is certainly not a fellow whose morals are to be admired, but he has strong redeeming traits. He can bandy bawdy jests in the fashionable style, but how far he is from being merely a Master Froth is shown by his ready and generous sympathy when his friend Claudio is in trouble, and by his clear-eyed assistance to Isabella in her hour of need. Shakespeare gives him (I.iv) some highly poetic lines to speak. He is fundamentally a gentleman; it is made very plain that though, as he says, it is his sin to seem hypocritical in his jesting with maids, there is none of this with Isabella, whom, as a novice in a nunnery, he holds "ensky'd and sainted . . . And to be talk'd with in sincerity, as with a saint."<sup>1</sup> There seems no reason to question this sincerity; Shakespeare does not emphasize such a point without a reason. In Isabella's struggles with Angelo, while urging her on, Lucio always treats her with perfect delicacy.

But as soon as the Duke proposes the bed-trick, Lucio is very differently presented. He is, of course, no longer needed to assist Isabella; his function is now to provide amusement by badgering the pretended friar, and, as he does throughout the play, to furnish, by his eccentric behavior, a contrast to romantic comedy, as the Melancholy Jaques does in the Forest of Arden, though in a very different fashion. In the list of actors in the Folio, Lucio is called "a fantastique". He is much coarsened; his affair with Kate Keepdown is brought up; he has had a child by her, which he has disowned, and he has refused to marry her. He can even jest about the virtue of Isabella (V.i. 276 ff.). He repeatedly insults the disguised Duke, before he finally pulls off the cowl, and then has to be told not to sneak away. And at the end, in the midst of the general rejoicing, he has to marry "the rotten medlar". All this is distressing to those who have conceived a better idea of him, and it may also be distressing to moralists that, with all his faults, he wins the sympathy of an audience far more than does Vincentio, with all his virtues.

In criticizing *Measure for Measure* it is of the highest importance to recognize that there are very striking differences in tone, poetic expression, and character-drawing between the two halves of the play. Most analyses start from

<sup>1</sup> Quotations and line-numbering in this article follow the edition of the *Complete Works* by George Lyman Kittredge (Boston, etc., 1936).

the earlier scenes, and endeavor to make what follows consistent with them. This is, I believe, a mistake; we are first presented with an essentially human situation, realistically depicted, and, with the exception of the Duke's disguise as a friar, not involving the incidents and characterizations of romantic story. But as soon as the Duke introduces Mariana and the bed-trick, we move into a very different region. Twenty-five years ago I called attention to this,<sup>2</sup> and it has been recognized since then by other critics. I do not, of course, claim originality for what seems so obvious, though often neglected. A few years ago Miss Mary Lascelles, in what is perhaps the most minute analysis of the play ever made, pointed out the "very different impression" left by the later scenes and the necessity for "a different handling, in the analysis", and remarked that this was felt by Walter Pater, who interpreted it "in terms of 'flagging skill,' a descent into 'homely comedy,' and loss of the 'grander manner' of the earlier part of the play."<sup>3</sup> This contrast has been recently set forth in convincing detail by E.M.W. Tillyard; what he has done so admirably need not be repeated. He truly says that "the play is not of a piece but changes its nature half-way through", and suggests that the reason for the play's inconsistency "may be found through considering Shakespeare's originals."<sup>4</sup> I would also stress two other reasons: the demands of the story, and of theatrical effect and the occasion for which the play seems to have been composed or revised. Nowhere else in Shakespeare, I believe, is rational psychology more subordinated to such influences.

First of all, I think we should ask ourselves what Shakespeare was chiefly—not secondarily but chiefly—trying to do in writing this play. The answer seems obvious: he was providing entertainment, which does not mean comedy alone, but also issues which arouse deeper emotions. Dramatic effect was the essential thing. Criticism has been so often concerned with other purposes that this simple fact has been obscured; many scholars have emphasized minor influences, which are often significant, but must not be too far stressed. For example, it may be well to forget for the moment how far Shakespeare was satirizing, or possibly allegorizing, or giving deep significance to imagery; to put aside the difficult questions of how far he was imitating Jonson, or following medieval comic form. Again, we have been repeatedly told in recent years that the plays are really dramatic poems, and that their essence lies in their poetry. This, I believe, is quite wrong. They are *plays*, written expressly to be performed by actors, on a stage, and before an audience. Upon their success in pleasing such audiences depended Shakespeare's fortunes as playwright, actor, shareholder, and court entertainer. Their technique is far removed from that of *Venus and Adonis* or *Lucrece*, although this obvious fact has sometimes been forgotten.<sup>5</sup> An analysis of *Measure for Measure*, as I hope the succeeding pages will show, reveals how often its management is governed by the arts of the theatre. This does not mean, of course, that Shakespeare was not interested in other issues. There is much talk of justice and mercy, of sin and forgiveness, much questioning of sexual morality and of the inscrutable purposes of God, and so forth, and it may be safely assumed that such matters were much in Shakespeare's mind. If we are

<sup>2</sup> W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* (New York, 1931), p. 74 f.

<sup>3</sup> Mary Lascelles, *Shakespeare's Measure for Measure* (London, 1953), p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> E.M.W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's Problem Plays* (London, 1950), pp. 123, 129.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Albert Feuillerat, *The Composition of Shakespeare's Plays* (New Haven, 1953), p. 59.



looking for morals, a variety may be deduced from this play. But I think that we should be very cautious about assuming that it was written primarily to give expression to ethical, social, or religious convictions, or with a didactic or reformatory purpose.<sup>6</sup>

There is, furthermore, strong reason for believing that *Measure for Measure* was composed or revised for a special occasion, the Christmas festivities at Whitehall in 1604, and that this had much effect on its action and characterization. It seems surprising that this has not been given more attention. At the risk of being reproved for indulging in "historical criticism", anathema to so many critics, it may be briefly emphasized. In the corrupt condition of the text, definite reconstructions of its early history are to be distrusted, but I think that we may safely conclude that the play was put together in the midst of a busy season, when Shakespeare had much to occupy his attention, and was careless of inconsistencies and contradictions. He was at the height of his greatest dramatic activity, as playwright, actor, and shareholder in the Globe, and as an active member of the King's Men at court. The genuineness of the entry in the Revels Accounts of the presentation of the play on December 26, 1604, is now accepted by the best authorities.<sup>7</sup> Having already drawn from Cinthio the plot of *Othello*, acted at court on November 21, 1604,<sup>8</sup> and also knowing the work of Whetstone, Shakespeare again turned to Cinthio for the striking situation which opens *Measure for Measure*. It is easy to see how, attracted by its tragic possibilities, he put into it all the fire of his genius in the great scenes between Isabella and Angelo and Claudio, while providing comic relief, especially through Elbow and Pompey, but realized that a tragic ending, like that employed in modern days by Sardou, would have been out of place in Christmas rejoicings, and so finished it, with all the resources of well-tried technique, as comedy. Perhaps we have been inclined to take too seriously a court entertainment flashing occasionally, in the serious portions, into tragic brilliance. Cheerful pieces were right for the holidays; on December 28 the *Comedy of Errors* was given at court, and between January 1, 1605, and Twelfth Night, *Love's Labor's Lost*. Emphasis on mercy and forgiveness and on the beneficent qualities of the Duke of Vienna helped the plot, and would no doubt have been pleasing to a monarch who loved to fancy himself a peace-maker. But in making this transition from potential tragedy to comedy Shakespeare did not always arrange to have his characters act consistently.

Just how does this "shameless wrenching of probabilities of behaviour" work out?<sup>9</sup> We may begin with the Duke and Angelo.

Vincenzio's introduction of Mariana and the bed-trick, it need hardly be said, is due to Shakespeare alone; it is found in none of the sources. So are the Duke's

<sup>6</sup> "... It seems at least possible that the conclusion of *Measure for Measure* may . . . represent a deliberate effort—perhaps a little clumsy, certainly romantic—to 'do something' about that disturbing discrepancy between the concepts of religious mercy and secular justice . . ." (Elizabeth Marie Pope, "The Renaissance Background of *Measure for Measure*", *Shakespeare Survey* 2 [Cambridge, Eng., 1949], 79 f.). Miss Pope's learned and thoughtful study should, however, have careful consideration.

<sup>7</sup> For evidence, and extracts from the Revels Accounts, see E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), II, 330 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Othello* "may be safely dated 1604". (C. J. Sisson, *William Shakespeare; the Complete Works*, p. 1083.)

<sup>9</sup> *Punch*, Aug. 22, 1956, p. 225 (review of *Measure for Measure* at Stratford-on-Avon).

ruces, surprises, and mystifications, which naturally bring a change in tone and treatment. Like the dukes in Shakespeare's other romantic plays, Vincentio represents civic and moral virtue and power, and he himself tells us that

He who the sword of heaven will bear  
Should be as holy as severe.

Critics often discern in him the incarnation of justice, mercy, piety, and so forth,<sup>10</sup> without considering sufficiently whether he always acts in accordance with these qualities. Since he embodies the absolute power in the city, he may naturally be compared to a divinity presiding over the destinies of all men (V.i. 37 ff.). But when we try to interpret the action consistently as revealing his beneficent activities, we get some very queer results. A case can indeed be made by picking out selected passages, but we must see how well it stands up in relation to the play as a whole.

The "pernicious caitiff deputy", as Isabella calls him, has his apologists, but Angelo surely deserves severe punishment. In the past he has not only deserted his betrothed on the loss of her dowry, but cruelly slandered her by accusing her of unchastity (III.i. 235). When he says to Isabella (II.iv. 160)

And now I give my sensual race the rein.  
Fit thy consent to my sharp appetite—

we have a pointer as definite as when Richard III declares that he is determined to be a villain. Not only does Angelo force the suffering girl to choose between her brother's death and the sacrifice of her honor, but threatens to draw out Claudio's end "to ling'ring sufferance" (II.iv. 167). Then, after his terms are accepted, he breaks his word and orders Claudio executed. When the game is up, he recognizes his guilt and makes full confession. And then what does the Duke do? He accords him a complete pardon! This is neither divine nor earthly justice, but the caprice of a potentate of popular story. The Duke goes even farther—"Look that you love your wife, her worth worth yours." That is, her worth and yours are equal. This is pretty strong, but is explained by two conventions of Shakespeare's theatre: that a sinner may be washed white as snow by repentance (Proteus, Claudio in *Much Ado*, the Usurping Duke and Oliver in the Forest of Arden, etc.), and that complete forgiveness ought to be extended to such repentance. The familiar example of Proteus is particularly in-

<sup>10</sup> G. Wilson Knight thinks the Duke's attitude "exactly correspondent with Jesus'" (*The Wheel of Fire* [London, 1930, etc.]), p. 82; R. W. Battenhouse, with courteous attention to the views of other scholars, believes the play "a parable of the Atonement", with the Duke in the chief place (*"Measure for Measure and the Christian Doctrine of the Atonement"*, *PMLA*, XLI [1946], 1029-1059, cf. p. 1053). Miss M. G. Bradbrook had earlier emphasized the resemblances to the Moralities, with the Duke standing for Heavenly Justice (and also Humility), Isabella for Truth and Mercy, etc. (*Review of English Studies*, XVII [1941], 385-399). Attempts to allegorize the play run into two main difficulties. "The simple and ineluctable fact is that the tone of the first half of the play is frankly, acutely human and quite hostile to the tone of allegory or symbol. And, however much the tone changes in the second half, nothing in the world can make an allegorical interpretation poetically valid throughout" (E. M. W. Tillyard, *Shakespeare's Problem Plays*, p. 123). The second difficulty is the antecedent improbability that Shakespeare, the busy man of the theatre, was at this time devoting his attention to the intricacies of allegory. Clifford Leach ("The 'Meaning' of *Measure for Measure*", *Shakespeare Quarterly*, III [1950], 66-73) utters a salutary warning against taking the plays "to be the embodiments of theses" (p. 66), but concludes that *Measure for Measure* has "a morality framework" (p. 73). Is not the framework of a Morality a moral thesis?

structive. The false friend has made violent love to Silvia, and even threatened to ravish her, when he is suddenly surprised by Valentine. Thereupon Proteus professes complete repentance; so Valentine not only forgives him, but, as the perfect friend, passes Silvia over to him as his own. Look at the text.

*Proteus.* My shame and guilt confounds me.  
 Forgive me, Valentine. If hearty sorrow  
 Be a sufficient ransom for offence,  
 I tender't here. I do as truly suffer  
 As e'er I did commit.

*Valentine.* Then I am paid;  
 And once again I do receive thee honest.  
 Who by repentance is not satisfied  
 Is nor of heaven nor earth; for these are pleas'd;  
 By penitence th' Eternal's wrath's appeas'd.  
 And, that my love may appear plain and free,  
 All that was mine in Silvia give I thee.

This is the kind of mercy that Vincentio exercises, except that it is the mercy of the ideal ruler rather than of the ideal friend. It is in the medieval tradition; hold fast to one virtue, and let the others go hang. Of course the Duke could have done justice, and saved Isabella and Claudio much needless suffering, if he had thrown off his disguise at the end of Act III. But then the play would stop, and much theatrical effect and suspense be lost, and the whole would not end, as Shakespeare's romantic comedies generally do, with a procession of happy couples, as Jaques says, like the animals going into the Ark. Of course it seems to us very questionable whether forcibly marrying Angelo and Mariana is going to create future happiness for the couple, but that is not the answer. Mariana loves Angelo, and wants him, though he does not want her (V.i. 216 ff.), any more than Bertram wants Helena, but the conventions of comedy demand their union and a prospect of future bliss. Of course the Duke's concern for strict enforcement of the laws is quite forgotten. This is the way with stage dukes; in the *Comedy of Errors* the Duke of Ephesus tells Ægeon that he may pity, but not pardon him, then he finally not only sets Ægeon free, but refuses the legal ransom. As we all know, Shakespeare's extraordinary power in creating characters that seem like living human beings has often led critics to treat them as if they were historical personages. For example, it has been debated whether the Duke knew, when he abdicated, that Angelo had deserted and slandered Mariana. But such speculation is fruitless; the Duke has no existence outside the lines of the play, and all we are told is that in the beginning, although he does not, apparently, quite trust Angelo, he gives him the supreme power in the city (since the plot demands it), but later on that he knows of the discreditable incident in Angelo's past (in accordance with making the bed-trick plausible). Mr. Middleton Murry has questioned my statement that the Duke is essentially a puppet in the hands of the dramatist. "In this play the 'shy duke' is not in any ordinary sense a character [quite an admission!], but still less is he a puppet. He is a power."<sup>11</sup> I think that Mr. Murry confused two

<sup>11</sup> John Middleton Murry, *Shakespeare* (London, 1906), p. 310; W. W. Lawrence, *Shakespeare's Problem Comedies* (New York, 1931), pp. 103 ff.

quite different issues, which it is important to keep separate. For the audience the Duke is of course a power, the supreme power in the city, but for Shakespeare he is a figure to be manipulated at will.

Quite as striking is the change in Isabella in the latter part of the play, which has often been observed. Here again the plot is paramount. She is first presented as a girl of uncompromising religious fervor, just entering the very ascetic order of the Poor Clares, not as a nun as yet (as she is often called) but as a novice—a point which Shakespeare makes very plain (I. iv. 9 ff.) in order that, unlike Francisca, she may be free to talk with Lucio, and later to withdraw altogether from her novitiate, an entirely proper proceeding, and (presumably) marry the Duke. Her passionate inflexibility ("hard as an icicle", says Miss Ellis-Fermor) prepares us for her firm resistance to Claudio's plea to save his life ("more than our brother is our chastity"), which is of course necessary to the development of the plot. But when the friar-duke proposes to give Mariana to the man who has treated her shamefully, and has tried to compass Claudio's death, she has no scruples; the icicle melts completely. And the bold Mariana of Act V, speaking up to the Duke in riddling fashion (170 ff.), does not seem much like the gentle and yielding lady of the moated grange. The women in the play, like the men, change when the plot requires it, chameleon-fashion.<sup>12</sup>

We have kept Lucio waiting in the wings a long time; he must now take the center of the stage, and we must observe how Shakespeare allowed himself the same liberty with him as with the characters just mentioned.

With his redeeming traits already noticed—his warm friendship for Claudio and his helpfulness to Isabella—Lucio might have been made a moral youth, of gentle manner. But the fact that he is dissolute, free-spoken, a haunter of brothels, helps to establish in the minds of the audience, by showing what the young men of Vienna are like, the city's moral rottenness, so necessary to the plot. And this rottenness is due in large measure to the Duke's laxity in not keeping the city sexually clean, which in turn explains both his abdication and the dreadful power which Angelo can exercise over Isabella and Claudio, by enforcing earlier statutes, and yielding to his baser nature. Again, if Lucio is made an impudent young fellow, we are then prepared for the baiting of the disguised Duke later on, so heavily emphasized as comic relief. Except Pompey, there is no "clown", and no Fool or professional jester in the play, and Lucio helps to fill the gap, with Elbow, a second Dogberry, furnishing further low comedy. As already noted, Lucio is a "fantastic", with the humor of a man of education surveying the Human Comedy. "How now, noble Pompey? What, at the wheels of Caesar? Art thou led in triumph? What, is there none of Pygmalion's images newly made woman to be had now for putting the hand in the pocket and extracting it clutched?"

In Act V Lucio perhaps gets farthest from our sympathy. I think that we may conjecture that this act was written rapidly, not engaging Shakespeare's interest deeply. Others have felt this. Compare it with Act V of *All's Well*, and notice how it follows similar lines, even to details. There is much working at cross-purposes: Isabella, like Diana, is threatened with prison, though the

<sup>12</sup> Miss M. C. Bradbrook, in an interesting book (*Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy* [Cambridge, Eng., 1933], p. 35), has emphasized the general carelessness of Elizabethan dramatists in matters of detail.

Duke, like the King of France with Helena, knows that she is innocent; like Diana, she asserts falsely that she has been violated; Mariana, like Diana, sometimes talks in riddling fashion; Claudio, like Helena, is suddenly produced as a grand final effect. Apparently Shakespeare was content to let Lucio become almost a buffoon at the end, in finishing up a "happy ending" by well-trying theatrical tricks.

## II

Mr. Nevill Coghill, in an entertaining essay, has recently argued that "Lucio gives us reason to think that he knows all the time who the Friar-Duke is."<sup>13</sup> As usual, Mr. Coghill brings a fresh and original approach to familiar material. His demonstration should be read in his own words, and given careful consideration. Briefly, it is as follows. Lucio tells Isabella (I. iv. 49 ff.) that it is learned that the Duke's "givings-out were of an infinite distance from his true-meant design." Mr. Coghill asks how Lucio could have had this information, since neither Angelo nor Escalus, who appear to be "the very nerves of the State", knew it, and why Lucio should impart this information to Isabella. And later Lucio says of the Duke (III. i. 99 f.) "It was a mad fantastical trick of him to steal from the state, and usurp the beggary he was never born to." Mr. Coghill asks how Lucio could say this if he did not know that the Duke had taken the guise of a mendicant friar. And he thinks that there is significance in Lucio's words (III. ii. 161), "Come, sir, I know what I know."

All this is very ingenious. But if we are to treat the situation logically, disturbing doubts arise. Why should Lucio, in explaining carefully to Isabella why she must appeal to Angelo, *not* tell her that the Duke has concealed his true plans on abdicating? He is trying to gain her confidence by showing her that he knows the situation at court. Shakespeare's characters do not always confine their utterances to essential facts. Is the dramatist bound to tell us just how Lucio got his information, and indeed whether he is claiming knowledge which he does not possess? He is a fellow who likes to be thought wise in the affairs of state (I. ii. 1 ff.). When he says, "I know what I know", the disguised Duke replies, "I can hardly believe that, since you know not what you speak." Is the Duke, who holds all the threads of the intrigue, wrong, and Lucio right? And if Lucio knows who the "friar" is, why does he bait him so unmercifully, and finally expose him, when the result can only be his own undoing? Why does he seal his own fate, when "this may prove worse than hanging"?

If we think that Lucio's phrase "the beggary he was never born to" points to his knowledge that the mendicant friar is really the Duke in disguise—a reasonable inference—I do not see how we can escape Mr. Coghill's conclusion. This is his best argument. He might have added that Lucio says (III. ii. 191), "The Duke, I say to thee again, would eat mutton on Fridays."

At this point I think we should consider Shakespeare's occasional indifference to motivation in this play, and his constant striving for the immediate effect, regardless of secondary consequences. May it not be that in his desire to emphasize the daring of Lucio in attacking the Duke he has overstepped the

<sup>13</sup> "Comic Form in *Measure for Measure*", *Shakespeare Survey* 8 (Cambridge, Eng., 1955), p. 23 f.



bounds of consistency, perhaps carelessly, perhaps knowing that his audience would not boggle at the contradictions? What has not hitherto been perceived by modern critics, intent on every detail, is not likely to have disturbed a Jacobean audience.

I imagine the reply will be that I explain things logically until logic breaks down, and then take refuge in Shakespeare's well-known carelessness of consistency and desire for dramatic effectiveness. I quite admit this, for I believe that it was his own procedure; that he was not trying to put on the stage a logically impregnable action, but an exciting story with a maximum of suspense and theatrical effect, often allowed to override strict probability.<sup>14</sup> I think we must look at the broad outlines, and not be disturbed by discrepancies or missing explanations. Of course the play swarms with inconsistencies. We have just seen how these affect characterization, and Dover Wilson and Clifford Leech have pointed out various examples.<sup>15</sup> I will digress for a moment to discuss briefly a very glaring and important contradiction, not noted by either of these scholars, and involving Elizabethan moral points of view which are often misunderstood.

The bed-trick is of course highly unpleasant to modern feelings, and this has affected much criticism of the play. But it seems clear that an Elizabethan or Jacobean audience would not have been repelled by sexual intercourse after formal betrothal but before the final religious ceremony, since this was a frequent and generally accepted occurrence.<sup>16</sup> Consequently Shakespeare felt free to use it as a dramatic device. The Church was dead against such intercourse, however, regarding it as a sin, though the fact that consent in betrothal was held to be the important element in marriage made it impossible to brand such a union as illegal or the issue therefrom as illegitimate. So when the Duke, as friar, says to Juliet, "Repent you, fair one, of the sin you carry?", he is speaking entirely in his assumed character. But presently it becomes dramatically convenient for him to act as the helpful friend in holy orders who gets the heroine out of a tight place (Friar Lawrence in *Romeo and Juliet*; Friar Francis in *Much Ado*); so he arranges and carries through a stratagem which flies in the face of the teaching of the Church, of his own disguise, and of his reproof to Juliet. There is no way of getting around this; it is a striking example of how far Shakespeare was willing to go in persuading an audience to accept contradictions, if they would serve his plot. He makes the "friar" reassure Mariana in the plainest terms (IV. i. 74 ff.), and tells Isabella that she "may most uprightly do a poor wronged lady a merited benefit" (III. i. 205-207; cf. 262 ff.). When the Duke says that an action is most uprighteous, it is certainly just that, as far as the play is concerned. Shakespeare knew what he was about;

<sup>14</sup> I have already discussed this point, "Hamlet and the Mouse-Trap", *PMLA*, LIV (1939), 726.

<sup>15</sup> J. Dover Wilson, in the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* edition of the play (Cambridge, Eng., 1930), pp. 97 ff; Clifford Leech, see note 13, pp. 66-73.

<sup>16</sup> "How common the practice was in Stratford may be discovered by examining the marriage and birth registers of the village" (J. Q. Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare* [Boston, etc., 1923], p. 69, note 2). The bibliography of the subject is extensive. The reader will get detailed information from George Elliott Howard, *A History of Matrimonial Institutions*, 3 vols. (Chicago and London, 1904), esp. I, 287 ff. Chilton Latham Powell, *English Domestic Relations, 1487-1653* (New York, 1917, now out of print), gives in his two opening chapters an admirable brief statement about early betrothal customs. Joseph William Gray, *Shakespeare's Marriage* (London, 1905), may also be consulted.



audiences, intent on the story, are not disturbed by this piece of dramatic legerdemain.

It has been questioned, however, whether, despite the legality of pre-nuptial intercourse, an audience of Shakespeare's day would have been ready to accept it without question, especially since it was contrary to what the Church commanded. This is the position taken by Professor D. P. Harding of Yale University in an elaborate essay, "Elizabethan Betrothals and 'Measure for Measure.'" <sup>17</sup> His final conclusion is that the Duke "could no more be sure than Shakespeare himself was sure or the men and women in his audience were sure that a sin was *not* being committed" (by the sexual relationship with Angelo). And he adds, "The teaching of the church alone would preclude certainty in the matter", and thinks the Duke himself "had his doubts". But earlier in his article Mr. Harding has given us a very different picture.

Whatever the church might think or teach, the people at large could not regard cohabitation on the basis of a *de praesenti* contract as a serious offense. If they thought of it as a sin at all, they must have thought of it as a highly venial one, which could be largely expiated by a subsequent marriage *in facie ecclesiae*. (p. 157.)

Unfortunately, although the church was able to formulate the ideal, it could not dictate the practice. . . . On the contrary, non-conformity was so widespread, particularly at the lower social levels, that only one conclusion is possible. For a high percentage of the English people, the vital moral distinction between a *de praesenti* contract and the marriage ceremony must have had very little meaning or significance. (p. 147f.)

I think Mr. Harding is absolutely right in these two statements. But in that case what becomes of his argument that Shakespeare's audience would have been sensitive about the ethics of the bed-trick? Unless this deception is accepted

<sup>17</sup> JEGP, XLIX (1950), 139-158. Mr. Harding takes as his point of departure my statement (*Shakespeare's Problem Comedies*, pp. 94 ff., that on account of the binding force of her betrothal Mariana's union with Angelo would not have disturbed Shakespeare's audience. I believe that that statement is correct. Whether the dramatist himself believed that intercourse after betrothal was justifiable is anybody's guess; very likely, after his own marital experience, he did not. The wiser heads in England were alive to its dangers, and his own feeling may appear in Prospero's warning in *The Tempest* (IV. i. 14-23), upon which Mr. Harding lays great stress. But the crucial point in *Measure for Measure* is whether or not this episode would have been acceptable on the stage. In romantic plays, Shakespeare often made use of customs and conventions which were not to be taken too seriously—the paramount claims of masculine friendship, the sudden repentance and sudden forgiving of sinners, etc. In *The Duchess of Malfy*, betrothal is treated, in the plainest fashion, as justifying intercourse and constituting marriage. The Duchess says (I. ii. 18 ff.):

I have heard lawyers say, a contract in a chamber  
Per verba [*de*] *praesenti*, is absolute marriage.  
Bless, heaven, this sacred gordian, which let violence  
Never untwine!

.....

How can the church build faster?  
We now are man and wife, and 'tis the church  
That must but echo this.

(*The White Devil and the Duchess of Malfy*, ed. M. H. Sampson, Belles-Lettres Series [Boston and London, 1904], p. 243 f. Spelling here modernized.) Sampson remarked (p. 388), "The Duchess' notion of the legality of such a marriage is entirely correct."

as morally defensible the Duke becomes little better than a pander, Mariana a willing partner in an act of fornication, and Isabella a willing accessory before the fact. Miss Lascelles, in her very careful study, gets things right. "It seems clear that, in *Measure for Measure*, we are meant to approve not only of the Duke's stratagem, but of Mariana's, and even Isabel's, part in it; clear, also, that former censure of such behaviour—and of the dramatist's part in it—has been intemperate" (p. 121). The two quotations from Mr. Harding also contradict the confident assertion with which his article begins (pp. 139 ff.). We cannot assume that ecclesiastical prohibitions and the conclusions of moralists, writing pen in hand, are safe guides to the reactions of an audience in a theatre. The argument (p. 158, cf. V.i. 424 ff.) that the Duke "had his doubts" about the morality of the bed-trick seems very questionable. A considerable time has elapsed since Mariana's betrothal. The time when the "solemnity", the final marriage celebration, should have taken place, is long past. So the Duke arranges an immediate ceremony, in order that false conclusions may not be reached as to her honor—she has publicly confessed (V.i. 210 ff.) her physical union with Angelo—and the earlier contract be forgotten. But in all this the important point is, I believe, that an audience did not care a straw whether the bed-trick was morally justifiable, or in accord with the teachings of the Church, provided it served the forces of righteousness, and led to a happy ending.

To return to the question whether Lucio has penetrated the Duke's disguise, may it not be, after all, as has commonly been assumed, that the joke is that this fellow, who fancies himself "in the know", is really deceived all along, until the Duke finally stands revealed? This is an old theatrical device, which Shakespeare had already used in the fooling of Malvolio and of Parolles. The audience, understanding more than the self-deceiver, enjoys his deception and final discomfiture. It is still good theatre; Mr. Somerset Maugham uses it very effectively at the close of his brilliant comedy *The Circle*.

In the general atmosphere of forgiveness and future wedded happiness at the end of the play, Lucio certainly gets the short end of things. His guilt is far less than Angelo's, but he has to marry Kate Keepdown. This is final; betrothal could be broken, though not easily, but when the Church had set its seal on marriage there was no drawing back. Of course in Lucio's case there is no question of betrothal. He is punished not on account of the Kate Keepdown business, but because he has called the Duke "a fool, a coward, one all of luxury, an ass, a madman" (V.i. 505 f.), and much else besides. In a play given before King James it would never do to let the slanderer of a sovereign go unpunished; so Lucio pays dearly for all his jests at the expense of the pretended friar. The shift in his activity in the latter part of the play left Shakespeare no alternative.

*Lucio.* Marrying a punk, my lord, is pressing to death, whipping, and hanging.

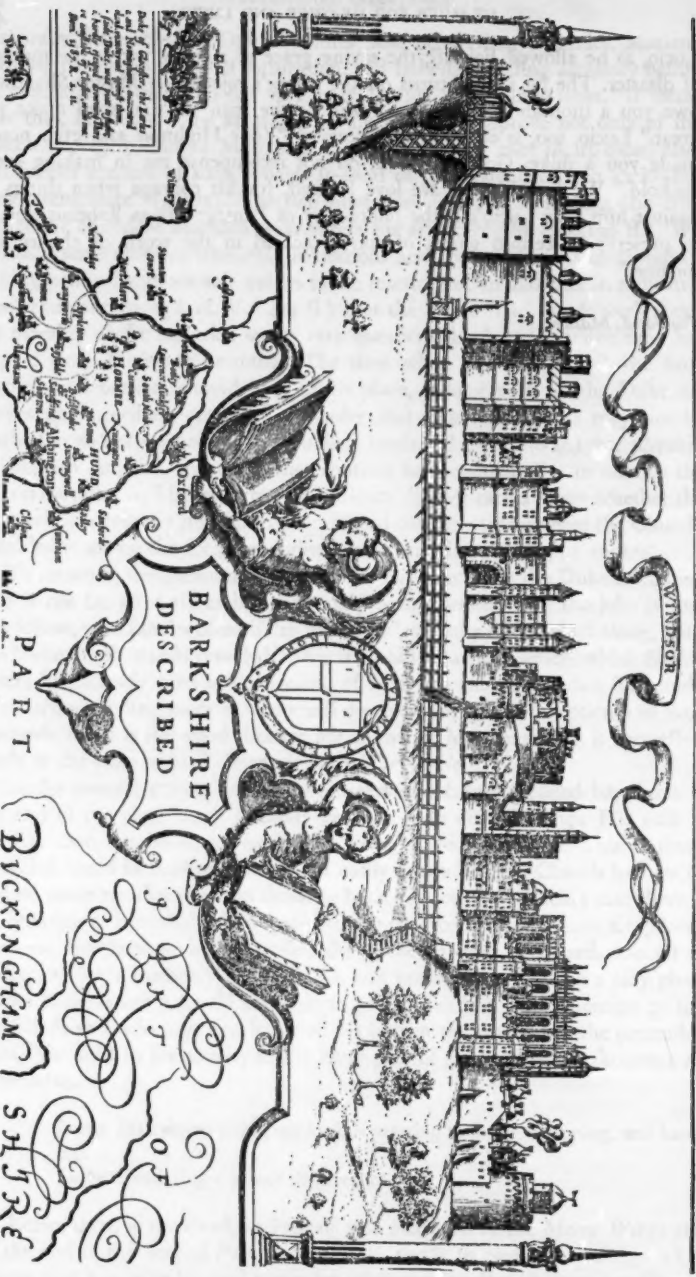
*Duke.* Slandering a prince deserves it.

Lucio, then, is sacrificed, as Falstaff was sacrificed in the *Merry Wives* and at the end of the Second Part of *Henry IV*, partly to please a sovereign when a new play was in order, and partly for other reasons. But Shakespeare allowed

Lucio, as he allowed Falstaff, the saving grace of a ready wit at the moment of disaster. The fat knight turns off the prince's rejection—"Master Shallow, I owe you a thousand pound. . . . I will be the man yet that shall make you great." Lucio, too, is equal to the occasion. "Your Highness said even now I made you a duke. Good my lord, do not recompense me in making me a cuckold." We love him, as we love Falstaff, for his courage when things go against him. For Lucio's is the philosophy of Pantagruel—as Rabelais puts it, to preserve "a certain gaiety of spirit, pickled in the scorn of chance and fortune."

*Portland, Maine*





Windsor Castle, from the inset in the map of Berkshire in John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*. Windsor was from the time of Henry I the chief residence of English sovereigns. See p. 596.

# Shakespeare's Early Tragic Mode

R. F. HILL



HE prevailing rhetorical fashion of the early 1590's was eminently suited to the type of comedy created by Lyly, with its wit-combats and courtly attitudes, and although this artificial form softened in Shakespeare's hands, its style remained mannered, however richly diversified. I suppose everyone accepts verbal cleverness in certain moods of the comic muse, but who will grant that the very same style may properly express the tragic? Elaboration of utterance seems alien to the profound emotions of tragic experience. One instinctively assents to G. H. W. Ryland's view:

The more intense the emotion, the more the poet will abhor ornament: he will counterfeit direct speech.<sup>1</sup>

This is as true of the supreme emotional climax of *King Lear* as of the almost unbearable anguish of Tennyson's *Break, break, break*.

Although the rules of oratory differ somewhat from those of drama, the points of contact make it reasonable to cite the opinion of an orator who received much attention in the sixteenth century. In Book IX of the *Institutio Oratoria* Quintilian discusses the figures or schemes of rhetoric, concluding with a warning that the orator must be careful to observe decorum in their use:

For the majority of these figures aim at delighting the hearer. But when terror, hatred and pity are the weapons called for in the fray, who will endure the orator who expresses his anger, his sorrow or his entreaties in neat antitheses, balanced cadences and exact correspondences? Too much care for our words under such circumstances weakens the impression of emotional sincerity, and wherever the orator displays his art unveiled, the hearer says, "The truth is not in him".<sup>2</sup>

T. W. Baldwin is persuaded that Shakespeare knew Quintilian and had studied him closely, at least in part, at school. If indeed Shakespeare had read this part of the *Institutio*, it is evident that he did not remember the lesson when writing his first tragedies, for no student of his plays can have failed to observe that the style of the early tragedies is no less artificial than that of the comedies.<sup>3</sup>

The surest index to the mannered style is the incidence of the various types of antithesis and pun, and of the figures of repetition. Now *Richard III*, *Richard II* and *Romeo and Juliet* are just as heavily encrusted with such ornamentation as the comedies, and the steady increase in the use of these particular figures of speech from 2 *Henry VI* up to *Richard II* suggests that Shakespeare did not

<sup>1</sup> *Words and Poetry* (1928), p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Institutio Oratoria*, translated by H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library (1921-2), III, 505-507.

<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this study the early history plays are comprehended under the heading of tragedy. Shakespeare entered the chronicle play through Senecan tragedy, and in this medium he experimented in tragic style.

find them inimical to his tragic purposes. In fact *Richard II*, which one may justly regard as the most successful of the early tragedies, is in many respects as artificial as that arch-offender against eighteenth-century taste, *Love's Labour's Lost*. Further, there is no diminution of rhetorical display at emotional climaxes. The reverse is true. Word-play flowers with increasing richness as the tragic feeling mounts. How does all this square with the view that emotional sincerity is naturally reflected in simple speech?

Coleridge would seem to have solved the problem in his wholesale justification of Shakespeare's conceits and puns. Basing his apology partly upon the Elizabethan taste for verbal wit, and partly upon the ground that quibbling is the *natural* expression of the human mind in deep passion,<sup>4</sup> he offered a convincing psychological explanation of John of Gaunt's death bed punning on his own name. Yet there is something unsatisfactory about Coleridge's naturalistic defence. Can we really explain all the word-play in the early tragedies in his way? If it is natural to the mind in passion, why does it figure less obviously and less frequently in Shakespeare's mature tragedies?

Now Coleridge tried to show that the quibbles in *Richard II* were a *natural* emotional safety-valve, but was he right to look for verisimilitude of speech in this play, or indeed in any of the early tragedies? If it could be demonstrated that these plays are not naturalistic, that action and dialogue are governed by laws peculiar to a rhetorical form of drama, then it might be possible to offer a more fundamental explanation of Shakespeare's early tragic diction than that of Coleridge. The apparent irreconcilables might be reconciled. The artificial modes of *Richard III* and *Richard II* would be appropriate to rhetorical tragedy, whilst the simply expressed pathos of *King Lear* would be consistent with a more naturalistic drama. The contradistinction is reasonable, since, although the mature tragedies necessarily use the rhetoric inseparable from poetry, they are not set above reality by formalized dialogue and symbolic actions. The convention of poetry once accepted, the plays present the words and actions of real people. We get much closer to Hamlet than to King Richard II.

As might be expected the key to Shakespeare's early tragic style and method is to be found in the Senecan ancestry of Elizabethan tragedy. Seneca's tragedies were written for recitation and not for stage presentation, so that language bore the whole weight of interest not only as a fit expression of sentiment but as a rhetorical display in itself. Characterization was practically non-existent, narrative interest quite lacking, since the plots—with the exception of *Octavia*—were a restatement of classical themes, and verisimilitude in dialogue was not attempted. In addition to their core of stoicism and political philosophy, these plays recommended themselves to the audience by virtue of their rhetorical brilliance, expressed in description, declamation, and epigrammatic cross-talk. The language of this drama was quite the reverse of naturalistic. Intense feeling evoked not simplicity but a piling up of all the rhetorical language at the dramatist's command, both imagery and stylistic device. The tension of argument was conveyed in finely pointed stichomythia often composed of a string of neat *sententiae*. Thus in addition to the well-known Senecan machinery the

<sup>4</sup> See Coleridge's *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and other English Poets*, ed. T. Ashe, Bohn's Standard Library (1908), pp. 72-73, 90-93, 150-152, 262-263.



Roman dramatist furnished the idea of a rhetorical tragedy in which verisimilitude of expression was sacrificed to lofty sentiment and polished phrase.

It was this tragic mode which Shakespeare first took up and developed—developed instinctively, I think, not consciously, for as we shall see its requirements were not consistently satisfied. This tragedy operates on a kind of level above life which is maintained by a peculiar emphasis on language. The dramatist is, of course, concerned to depict human actions and passions, but he is equally concerned to evoke admiration for the beauty and virtuosity of his language. Hence in the early tragedies the ear is beguiled by words, which fall like a veil between us and the experience itself. I suspect that we remember more the felicitous rhetoric of John of Gaunt's prophetic speech in *Richard II* than its sentiments; and certainly more than we remember Gaunt's personal sorrow.

However, it is evident that even where language dominates thought and feeling rather than subverts them, the dramatist must maintain some kind of balance. If he is intent on verbal artistry, he must still give it a proper relationship with human passion. He cannot give it that relationship on a naturalistic level, for on that level intense emotion is reflected in simplicity not in complexity of language. The relationship, however, is possible on the level above life of rhetorical tragedy at which self-conscious word artistry becomes a means of tragic expression. This I shall explore through an examination of Shakespeare's use of imagery and word-play in the early tragedies.

In discussing the style of Shakespeare's great tragic period, critics have shown that the proper function of the poetic image is to express and emphasize the plays' leading themes. In *Hamlet* the dominating images of disease reflect the theme of spiritual corruption, whilst images of darkness and night make *Macbeth* a powerful study of evil. In this tragic language intensity of feeling and weight of meaning are achieved not so much by quantity of imagery as by quality. As the poet's intellectual vision and inmost impulses become more deeply engaged, the metaphorical language burns more fiercely to illuminate the very center of his meaning. Thus Hamlet's anguished cry to his mother:

Mother, for love of grace,  
Lay not that flattering unction to your soul,  
That not your trespass, but my madness speaks:  
It will but skin and film the ulcerous place,  
Whiles rank corruption, mining all within,  
Infects unseen.

(III. iv. 144-149)

Idea and image are fused in conception, hence the *furor* of the language; but in much of the early metaphorical writing idea and image are merely linked in articulation. Illustration of this early method is to be found in the emblem, where the separableness of symbol and idea is quite apparent; correspondences of image and thought are detailed and explicit. Now where, as in Shakespeare's great tragedies, imagery "shroudeth it selfe in the hart of his subiect"<sup>5</sup> intense emotion finds adequate release in a form able to transmit its generating passion

<sup>5</sup> From Chapman's prefatory letter to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense* (1595). (Quoted by Rosemond Tuve in *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery*, Chicago, 1947, p. 31.)

to the audience. The imagery effects an immediate and total catharsis of the poet's inmost feelings. Thus the imagery of the mature tragedies is both the inevitable expression of individual ideas and the embodiment of the plays' central themes. The creative method is essentially inward. Moreover, such imagery is not inconsistent with a naturalistic drama once the convention of poetry is accepted. There is no formality or artifice to destroy the effect of realism. Metaphor is a natural form of expression, and it will not seem unreal if the verse is flexible enough to slip from,

You do look, my son, in a moved sort,  
As if you were dismay'd:

to the metaphorical splendors of "cloud-capp'd towers" and "gorgeous palaces" (*The Tempest*, IV. i. 146ff.).

By contrast, the imagery of Shakespeare's early tragic style is most often the result of conscious selection; the imagery, or rather the rhetoric, is the persuasive expression of ideas at first conceived, as it were, in prose.<sup>6</sup> Such imagery is a conscious forging of the panoply of language traditionally required of the neo-Senecan tragic writer, and it lacks, therefore, the vitality and immediacy of his later imagery. He is often juggling with conventional counters of sentiment, illustration, and metaphor. Passion cannot find release in the single, incandescent metaphor. The expression of deep feeling can only be achieved by an accumulation of rhetorical devices. Emphasis derives from quantity of imagery. When Queen Margaret and her faction accuse Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, of treason, his passionate outburst is prefaced by a cluster of personifications:

Ah, gracious lord, these days are dangerous:  
Virtue is choked with foul ambition,  
And charity chased hence by rancour's hand;  
Foul subornation is predominant,  
And equity exiled your highness' land. (*2 Henry VI*, III. i. 142-146)

And two similes are felt necessary to show the measure of King Henry's grief, and to emphasize the enormity of the arrest of the innocent Duke of Gloucester:

Ay, Margaret; my heart is drown'd with grief,  
Whose flood begins to flow within mine eyes,  
.  
.  
.  
And as the butcher takes away the calf,  
And binds the wretch, and beats it when it strays,  
Bearing it to the bloody slaughter-house,  
Even so remorseless have they borne him hence;  
And as the dam runs lowing up and down,  
Looking the way her harmless young one went,  
And can do nought but wail her darling's loss,  
Even so myself bewails good Gloucester's case  
With sad unhelpful tears, and with dimm'd eyes  
Look after him and cannot do him good. (*2 Henry VI*, III. i. 198-219)

<sup>6</sup> Rosemund Tuve (chapter IV, *passim*) argues that we should not allow the favorite metaphor of renaissance literary theorists—"the garment of style"—to mislead us into thinking that the Elizabethan poets applied ornament to idea in this fashion. But the Elizabethan fondness for multiple illustration is a palpable demonstration of a mechanical "clothing" of idea. Besides, the rhetoricians'

This unnaturalistic, quantitative, imagery may be found everywhere in the early tragedies and histories, the best known example being John of Gaunt's dying speech. The power of his prophecy derives not from single, illuminating metaphors, but from its multitudinous rhetoric; by sheer weight of words does Shakespeare impress upon us the centrality of Gaunt's theme in the play's imaginative structure. The speech rolls on in defiance of the limits of human endurance. Its opening cluster of five allegorical statements defies the accusation of tautology; they may lack the *vivida vis* of Shakespeare's great perceptive imagery but they do not fail to generate, as they toll upon the ear, an overwhelming sense of importance and certainty. Its violation of dramatic and poetic conventions would be unthinkable in the great tragedies; its language in such a context would be in the worst sense "rhetorical". It has potency only upon the level above life of rhetorical tragedy, and we must view it upon this level if we are to view it aright.

One more example, again from *Richard II* (I. iii), will illustrate the need for care in criticizing the early tragic style. It is easy to make Richard's character and situation accountable for the periphrastic language of Bolingbroke's banishment, "Till twice five summers have enrich'd our fields" and of Mowbray's crueller doom,

The sly slow hours shall not determinate  
The dateless limit of thy dear exile.

But what is to be said of Mowbray's answer? Instead of bewailing the parting from friends and loved ones, he spends most of his breath regretting that his tongue will be henceforth useless to him since he knows no foreign languages:

The language I have learn'd these forty years,  
My native English, now I must forego:  
And now my tongue's use is to me no more  
Than an unstringed viol or a harp;  
Or like a cunning instrument cased up,  
Or, being open, put into his hands  
That knows no touch to tune the harmony:  
Within my mouth you have engaol'd my tongue,  
Doubly portcullis'd with my teeth and lips;  
And dull unfeeling barren ignorance  
Is made my gaoler to attend on me.

This string of pretty similes and conceits is indeed a strange expression of sorrow and seems to invite Dr. Johnson's accusation of frigidity.<sup>7</sup> However, the claims of strict verisimilitude set aside, it must be granted that Shakespeare has achieved the beauty and vehemence of language which rhetorical tragedy requires at emotional peaks. The measure of Mowbray's passion is seen in the quantity and intricacy of his rhetoric. And so effectively is the intensity gene-

frequent warnings against excess are surely evidence of a fundamental error of conception, for if ornament were always conceived of in strict relation to meaning there could be no danger of incorrigible excess.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Raleigh, *Johnson on Shakespeare* (1908), p. 23.

rated that I am prepared to wager that the majority of readers and auditors pause to reflect upon neither the oddness of the sentiment nor the artificiality of expression.

This artifice and linguistic self-consciousness, in a tragic context, have met with most criticism when manifested in extreme forms of word-play. However, 20th-century critics, following the lead of Coleridge, have restored some respectability to the pun by relating it to the Elizabethan taste for verbal wit or by rationalizing certain famous examples. Thus, Lady Macbeth's pun on "gild" and "guilt" is applauded as a master-stroke, since the grim jest suggests a cold-bloodedness which intensifies the horror of Duncan's murder. But who, even today, can find justification for the following vexation of words?

*Salisbury.* Then let's make haste away, and look unto the main.

*Warwick.* Unto the main! O father, Maine is lost;

That Maine which by main force Warwick did win,

As would have kept so long as breath did last!

Main chance, father, you meant; but I meant Maine,

Which I will win from France, or else be slain.

(2 *Henry VI*, I. i. 203-208)

For all Coleridge's assertion that quibbling is the *natural* expression of the human mind in deep passion, this dexterous passage leaves one unconvinced of emotional sincerity. The conscious artistry strikes a false note. But suppose we substitute the word *rhetorical* for *natural* in Coleridge's description of the language of passion, and suppose we study a more mature example of such word-play? When King Richard II is met by Bolingbroke at Flint castle he is asked by Northumberland to *come down* into the *base court*. King Richard replies:

Down, down I come; like glistering Phaeton,

Wanting the manage of unruly jades.

In the base court? Base court, where kings grow base,

To come at traitors' calls and do them grace.

In the base court? Come down? Down, court! down, king!

For night owls shriek where mounting larks should sing.

This succeeds miraculously in expressing Richard's anguish; yet the verbal acrobatics are even more astonishing than those of the "Maine" passage, so that we can hardly make the word-play accountable for the latter's failure. The rhetorical method, indeed, is not at fault but the skill of the dramatist. Apart from the fact that the pun on "Maine" is painfully obvious, the language appears forced because the low rhetorical pitch of the surrounding dialogue makes these lines particularly obtrusive.

Such formalized and heightened expression would be impotent in the great tragedies because in diction and rhythm Shakespeare has moved much closer to the language of life. Except for the passion of anger, when his heroes and heroines are most moved they must speak the quiet language of:

It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul. . .

If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,

Absent thee from felicity awhile. . .

She's gone for ever!  
 I know when one is dead, and when one lives;  
 She's dead as earth.

The reverse is true in the unnaturalistic scheme of rhetorical tragedy; the extreme forms of self-conscious word-play always coincide with emotional crises. When Titus tells Lavinia to end her misery in suicide, he is reproved by his brother Marcus for instructing her to lay violent *hands* upon her own life. Titus picks up the wounding word and repeats it in an agony of sorrow:

What violent hands can she lay on her life?  
 Ah, wherefore dost thou urge the name of hands;  
 To bid Æneas tell the tale twice o'er,  
 How Troy was burnt and he made miserable?  
 O, handle not the theme, to talk of hands,  
 Lest we remember still that we have none.  
 Fie, fie, how frantically I square my talk,  
 As if we should forget we had no hands,  
 If Marcus did not name the word of hands!

(*Titus Andronicus* III. ii. 25-33)

It is in just this fashion that Queen Margaret pours forth her rage and grief to Buckingham:

*Buckingham.* Have done! for shame, if not for charity.  
*Q. Margaret.* Urge neither charity nor shame to me:  
 Uncharitably with me have you dealt,  
 And shamefully by you my hopes are butcher'd.  
 My charity is outrage, life my shame;  
 And in that shame still live my sorrow's rage!

(*Richard III*, I. iii. 273-278)

Once the unnaturalistic mode of Shakespeare's early tragedy has been grasped, it becomes possible to see in a proper light forms of word-play equally self-conscious though less vexed than those so far examined. One thinks at once of the stylized lamentations of the women in *Richard III*:

*Q. Margaret.* Thou hadst an Edward, till a Richard kill'd him;  
 Thou hadst a Richard, till a Richard kill'd him.  
*Duchess.* I had a Richard too, and thou didst kill him;  
 I had a Rutland too, thou holp'st to kill him.

(IV. iv. 42-45)

of the formal, antithetic verse of the Talbot scene (IV. v) in *1 Henry VI*; of Henry's soliloquy on Towton field in which the ebb and flow of the battle's fortunes are subtly emphasized by the swing of the parallel rhythms:

So many hours must I tend my flock;  
 So many hours must I take my rest;

and the similar elegiac movement of Richard II's resignation:

With mine own tears I wash away my balm,  
 With mine own hands I give away my crown,  
 With mine own tongue. . . .

The remarkable fact is that in each case the formal repetitions are evoked by some kind of emotional stress, generally grief. It is equally remarkable that in the early tragedies and histories all occurrences of markedly stylized dialogue and word-play will be found to be related to the disturbed feelings of the speakers. The more intense the feelings, the more artificial the language.

To complete the discussion of this relationship a word must be said about the natural psychology which underlies it. The dramatist did not invent this way of expressing passion merely because he liked playing with words; he gave a formalized expression of a natural impulse. Deep emotion, particularly grief, gives rise to a desire to ease the troubled mind, but at the same time inhibits the faculty of speech. At a naturalistic level the dramatist may solve the problem by counterfeiting simple, broken speech; or he may, as Shakespeare sometimes did, extend the emotion to insanity, thus making possible a different kind of articulation. At a rhetorical level, the tortured mind could be imaged in tortured word-play, the stunned mind in hypnotic iteration.

The rhetorical approach to Shakespeare's early tragedies will help us to understand not only the imagery and word-play but also the troublesome symbolic or allegorical scenes. If, as the plays seem to prove, rhetorical tragedy is unnaturalistic, we should not be surprised to find that some of its actions are treated allegorically with appropriate stylization of character and/or language. Caroline Spurgeon noted that the running metaphor of garden-orchard, growth-decay, which had been an undertone in the earlier historical plays, becomes in *Richard II* the leading theme,

gathered up, focussed and pictorially presented near the middle of the play in the curious garden scene (3.4), a kind of allegory, unlike anything else in Shakespeare, deliberately inserted at the cost of any likeness to nature, for no human gardeners ever discoursed like these.<sup>8</sup>

But was Miss Spurgeon right to assert that this scene is "unlike anything else in Shakespeare"? A fair parallel exists in the Three Citizens scene (II.iii) of *Richard III*, even when one has conceded a greater verisimilitude to their conversation. The action of the play stands still, as in the Gardeners' scene, while the three citizens comment, in retrospect and prophetically, on the political situation. Most of the dialogue is composed of allegorical statements and *sententiae*, whereby a sense of inevitability is imparted to their prognostications. Moreover, their improbable style of discourse sets them apart from reality, and they exist only to crystallize in allegory the play's moral and political implications. They parallel the function of the Senecan chorus.

*Richard II* itself affords two other instances of an associated kind. At the end of II. i, after Richard has declared his intention of seizing the money and lands of John of Gaunt, the Lords Ross, Willoughby, and Northumberland discuss the evil which is eating out the heart of the commonwealth. Although these characters are fully realized and integrated into the action of the play, their dialogue at this point is suggestive of a chorus in both subject-matter and structure:

<sup>8</sup> *Shakespeare's Imagery* (Cambridge, 1935), p. 222.



*Ross.* The earl of Wiltshire hath the realm in farm.

*Willoughby.* The king's grown bankrupt, like a broken man.

*Northumberland.* Reproach and dissolution hangeth over him.

The turn-by-turn chant of lines 247-259 has the anonymity of a chorus and the rhythms are appropriately artificial. Their commentary summarizes the evil potential of the political situation; epitomizes the sentiments of a restless country. With this episode may be compared the brief exchange of words between the Earl of Salisbury and the Welsh Captain (II. iv). The captain takes no part in the action of the play, and he is obviously introduced as *vates*, a typically superstitious Welshman, to foretell, like the chorus or ghost of Senecan tragedy, the inevitable fall of Richard.

In its own way as remarkable as the Gardeners' scene in *Richard II*, is an episode from one of the Towton Field scenes in 3 *Henry VI*. After King Henry's artificial but expressive soliloquy, Shakespeare presents, as a pictorial realization of the tragic predicament, first a son bearing the body of his father, then a father bearing the body of his son. This microcosm of the misery of civil war receives an allegorical cast through the stylized language and antiphonal lamenting:

*Son.* Was ever son so rued a father's death?

*Father.* Was ever father so bemoan'd his son?

*King Henry.* Was ever king so grieved for subjects' woe?

The anonymity of the fathers and sons, together with the formality of their speech, achieves a clear focus of the tragic theme which a naturalistic treatment might have blurred.

Hereward T. Price<sup>9</sup> finds such scenes—mirror scenes as he calls them—characteristic of Shakespeare's method throughout his dramatic career but fails to distinguish the stylistic peculiarities of those which occur in the early tragic histories. The distinction is important because it marks the difference between the naturalistic and rhetorical dramatic techniques. We may find symbolism or allegory in the later plays but only as something beneath or behind the surface of events. The more direct allegorical treatment of the scenes I have been discussing can harmonize properly only with other equally unnaturalistic conventions.

It can have escaped few readers that this confident discussion of rhetorical tragedy—its use of imagery, of word-play, and of symbolic scenes—has overlooked the fact that Shakespeare's early tragic style is not consistently rhetorical; it occasionally slips into a comic naturalism which makes the rhetoric sound false and strident. Shakespeare's drama results from a mingling of native and Senecan elements, like that of Kyd and the University Wits. They all blended in different ways but all produced a hybrid of very uncertain beauty. Shakespeare's most notable addition to the Senecan model was the comic strain of English popular drama, expressed through knock-about farce and bawdy innuendo. Not all who accept the fashion of "stately speeches and well-sounding phrases" set by Seneca can share Sir Philip Sidney's enthusiasm for *Gorboduc*;

<sup>9</sup> "Mirror Scenes in Shakespeare", *J. Q. Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, 1948), pp. 101-113.

however, his complaint of the matching of "hornpipes and funerals" can be justly levelled against tragedy which, in other respects, climbs to the height of Seneca's style. In Shakespeare's great tragedies the comic element is woven inextricably with the tragic, and the language is flexible enough to accommodate both without incongruity. But the natural comic dialogue thrust crudely into rhetorical tragedy jostles uncomfortably by the side of its predominantly formal diction. Thus, whatever the individual merits of the Jack Cade scenes, they have no proper place in the Senecan aspirant *Henry VI*. Consider the following lines:

*Cade*. My father was a Mortimer,—

*Dick*. [*Aside*] He was an honest man, and a good bricklayer.

*Cade*. My mother a Plantagenet,—

*Dick*. [*Aside*] I knew her well; she was a midwife.

*Cade*. My wife descended of the Lacies,—

*Dick*. [*Aside*] She was, indeed a pedler's daughter, and sold many laces.

*Smith*. [*Aside*] But now of late not able to travel with

her furred pack, she washes bucks here at home.

(2 *Henry VI*, IV. ii. 36-46)

Both the comic mood and the natural language of this passage break the laws of the rhetorical form. The same is true of the farcical scene with Simpcox (II. i) in the same play.

In *Titus Andronicus* and *Richard III*, the characters of Aaron and Richard Crookback constantly disturb the overall rhetorical mode. Their vigor and humor are presented with a naturalism which makes the language of the other characters look, indeed, frigid, thin and artificial. Richard Crookback first appears in 3 *Henry VI*. At the beginning of Act II he couches his narration of his father's valorous deeds at the Battle of Wakefield in splendid, if conventional, rhetoric. The high tone is maintained in the subsequent description of the three-suns omen, which concludes in Prince Edward's words:

henceforward will I bear

Upon my target three fair-shining suns.

Then with less warning than had Phaeton we crash to earth with Richard's punning retort:

Nay, bear three daughters: by your leave I speak it,

You love the breeder better than the male.

This jest mocks not only Edward but also the diction of Richard's very next lines addressed to the messenger:

But what art thou, whose heavy looks foretell

Some dreadful story hanging on thy tongue?

This is the right Senecan vein. Is Richard deliberately mocking high style? I do not think so, because earlier in the scene he uses rhetoric with no trace of irony. I conclude that the momentary slip into naturalistic dialogue is unconscious on Shakespeare's part.

In *Richard III* the incompatibility of natural comic speech and rhetorical speech is even more marked. Such is the customary naturalism of Richard's

language that he and the rhetorical ladies he deceives seem to exist in different worlds bridged only by his own histrionic ability to speak their language when need requires. He wins a rhetorical exchange with Lady Anne, but when she departs he drops back into a witty conversational vein:

My dukedom to a beggarly denier,  
I do mistake my person all this while:  
Upon my life, she finds, although I cannot,  
Myself to be a marvellous proper man.  
I'll be at charges for a looking-glass,  
And entertain some score or two of tailors,  
To study fashions to adorn my body:  
Since I am crept in favour with myself,  
I will maintain it with some little cost.

(I. ii. 251-259)

These lines are as alien to the Senecan manner as, "To her go I, a jolly thriving wooer," or,

What, marry, may she! marry with a king,  
A bachelor, a handsome stripling too:  
I wis your grandam had a worsor match.

I do not wish to suggest that this mingling of naturalistic and rhetorical elements is dramatically entirely unsuccessful. It so happens that in *Richard III* the brilliance and power of its hero-villain are seen to greater advantage against the flattened unrealistic presentation of the women he vanquishes. But the success is fortuitous. Shakespeare's 'prentice tragedy is struggling to find perfect form, and it uses heterogeneous materials with varying skill. Hence the feeling one has of the early tragedies being rough-hewn; hence the dissatisfaction with the encrusting imagery, the apparently frigid word-play, the troublesome symbolic scenes. The naturalistic and rhetorical modes made restless neighbors who could only be quieted by a proper marriage or a proper separation.

Shakespeare married them in the great tragedies, but first came a separation, with remarkable success, in *Richard II*, from which he banished the naturalistic. *Richard II* is, in fact, the only near-perfect essay in rhetorical tragedy in the whole canon—it would be perfect were it not for the scene (V. iii) at the end of the play with the Duke and Duchess of York and their son Aumerle, in which the tragedy descends to a kind of savage farce. With this exception the play proceeds at a consistently high level. Viewed at this level the language will display its inherent perfection. Where emotional tension increases, or where an act of great significance approaches, rhetorical complexity will be in attendance to evoke due solemnity; where grief, or anger, or any half-suppressed passion manifests itself, quibbles and conceits will be a powerfully expressive language. Thus Gaunt's word play just before his death; thus the Queen's sorrowful premonition of her husband's fall:

Lady. Madam, we'll tell tales

Queen. Of sorrow or of joy?

Lady.

Of either, madam.

Queen. Of neither, girl:

For if of joy, being altogether wanting,

It doth remember me the more of sorrow;  
 Or if of grief, being altogether had,  
 It adds more sorrow to my want of joy:  
 For what I have I need not to repeat;  
 And what I want it boots not to complain. (III. iv. 10-18)

thus Richard's iteration of the word "care", when he resigns the crown to Bolingbroke (IV. i. 195-199). To those who still experience dissatisfaction with the artifice of this and like passages, I answer that a willing suspension of disbelief is not being granted. The grief is not hollow, nor is its expression in bad taste. It is to be admitted that such language cannot give the same raw edge of feeling as simplicity and directness. But part of the proper pleasure to be derived from rhetorical tragedy is from its language; enjoyment proceeds no more from the spectacle or tragedy itself than from a beautiful expression of it. The language of the pathetic dungeon scene in Marlowe's *Edward II* is bare, and the whole portrayal terrifyingly real—hence its tragic power. By contrast the tragedy of Richard's death exists, as it were, in a poetic world into which we do not actually enter, but only contemplate as an idealized evocation of sorrow. They represent two distinct methods, each valid.

The study of rhetorical tragedy has important consequences for the criticism of *Romeo and Juliet*. Although this play and *Richard II* are sometimes linked together as part of Shakespeare's lyric phase, the resemblances of style are superficial. The language of *Richard II* is considered, ceremonious, whereas that of *Romeo and Juliet* is altogether lighter and more spontaneous. There is less application of conventional rhetoric to express idea, and a greater immediacy of imagery. Figures of repetition are used more loosely, and closely approximate to the repetitions of natural speech. Juliet's prothalamium (III. ii. 1-31) is at once poetic, rhetorical, and conversational:

Come, night, come Romeo, come, thou day in night;  
 For thou wilt lie upon the wings of night  
 Whiter than new snow on a raven's back. . .

Thought controls imagery and rhythm, creating poetry which can flow unobtrusively into the conversation which follows. Unfortunately the naturalism of this poetry is not sustained, for we are shortly jolted up against the artificial diction of rhetorical tragedy. In her passion of grief, Juliet puns violently upon "I", and a little later indulges in a spate of conventional love-paradoxes ("Beautiful tyrant! fiend angelical", etc.). These passages express mental disturbance in a manner suited to tragedy of which *Richard II* is the type. They cannot accord with the inwardness and movement of her cry:

Give me my Romeo; and when he shall die,  
 Take him and cut him out in little stars,  
 And he will make the face of heaven so fine,  
 That all the world will be in love with night,  
 And pay no worship to the garish sun. (III. ii. 21-25)

In this incompatibility can be seen the foundation upon which must be built any criticism of the play. In *Romeo and Juliet* must be recognised two tragic styles operating side by side.

Romeo's final soliloquy is true to the rhetorical convention which requires exaltation of sentiment and diction at the moment of death, but the language is a miraculous blend of considered rhetoric and spontaneous imagery, the first strains of the tragic music to come. Although the soliloquy contains many ordinarily stiff rhetorical figures (e.g. question and answer, 76-81; epanorthosis, 84; exclamation, 97-100; apostrophe, 112-115; periphrasis, 113-114), passion gives them life, and the sense of their formality is lost in the dazzle of,

her beauty makes  
This vault a feasting presence full of light.

O, here  
Will I set up my everlasting rest,  
And shake the yoke of inauspicious stars  
From this world-wearied flesh.

Such glowing imagery conveys to the audience what no mere weight of rhetorical ornament could have done.

This soliloquy shows a greater complexity of language than Juliet's prothalamium; yet neither is characterized by the balanced rhythms, antitheses, and rigid iterative tricks in which consists the artificiality of *Richard II*. Their lines, for the most part, have a natural movement which allows them to exist in the same world as Peter and the Nurse. Nothing could be more palpable than the aches and pains of the intractable old Nurse:

O God's lady dear!  
Are you so hot? marry, come up, I trow;  
Is this the poultice for my aching bones?

(II. v. 62-64)

The conversation in this scene and elsewhere in the play is in a high degree naturalistic but artistically acceptable in poetic drama provided that the dramatist eschews stylized diction. At the beginning of this scene Juliet's speech, with the exception of the final couplet, has the variable cadence of verse unhindered by heavy rhetoric. From it we pass easily to conversation.

*Romeo and Juliet* is pivotal in the development of Shakespeare's tragic style. On the one hand, it contains vestiges of the early manner with its ornate diction and rhetorical modes of expressing emotion; on the other hand, the seeds of the mature tragic style are present in the mixture of serious and comic elements, in the strong characterization, in verisimilitude of speech, and in the deep-searching imagery. Characterization and naturalism are breaking through conventions. Rhetorical language, no longer a continuous medium, is used intermittently for special effects. Particularly interesting in this respect is the second part of the opening scene, where Benvolio converses with the Montagues and afterwards with Romeo. Love is the theme, love dissected, defined, not felt. And the language is as artificial as the passion. Instead of creating, as in *Richard II*, a world of poetic reality, rhetoric becomes the language of imaginary feelings which are later to be contrasted with true feelings. Romeo's paradoxes (I. i. 173-180) express no more than the conventional lover's pains. The vexation of words which had emotional potency in rhetorical tragedy is rendered impotent by contrast with the real language of passion.

This all too brief criticism of *Romeo and Juliet* cannot be concluded with-

out reference to the style of the lamentations poured forth by the Capulets over the supposed dead body of Juliet (IV. v. 17-64). It is entirely a rhetorical expression of grief and as such strikes a false note in the naturalism of this tragedy. It is full of silly iterations, and is precisely the kind of ridiculous outcry which Shakespeare burlesqued in the "very tragical mirth" of *Pyramus and Thisbe*. "O love! O life! not life, but love in death!" cries Paris, and Capulet echoes him mechanically, "O child! O child! my soul, and not my child!" This figure of rhetoric (epanorthosis or metanoia) is more expressive of grief even in the notorious lines from *The Spanish Tragedy*, and the dolorous clamor of Othello shows the device fully articulate:

If she come in, she'll sure speak to my wife:  
My wife! my wife! what wife? I have no wife.  
O, unsupportable!

What then are we to think of this episode from *Romeo and Juliet*? Is it just another indication of Shakespeare's unconscious vacillation between the rhetorical and the naturalistic? Or is it that in the mid-'nineties he knew no method other than the rhetorical of expressing this full-throated lamentation? Alternatively is it intentional? Did Shakespeare intend us to look beyond these suits of woe to the emotional void within? This last, I feel, is the true explanation. The Capulets had treated their daughter as little more than a chattel to be disposed of in the interests of profit and prestige. Paris was the conventional lover acting always like the man of wax he was so aptly termed. The Nurse evinced no personal affection for Juliet, and her gross mind could have no communion with the singleness and totality of Juliet's love. What had this quartet to do with deep sorrow? Shakespeare accordingly showed the hollowness of their feelings in their stylized, over-emphatic speech. For pathos he substituted bathos, achieved most simply by setting exaggerated rhetoric in the midst of a basically naturalistic treatment. Just so did Rosaline know that Romeo's love "did read by rote that could not spell."

With *Romeo and Juliet* rhetorical tragedy is at an end. It had carried Shakespeare through his 'prentice years and enabled him to flex his muscles and fathom his own powers. It was, however, a form too narrow to contain his wide ranging imagination, too artificial for the expression of tragic ideas no longer merely traditional but afire with personal doubts and convictions. In his mature tragedies Shakespeare never entirely abandoned the early formality; with it he mingled an informality, creating a medium of immeasurable range. Ritual and realism were married.<sup>10</sup> The poet could glance from heaven to earth, from philosophic abstraction to the lowest passion, without incongruity.

Rhetorical tragedy is ultimately Senecan in origin. Many of the elements of Shakespeare's style are to be found there, notably, in this context, the expression of deep feeling in word-play and in loud assaults upon the ear. However, Seneca lacked Shakespeare's instinctive decorum, and the emotional rhetoric tends to be swamped by the unremitting tide of language. He seems out to impress the listener all the time so that when passion is his cue he has little more to offer; his voice sounds forced. The passionate repetitions found in Cassandra's proph-

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Clifford Leech, *Shakespeare's Tragedies and Other Studies in Seventeenth Century Drama* (1950), chapter III, *passim*.



etic speech (*Agamemnon*, 720-758<sup>11</sup>) and in Deianira's vow of vengeance upon Iole (*Hercules Oetaeus*, 332-350) are not markedly different from the slight examples of word-play found evenly distributed throughout the plays. Moreover, one misses in Seneca the extreme forms of verbal iteration and quibbling by means of which Shakespeare so brilliantly evoked mental anguish and the elegiac mood. There is nothing in Seneca which approaches in manner or skill the artistry of the deposition scene in *Richard II*. If Seneca had known how, he would surely have tried in the chorus of Trojan women lamenting the fall of Troy. It contains, of course, much poetic rhetoric, but this is the nearest one gets to emotional word-play:

vidi, vidi senis in iugulo  
telum Pyrrhi vix exiguo  
sanguine tingui

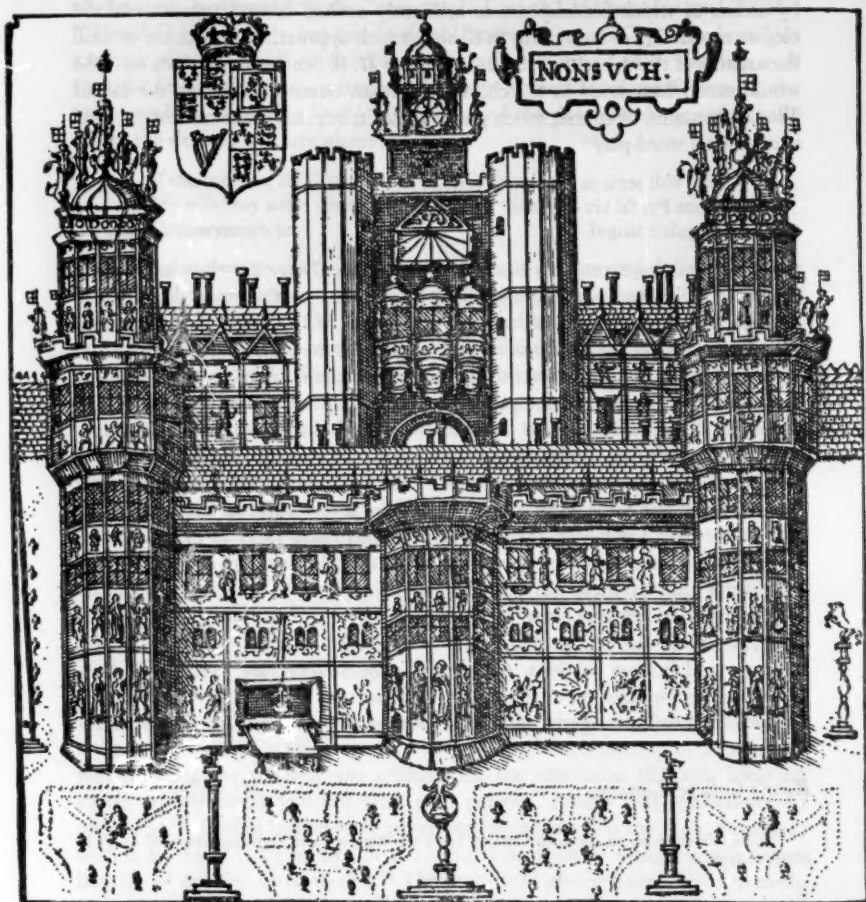
(*Agamemnon*, 656-658)

And if Shakespeare read his Seneca in the *Tenne Tragedies* the clues would have been still fewer; for, although these translations get the broad declamatory and descriptive effects, and occasionally carry over with fair success the stichomythia, the subtler details of word-play are lost in the rumbling fourteeners.

Although found intermittently in all Elizabethan drama with a classical flavor, outside Seneca, Shakespeare's stylized language is best paralleled in *Gorboduc*, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, *The Spanish Tragedy*, and in *Lochrine*. *Lochrine*, in particular, shows rhetoric being used, often with great decorum, for emotional effects. Yet even the author of this play sometimes indulges in mannerisms which are mere decoration. Nor is there to be found in *Lochrine* Shakespeare's tortured word-play and violent punning; these seem to be his special contribution to the rhetorical language of passion. I have yet to explore fully the diverse uses of rhetorical language in Elizabethan drama, but already it emerges that Shakespeare alone, either consciously or unconsciously, has grasped the principle of the strict relationship which ought to exist between stylized language and human passions. A recognition of Shakespeare's grasp will lead us to a juster appreciation of his early tragic method. His failures were not the failure of rhetorical tragedy but of the struggle to unite native and Senecan elements.

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<sup>11</sup> Line references are to the Loeb Classical Library edition of Seneca's plays, translated by F. J. Miller (1917).



Nonsuch Palace, from an inset in the map of Surrey in John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*. It was built by Henry VIII at Ewell in Surrey, about 13 miles from London. The palace was pulled down by the Duchess of Cleveland, to whom it had been given by Charles II. See p. 596.

# The First Hungarian Translation of Shakespeare

THOMAS R. MARK

**H**UNGARIAN interest in Shakespeare developed comparatively late in the eighteenth century. Only in 1790 did the first translation of a complete Shakespearean play appear in print. The play was *Hamlet*, the translator a young man of thirty-one, Francis Kazinczy. The motive for the translation was not the beguilement of a few *litterateurs* cloistered in their studies but the fulfilment of an important patriotic mission. For with this Hungarian version of *Hamlet* Kazinczy hoped to establish a Hungarian-language stage and to lay the foundation for the art of dramaturgy in Hungary.

The cultural ideals that motivated Kazinczy to render *Hamlet* into Hungarian were part of the Hungarian literary revival of the 1780's. This movement was, in essence, an attempt to reawaken a national spirit that had been weakened by the political, social, and cultural conditions that prevailed throughout most of eighteenth-century Hungary. The alienation of the aristocracy from Hungarian culture, the narrow self-interest and provincialism of the Hungarian gentry, and the motley confusion of peoples and languages within the country had so weakened Hungary's sense of national identity that many thinkers, including the influential Herder, were prophesying the eventual extinction of the Hungarian race. During the last two decades of the century, however, a reaction set in. Hungarian authors, having come into contact with the humanitarianism of the French Enlightenment, the linguistic nationalism of Herder, and the literary masterworks of the West, were eager to do for their country what French, German, English, and Italian writers had done for theirs. To bring backward Hungary up to the cultural level of the West, to make Hungarians conscious once more of their country's individuality and culture—these were the aims of Hungary's literary renaissance.

One of the most important characteristics of the literary revival was the development of an unprecedented interest in the Hungarian language. This upsurge of interest can be explained by the fact that the native language was spoken only by a minority of Hungary's inhabitants. The language of high society was French, of the scholarly world, Latin, and of the government—as a result of the edicts of Joseph II—German; Hungarian was spoken generally by the petty nobility and their Hungarian-born serfs. Consequently, all Hungarian writers of the day felt that the existence of their country was bound to the fate of their native language. Convinced that the cultivation of this language was the first order of the day, they instituted a widespread literary program, a regular part of which was the translation of foreign literature. It was this program that provided the framework for Kazinczy's translation of *Hamlet*,

that gave it its existence, and that determined the very form it was to take.

When Francis Kazinczy (1759-1831) published his translation of *Hamlet*, he was already launched on a career that was to have immense significance for the future of Hungarian literature. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century Kazinczy became Hungary's literary dictator and the central directing influence on Hungarian letters. As a propagandist Kazinczy for decades urged his contemporaries to cultivate Hungarian literature. As a linguist he led the movement to reform the language, and, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, he finally brought this movement to a successful conclusion. And as an author he published hundreds of original poems, narratives, essays, and translations. From his pen came translations from the works of Herder, Wieland, Klopstock, Lessing, Goethe, Molière, Schiller, and several others. The general, non-literary public knew him, however, as the translator of the most popular Shakespearean play of the period—*Hamlet*.

Kazinczy announced his intention of translating *Hamlet* in 1787.<sup>1</sup> This announcement, containing no explanation or elaboration, was followed by two years of silence. At the end of 1789, however, the translation had evidently been finished, for Kazinczy began plans for publication. In December of that year he outlined these plans to Joseph Péczely, a friend who was the editor of a contemporary journal:

I will publish ten cantos of my *Messias* [his translation of Klopstock]. Likewise the complete writings of Solomon Gessner. *Hamlet*, too; not after Shakespeare, however, but as it is presented on the stage in Vienna.<sup>2</sup>

He then requested Péczely to publish those parts of the letter which he deemed of general interest. Péczely complied with this request, and in the January 20, 1790, issue of *Mindenes Gyűjtemény* he announced Kazinczy's plans.<sup>3</sup>

The translation of *Hamlet* was regarded as a major literary event even before it was published. Samuel Kerekes, the editor of another contemporary journal, rejoiced over the venture and announced the good news to the readers of his paper. Since the name of Shakespeare was known only to a relatively few literary men, Kerekes felt obliged to supply some information about him and his work. The earnest editor's knowledge of the facts, however, did not quite match the fervor of his republican sentiments. *Hamlet*, said Kerekes,

is a celebrated tragedy by that immortal Shakespeare, the idol of the English people, whose birthday is observed by that nation as a national holiday, and whose remains rest among those of kings. It was not his origin that ensured this honor for Shakespeare, but his mind.<sup>4</sup>

By February, 1790, the fact that *Hamlet* had been translated was generally known to literary men. A letter from Karl Fejérváry to Kazinczy stated that

<sup>1</sup> The announcement was made in a letter to Baron Lawrence Orczy, dated November 12, 1787. This letter, not included in Kazinczy's collected correspondence, is mentioned by his biographer. See János Váczy, *Kazinczy Ferenc és Kora* (Budapest, 1915), p. 435.

<sup>2</sup> Ferencz Kazinczy, *Levelezés*, edited by János Váczy (Budapest, 1890-1907), I, 523. Henceforth referred to as Kazinczy, *Correspondence*.

<sup>3</sup> Péczely's announcement is reprinted in Kazinczy, *Correspondence*, I, 598, n.

<sup>4</sup> *Hadi és Más Nevezetes Történetek*, January 26, 1790, p. 120.

"the world of learning . . . is impatiently awaiting your *Hamlet*."<sup>5</sup> They did not have long to wait. In his correspondence during March Kazinczy wrote that *Hamlet* would soon be with the printer, and by July he was able to write that "*Hamlet* is to be found in every bookshop in Pest."<sup>6</sup>

Since Kazinczy knew no English, he could not translate Shakespeare's original English play. He turned instead to the German prose adaptation that Friedrich Ludwig Schröder had prepared in 1776 for presentation at the Hamburg theatre.<sup>7</sup> The reasons for Kazinczy's choice of Schröder's version in preference to Wieland's more faithful and artistically superior translation will be explained below, following a brief discussion of the Hungarian translation.

The alterations Schröder had made in his German adaptation were, of course, present in the Hungarian version, too. In order to make the play as brief and compact as possible, Schröder eliminated almost everything that did not directly concern the main action. Accordingly, the roles of Voltemand, Cornelius, Fortinbras, Osric, together with some of the very minor parts, were omitted entirely. Since Rosencrantz also was left out of the adaptation, many of his lines were given to Guildenstern. Schröder changed the names of some of the characters, and Kazinczy retained these changes: Polonius became Oldenholm, Horatio was changed to Gusztáv, and Marcellus, Bernardo, and Francisco became Bernfield, Ellrich, and Frenzwow respectively.

The adaptation was divided into six acts.<sup>8</sup> Act I of the English original was broken into two separate acts. The first ended with Hamlet's soliloquy, "My father's spirit in arms? All is not well" (the conclusion of I. ii. of the original). The second act terminated with Hamlet's lines from I. v., "Rest, rest, perturbed spirit. . . ." The third act of the adaptation began with the welcome of Guildenstern by the King and the Queen and continued directly with III. i of the English (the conversation between the King and Guildenstern concerning Hamlet's mind and disposition, followed by the "Arras scene"). This act ended with the King's prayer and with Hamlet's decision not to kill the praying King. Omitted entirely were Reynaldo's conversation with Polonius (II. i), Hamlet's exchanges with Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, Hamlet's welcome of the actors, and the First Player's lines on Pyrrhus (II. ii).

Most of the material involving the players was placed in the fourth act, which began with III. ii of the original (Hamlet's instructions to the players, followed by the "Mousetrap" and the exchanges of Hamlet with Horatio, Guildenstern, and Polonius). Immediately after this came Hamlet's visit to his mother. The conclusion of this act coincided with that of Act III in the original, except that references to Hamlet's departure for England were omitted. The fifth act opened with the dialogue between the King and the Queen, wherein

<sup>5</sup> Kazinczy, *Correspondence*, II, 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 25, 45, 50, 79, 80-81, 82-85.

<sup>7</sup> Ferencz Kazinczy, *Hamlet, Szomorú Játék*. VI Fel-vondásban, *Shakespeare munkája, úgy a mint az a mi játszó-színeinkre léphet*, Kassa, 1790. Cf. Joseph Bayet, *Shakespeare Drámai Hazánkban* (Budapest, 1909), I, 144-146.

<sup>8</sup> The play was first published in 1777, but a year later Schröder revised it and published it as a tragedy in five acts. This new, five-act version has been reprinted in *Die Aufnahme Shakespeares auf der Bühne der Aufklärung in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren*, edited by Fritz Brüggemann (Leipzig, 1937), pp. 165-233. Cf. Rudolph Genée, *Geschichte der Shakespeare'schen Dramen in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1870), pp. 237 ff.

the King informs Gertrude of his plan to ship Hamlet out of the country (IV. i). Ophelia's mad scene followed, and the act concluded with the King's conversation with Laertes.

The most drastic alterations of Shakespeare's original play were reserved for the sixth act of the adaptation. The act opens with the Gravediggers' scene, but from that point on the resemblance between the adaptation and its English model becomes very faint. Guildenstern notifies Hamlet that the King has summoned him in order to make peace between Laertes and him. Hamlet accepts the summons, hoping that his opportunity for revenge has finally arrived. Only now is he told that he will have to leave for England. As a farewell gesture, the King offers Hamlet some wine which, however, he does not drink. Hamlet then apologizes to Laertes who, as a son and a brother, forgives him, but as a knight, demands satisfaction. While the two men talk, the Queen drinks the wine, the poisonous content of which takes effect immediately. Having learned that the wine is poisoned, Hamlet stabs the King to death. The dying Queen admits her complicity in the murder of old Hamlet and then dies. Hamlet and Laertes remain alive and become fast friends.

The omission of characters and scenes, the alteration of the ending of the play, and the rearrangement of the scenes that remained were not the only changes in the adaptation. Whenever possible, Schröder—and hence Kazinczy, too—abridged scenes either by omitting lyric passages entirely or by condensing them. Horatio's lines, for instance, beginning with

... I have heard

The cock, that is the trumpet to the morn,

(I. i. 154-156)

together with the lines of Marcellus that follow (I. i. 157-165) were omitted entirely. When "purple patches" could not be deleted, they were condensed:

*Horatio:* What if it tempt you toward the flood, my lord,  
Or to the dreadful summit of the cliff  
That beetles o'er his base into the sea,  
And there assume some other, horrible form  
Which might deprive your sovereignty of reason  
And draw you into madness? Think of it.  
The very place puts toys of desperation,  
Without more motive, into every brain  
That looks so many fadoms to the sea  
And hears it roar beneath.

(I. iv. 59-67)

*Gusztáv.* What if it should lead you to the top of a cliff and then assume an even more horrible shape, which would bewilder your understanding and would throw you down into the deep in senseless stupor?

Even more extreme was the condensation of Horatio's words,

But look, the morn, in russet mantle clad,  
Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastward hill.  
Break we our watch up . . .

(I. i. 166-168)

into "The dawn breaks, let us go."

Also omitted from the English original were certain "offensive" passages



containing direct sexual references. The exchanges between Hamlet and Ophelia at the performance of the "Mousetrap" were left out entirely, as well as some other lines, such as the ones Hamlet speaks to his mother:

... Refrain to-night,  
And that shall lend a kind of easiness  
To the next abstinence; the next more easy. (III iv. 165-167)

When such lines could not be eliminated entirely, their tone was considerably softened:

*Ghost.* Ay, that incestuous, that adulterate beast,  
With witchcraft of his wit, with traitorous gifts—  
O wicked wit and gifts, that have the power  
So to seduce!—won to his shameful lust  
The will of my most seeming-virtuous queen.  
(I. v. 42-46)

Yes, that dishonorable, incestuous monster seduced the heart of my virtuous-appearing queen by the magic of his wit and by traitorous gifts.

The Hungarian translation was in prose, with two major exceptions. The first was the play within the play, in which the doggerel quality of Kazinczy's couplets resembled those of Shakespeare; the second occurred in Ophelia's mad scene, wherein the songs were rendered in rhyme. Kazinczy's prose tended to be verbose. Hamlet's speech "To be or not to be", for instance, written in thirty-three lines of English verse, was extended into forty-one lines of loosely knit prose. More important, the quality of this prose was often stiff and artificial. Kazinczy's frequent use of awkward passive construction and involved circumlocutions gave his lines an archaic, wooden quality that tends to jar the ear of a modern Hungarian. Yet, in spite of its stylistic deficiency, the translation as a whole was clear and, occasionally, surprisingly effective.

Such, very briefly, was the first Hungarian translation of a Shakespearean play. Kazinczy did not acknowledge the German source of his translation but called it simply "Shakespeare's work, [written] in such a manner as to be acted on our stages." This brief title, however, together with Kazinczy's subsequent efforts to have *Hamlet* performed, explains his choice of Schröder's adaptation, with all its obvious inadequacies, in preference to Wieland's translation. Kazinczy chose as his model a theatrical adaptation rather than a literary translation because, from the very outset, he had had the stage in mind.

But, as a matter of fact, there was no Hungarian stage when *Hamlet* was published. The regular public theatres of the day conducted their performances in German, not Hungarian. Like many of his contemporaries, Kazinczy was convinced that a regular Hungarian stage could play a very important role in the cultural life of his country. To found such a stage, however, one needed some good plays. But since Hungary had neither dramas nor dramatists, the only recourse open was to translate foreign plays that had already achieved a measure of success abroad. Such a play was Schröder's adaptation of *Hamlet*. Schröder, aware of contemporary tastes and prejudices, knew that a four-hour performance of a dark tragedy like *Hamlet* would be unbearable for most theatre goers; accordingly, he adapted and edited the original text to suit the

tastes that prevailed in Vienna and the larger cities of Germany. That his judgment was good is proved by the fact that his *Hamlet* became one of the most popular Shakespearian tragedies in the German-speaking world of the late eighteenth century. Schröder's adaptation, therefore, seemed to Kazinczy ideal for the purposes of establishing a new Hungarian-language stage. For Kazinczy knew that such a Hungarian stage would have to please influential people whose cosmopolitan culture would tolerate nothing shoddy. Hence, he decided to translate a play that had not only proved successful but also had intrinsic merits great enough to anchor the attention of the thoughtful, solicit the praise of the educated, and obtain money from the rich.

To bring success to his plan, Kazinczy decided to dedicate his *Hamlet* to a wealthy nobleman who would be patriotic enough to expend money and energy in putting the play on the stage. That man was his friend Baron Ladislás Prónay. Not long after the dedication appeared in print, Kazinczy wrote a letter to Prónay which contained an appeal that was well-nigh irresistible. The Baron, said Kazinczy, could immortalize his name by offering his patronage to various Hungarian authors, who would then dedicate their works to him, just as he [Kazinczy] had dedicated *Hamlet* to him. Furthermore, the patriotism of the Baron—none too savory in the last few years—would receive general recognition:

[May I suggest] that Your Excellency offer some gold to a Hungarian troupe with the provision that, after due preparation and training by the German actors, they perform my *Hamlet*. News of this [undertaking] will spread throughout the country. Every newspaper will proclaim Your Excellency's patriotism, and I in turn will take the opportunity of offering you my grateful respects at the end of my first volume. . . . Believe me, Your Excellency, your great name would gain much through such a venture.<sup>9</sup>

Prónay responded favorably. A few days later he answered Kazinczy, thanking him for his solicitude and advice, and asked for detailed instructions concerning the ways in which a troupe could be organized.<sup>10</sup>

Kazinczy acted immediately. On August 15, 1790, he wrote to Baron Paul Ráday, who for years had been trying to arouse interest in a Hungarian theatre and who was to become one of the founders of the first Hungarian stage at Pest. The letter, written originally in German, is quoted here in part:

My Dear Baron:

His Excellency Baron Prónay has commissioned me to attend to the performance of my Hungarian *Hamlet*. . . . Due to circumstances, I am now absent from Pest, and besides—my knowledge of the theater is scanty. You, however, are there, and your knowledge in these matters is more adequate. . . . Gather about you people whom you need for the various roles and have them learn their parts by heart. . . . I have already sent in my notification [concerning the new troupe to be organized] to the Hungarian newspapers *Hadi Történetek* and *Magyar Kurir*; to those who think themselves sufficiently gifted for assuming the various roles, I gave the suggestion that they present themselves at the Strohmayr bookstore at Buda, where they could receive the necessary copies of *Hamlet*, together with further instruc-

<sup>9</sup> Kazinczy, *Correspondence*, II, 80-81.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 89.

tions. The bookstore will refer those who may report, to you, dear Baron. It will then be your task to parcel out the various roles. . . . Only, be careful that the actors have a genuine Hungarian pronunciation and no false accent.—Once *Hamlet* is performed, we will have actors for my *Stella*, Péczeli's *Alzire*, *Merope*, *Tancred*. . . . This responsibility is now yours; you must not refuse this service to the Fatherland and me.<sup>11</sup>

Here, then, was a definite, clear-cut plan to establish the first public Hungarian stage. The agenda of dramas were headed by *Hamlet*, which was to be the very first play to be put on the boards. As the letter clearly shows, Kazinczy intended *Hamlet* to serve as a training ground for the amateurs who were to band together to form the first Hungarian acting troupe. The as yet non-existent Hungarian stage was to receive its inspiration and its education from a Shakespearean play.

Although *Hamlet* was to provide the Hungarian actors with practice, Kazinczy had still another reason for desiring a performance of this play. In his letter to Baron Prónay, referred to above, he stated this reason clearly:

I know of no other play, Your Excellency, which is more deserving of performance than *Hamlet*. We know that that terrifying shudder which the Ghost and the person of Hamlet arouse in the audience, bears a strong analogy to the by no means rosy feelings of our nation.<sup>12</sup>

The public was informed of Kazinczy's plans in September. *Hadi és Más Nevezetes Történetek* brought the news that an "illustrious son" of the country who, "knowing how greatly the spread of our mother tongue would be increased" if plays were not only read but were also performed, "has announced a reward for a theatrical troupe which, after due preparation, will perform Mr. Francis Kazinczy's *Hamlet* at Buda." The announcement went on to state that, *Hamlet* once performed, the company would present other dramas and eventually would tour the entire country. The editor gave detailed instructions for the time and place of meeting, adding that preference for participating in the troupe would be given to those whose speech was free from foreign intonation. He concluded by voicing the hope that the love for the native language would induce many volunteers to step forth.<sup>13</sup>

The date of this announcement coincided with the pioneer efforts of Ladislás Kelemen, a twenty-seven-year-old lawyer, who had been organizing a small company of actors at Pest. When Kazinczy reached that city in the middle of September, he immediately offered the company Prónay's reward and urged them to commence rehearsals of *Hamlet*. He spent the next few weeks helping with the organization of Kelemen's new company and trying to rent a suitable theatre from the managers of one of the German troupes. By the middle of October he left Pest, satisfied with the progress made by the actors, but convinced, at the same time, that *Hamlet* could not possibly be the very first play to be performed. As things turned out, the first Hungarian-language play to be presented in public by professional actors was not *Hamlet*, but the translation of a senti-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 96-97.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 80-81.

<sup>13</sup> *Hadi és Más Nevezetes Történetek*, September 3, 1790, pp. 285-286.

mental middle-class comedy from the pen of a minor German playwright. This performance took place on October 25, 1790.

Sobered somewhat by experience, but still sanguine, Kazinczy hoped that the première of *Hamlet* would take place soon. But his hopes were in vain; *Hamlet* was not only postponed but was removed from the agenda entirely. In February, 1791, Kazinczy received a letter in which he was told that the "actors deem it [*Hamlet*] a very difficult play, and they therefore wish to perfect themselves in the beginning as much as possible by means of easier pieces."<sup>14</sup>

The première of *Hamlet* had to wait until January 27, 1794, when a troupe of provincial actors presented the play in the Transylvanian city of Kolozsvár. This first performance of *Hamlet* was also the first performance of a Shakespearian play in Hungarian. Thus, though Kazinczy failed to make his *Hamlet* the cornerstone of Hungarian dramaturgy, he succeeded in introducing Shakespeare to his countrymen and in making the figure of Hamlet familiar to every Hungarian theatre goer. For the translation became a permanent part of the repertory of all the theatrical companies that for several decades travelled throughout the length and breadth of Hungary. Indeed, between 1794 and 1837—the year that marked the opening of the *National Theater* at Pest—Kazinczy's *Hamlet* was the most frequently performed Shakespearian play. It was presented at least forty-six times.<sup>15</sup> (This number represents those performances for which some kind of documentary evidence exists; there were undoubtedly many other presentations, especially in the provinces, for which there were no playbills or newspaper notices.) The translation was last performed in 1841, two years after a new translation received its première at the *National Theater*. By the 1830's the theatre going public was much more sophisticated than it had been a few decades before. It was quite natural, therefore, that the inadequacies of Kazinczy's *Hamlet* should receive the censure of critics and other discriminating people, who began to demand translations more faithful to the original text. Had Kazinczy lived to see the displacement of his work, he would probably have rejoiced. For his translation became the victim of the very situation it was designed to create—the development of the Hungarian language and the refinement of Hungarian tastes.

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<sup>14</sup> Kazinczy, *Correspondence*, II, 162.

<sup>15</sup> Bayer, I, 187.

## Falstaff's Death of a Sweat

A. A. MENDILOW

**I**N the epilogue to *2 Henry IV*, Shakespeare made a promise, regrettably unfulfilled, to "continue the Story (with Sir Iohn in it)", and forewarned his readers and audience that "Falstaffe shall dye of a sweat". This has variously been taken to refer to the Knight's propensity to sweating, to the *lues venenis*, and to the plague.<sup>1</sup> There is little doubt that the last is the correct interpretation, and it points to some interesting parallels for the famous death-scene as reported by the hostess in *Henry V*. It is the more appropriate because it does contain overtones of the other two characteristics of Falstaff as well: his sweating, and his addiction to venery.

Strictly speaking, "the sweating sicknesse, or the Pestilence", "the English sweat or sweating sicknesse (as we terme it)"<sup>2</sup>, was not actually the plague itself but one of the "neere Cosins to the Plague".<sup>3</sup> However, in common usage and even in many of the medical manuals the terms were used interchangeably.<sup>4</sup> Both the sweat and the plague belonged to the family of maladies called Fevers or Agues. These were most dangerous when different varieties "commixed" to form "compound agues", and the worst complication of all ensued when "the tertian and quotidian interpolate be ioyned in one".<sup>4</sup> This combination was called "in english a compound or half tertian. Bicause of hys proper nature he containeth thone halfe of a tertian, and thother half of a quotidian continual".<sup>5</sup> The physicians termed it the "great compound", and its effects were usually fatal: "... of a number so greued, few escape".<sup>5</sup> Dame Quickly's diagnosis of Falstaff's illness as a "burning quotidian tertian" was not therefore a ludicrous piece of ignorance but, on the contrary, an exact medical description.

The dice were loaded against Falstaff, for his way of life, both spiritually and physically, and his state of mind after his rejection by Prince Hal would each contribute to make him particularly prone to the pestilence. Most authorities concurred in holding that "The first cause of the Plague is sinne".<sup>6</sup> This was

<sup>1</sup> See Shaaber: *Var. Sh.*, *HIV*, Pt. 2, 1940, p. 460, note 24.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Cogan: *The Haven of Health* (1596), p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Thomas Brasbridge: *The poore Mans lewell* (1592), Cap. 1. "Intreating of the disease called the Plague or pestilence . . ." *et passim*; William Bullein: *Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence* (1578), throughout; John Jones: *A Dial for all Agues* (1568), Cap. 8. "Of the pestilential feuer, or plague, or bothe", *et passim*; Andrew Boorde: *A Compendyous Regimete or Dyetary of health* (1562) Cap. XXVII; Thomas Moulton: *Myrrour or Glasie of Helth* (1539?). There, too, the author lumps the pestilence, the plague, the pest, and the ague all together. Holinshed recorded that in 1528, many members of the court had died of the sweating sickness; he singled out one for mention by name: "Sir Francis Points, which had beene ambassadour in Spanie".

<sup>4</sup> John Jones, Cap. 16.

<sup>5</sup> Jones, Cap. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Brasbridge, Sig. B2<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Moulton, Sig. A8<sup>r</sup>. *et seq.*, and Beza's *A shorte learned and pithie Treatise of the Plague*, trans. J. Stockwood (1580), Sig. D4<sup>r</sup>: "... our sinnes are the chiefe and the true cause of the plague".

what Beza called the supernatural cause, as distinct from the natural or physical causes; the former was matter for divines, the latter for physicians. The degree to which the conjunction of the heavenly bodies and the individual horoscope affected general or particular predisposition to infection was in dispute, but there was general agreement that filth, the disordering of the humours, and the frame of mind were the most important of the immediate causes. Very often, however, the boundary between natural and supernatural causes was difficult to establish, for sinful living weakened the body's ability to withstand disease. Thus, among the physical causes were "excesse and superfluitie, especially in eating and drinking, sleeping and waking, in trauell and women".<sup>7</sup> Phaer insisted that "the chyefe occasyon of all suche dyseases" lay in the abuse "of meate and drynke, of slepe and watching, of labour and ease, of fulnes and emptynes, of the passions of the mynde, and of the immoderat vse of lechery".<sup>8</sup> Similarly, Brasbridge inveighed against the "daylie haunting of Tauerns, and Ale-houses, both early in the morning, and the after noone . . . resorting to harlots company" (Sig. B3<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>) and similar excesses as the main causes of the plague. Bullein ended his warning against "repletion, Venus . . . much wine" with the injunction no less applicable to Falstaff: "Beware of repletion and swetyng" (p. 49). Little wonder then that the fat knight succumbed so easily to the dreaded contagion. He had notoriously abused both sleep and watching by serving as one of the "squiers of the nights bodie" and "minions of the moone"; he was a haunter of taverns and "leaping houses", and was not averse to roistering with "a faire hot wench in flame-couloured taffata"; he was an insatiable devourer of capons, and imbibor of hogsheads of sack, with "a whole Marchants Venture of Burdeux-Stuffe in him". And now he had further weakened himself by riding "day and night" to meet Hal, "stained with Trauaile, and sweating with desire to see him". ("This feuer may come . . . by great ryding", Boorde had noted.)<sup>9</sup> Hal it was who administered the final blow; the king had indeed "killed his heart". All the doctors united to warn against "too much anger, greefe of minde, and feare of the disease".<sup>10</sup> "Beware of anger, feare, and pensiuenes of the minde, for by their meanes the body is made more apt to receiue the infection", wrote Simon Kellwaye.<sup>11</sup> Boorde, in a discussion of the "Ephimer Feuer" which is the first stage of all the other fevers including the plague, wrote that "it doth come thorow anger, or wrath, thought or sorrowe" no less than "by surfeting, or by repletion" and "venerious actes" (f. 50<sup>r</sup>). Thomas Vicary went into a little more explanatory detail: "As concerning the disposition of courage and mind, ye must consider that sorrow, sadnesse or Melancholy, corrupt the bloud and other humors,<sup>11a</sup> weaken the hart, and depraue and hurt

<sup>7</sup> Cogan, p. 265.

<sup>8</sup> *The Regiment of Life* (1560), Sig. L iii<sup>r-v</sup>. Phaer was the author of a ballad entitled: *The Robbery at Gadshill*, and of a long poem: *How Owen Glendouer, Seduced by False Prophecies, Took upon Him to Be Prince of Wales* (1559); see *Var. Sh.*, H IV, Pt. 1, ed. S. B. Hemingway, 1936, pp. 32-33, and 383-384.

<sup>9</sup> *The Breviarie of Health* (1575), f. 52<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Brasbridge, Sig. B 1<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> *A Defensative against the Plague*, 1593, p. 13.

<sup>11a</sup> Nym's comment on hearing of Falstaff's illness is: "The King hath run bad humor on the Knight, that's the euen of it."



nature, therefore ought a man to auoid them as much as is possible. Also if a man be too merie or iocund, it dylateth and inlargeth the poares and passage of the seede of man, and the heart, so that he is the more enclyned to receiue the euil aire and venome, which are things that penetrate and pearce sore. Also a man must beware of drinking too much wine and . . . vsing too much carnal companie or copulation".<sup>12</sup> If only Falstaff had kept to his resolution to, "purge and leaue Sacke, and liue cleanlie", he might yet (Shakespeare willing!) have saved his life. Vicary had issued "And Aduertisement and warning of great importance to preserue a man's selfe in time of pestilence. Because the euil humors that be in a mans body do easily receiue the corruption and infection of the aire, it is good to keepe the stomack, and the head cleane purged, not to ouerlade it with eating and drinking" (pp. 90-91).

The Tudor medical writers describe the symptoms of infection in detail, but these, like their analyses of the causes of the disease, are not entirely the record of empirical experience; they go back to much earlier authorities. The primary sources were the Hippocratic *Prognostics*,<sup>13</sup> in the section dealing with the external indications of impending death from disease, and the account by Thucydides in the second book of *The Peloponnesian War* of the plague in Athens.<sup>14</sup> Both of these were drawn on by Lucretius in his dramatic description of death by plague which comes at the very end of the *De Rerum Natura*,<sup>15</sup> by Pliny the Younger in the section on Mankind in his *Naturalis Historia*,<sup>16</sup> and by the various writers on medicine and surgery from Galen onwards.

All these classical writings on the plague and kindred fevers, and on the signs of impending death were quoted, summarized, translated, or referred to in hundreds of sixteenth-century books appearing in Latin, German, French, Italian, and Spanish. They held an obvious interest as well for the Elizabethan doctors who, no doubt, had all too frequent occasion to consult the *Prognostics*, Thucydides, Lucretius, and Galen on the diagnosis, symptoms, fatal course, and possible cures of the epidemics that periodically ravaged the country. Numerous popular manuals were published by physicians for the layman, and thus the literature on the plague was brought into current knowledge. Shakespeare was clearly familiar with some of this literature, and almost every detail and symptom of Falstaff's death can be accounted for from these manuals.

The mistaking of the "burning quotidian tertian" for a malapropism has already been mentioned. Falstaff's fumbling with the sheets derives ultimately from the *Prognostics*, whether direct or through Pliny. Lowe translated the relevant passage as follows: "When any Patient is sicke of the hote or burning Feuer . . . and seekes heere and there, about below and vpon the bed, threds and

<sup>12</sup> *The Englishmans Treasure, or Treasor for Englishmen* (1586), p. 92. See *H IV*, III. iii. *Fal*. Company, villainous company, hath been the spoile of me. *Bar*. Sir Iohn, you are so fretfull you cannot liue long.

<sup>13</sup> Translated by Peter Lowe in 1597 as an appendix to his *A Discourse of the whole art of Chyrurgerie*.

<sup>14</sup> Translated out of the French by T. Nicolls, 1550.

<sup>15</sup> Not translated entire into English till Creech's version of 1682.

<sup>16</sup> Translated out of the French by L. A. in 1565, and later by Philemon Holland in 1601. Scholars have already noted the parallel between Falstaff's death at the turning of the tide and Holland's translation in Chapter 98 of *The Historie of the World*: "Hereunto addeith *Aristotle* (for I would not omit willingly anything that I know) that no living creature dieth but in the reflux and ebbe of the sea". On this belief, see also Frazer: *The Golden Bough*, I, 167.

haire of the face, also feathers, or filth of the couerings, straw, rushes, and other things . . . the which are al mortall signes most commonly"<sup>17</sup> I.A., in his version of Pliny, comes a little closer: "The signes of death, are . . . to be busie in folding or doubling the clothes of his bedde with his handes".<sup>18</sup> The playing with flowers may have been suggested by the playing with straws and rushes in the same passage. Falstaff's smiling upon his fingers' ends was also a fatal symptom: "The signes of death, are to laugh in the furor and grieve of the maladie or sicknesse".<sup>19</sup> Perhaps the finger tips entered by association with the appearance of the finger nails when the stricken man was *in extremis*: "And if the Nailes be therewith liuide or leaden, one may prognosticate Death approaching".<sup>20</sup> The nose as sharp as a pen was equally well attested as foretelling the end: "the nose and nostrils are extenuated and sharpened" are Lowe's words.<sup>21</sup> The babbling was of course the delirium to be expected whenever an acute fever produced "an astonishment of the minde and uitall spirites".<sup>22</sup> The green fields too might be explained as a result of the plague. "The VIII signe", wrote Phaer, "is chaunging of the sight, for somtimes there cometh to the pacientes eies, as it were a yelow colour, somtimes all that he beholdeth he thinketh it to be grene" (Sig. N4<sup>r</sup>). This statement is virtually repeated by Brasbridge (Sig. C4<sup>v</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>), and a similar idea may also lie behind the phrase of Gilbert Skene: "Cruell inspectioun of the ene, quihilkis apperis of sindre colouris".<sup>23</sup> This same writer further noted: "Greit doloure of heid with heaunes, sollicitude and sadnes of mynd: greit displeour with sowning, quhairafter followis haistelic deth" ("a cryed out, God, God, God . . . the Deule would haue him"). As Thucydides had stated, "But the wooste that was in this was that men loste their harte, and hope incontynently, as thay feeld themself attained".<sup>24</sup> One passage in Lowe seems somewhat reminiscent of Falstaff's mistaking of a flea on Bardolph's nose for a black soul burning in hellfire: "When it seems to ye febricitant that there are flies and black things appeare before his eyes . . . thou mayest presage vomiting of yellow chollore. . . . And when there doe not appeare flies in the feuer with dolor of the head, nor black things corruscant and resplendent, or shining as lampes, and splendor, or britteness . . . he shall haue in place of vomiting, inflammation" (Sig. D3<sup>r</sup>). Dame Quickly's reference to Falstaff as being "rumatique" on his deathbed has been taken to be another of her malapropisms. However, considered in the light of the word's original meaning of an involuntary rheumy "defluxion" from the

<sup>17</sup> *Presages of Diuine Hippocrates* (1611), Sig. B 2<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> *A Summarie of the Antiquities, and wonders of the Worlde . . . etc.* (1565 (?)), Sig. C4<sup>v</sup>. Cf. Kellwaye, p. 16: "turning and playing with the clothes." Holland uses the phrase "a fumbling and pleiting of the bedclothes". In chapter 52: "Of suddaine deaths", he translates an episode about a man called Felix, "one of the carnation or flesh colour liverie". It is perhaps a coincidence that Falstaff never could abide carnation. Holland's translation came out in 1601. Dover Wilson also cites Lupton: *Thousand Notable Things* (1578), Bk. IX: "if he pull strawes, or the cloathes of his bedde".

<sup>19</sup> I. A., "Mankind".

<sup>20</sup> Lowe, Sig. B4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Sig. A4<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Kellwaye, p. 16: "the nose sharpe and growing as it were crooked"; and Lupton, Cap. IX: "if . . . his nose waxe sharpe".

<sup>22</sup> Kellwaye, p. 15.

<sup>23</sup> *Ane Breue Description of the Pest* (1568), Bannatyne Club reprint, 1860, p. 13.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Nicolls: *The hystory writtione by Thucydides the Athenyan* (1550), Sig. L 7<sup>r</sup>.

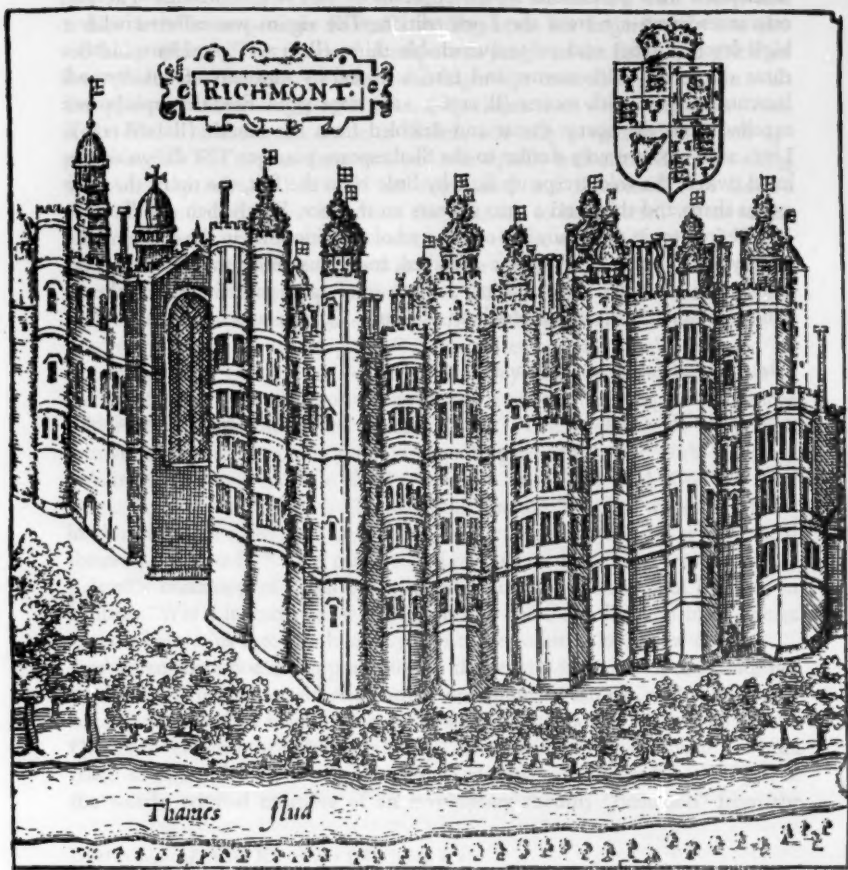
nose or mouth, it was a common concomitant of the plague ("filthy spittle" is how Lowe translates it in his *Presages*).<sup>25</sup>

Perhaps the clearest way to show the place of the death-scene of Falstaff in the tradition of the literature of the plague would be to compare Shakespeare's description with the famous section on death by plague in Lucretius. The line references given are from the Loeb edition. The victim was afflicted with a high fever (l. 1169) and an unquenchable thirst (ll. 1176-1177). His mind became disordered with sorrow and fear, attended by torments of anxiety and laments mingled with moans (ll. 1156-9, 1183, 1231-4). A fine, thin spittle was expelled from the hoarse throat and dribbled from the mouth (ll. 1188-1189). Lines 1190-1196 are very similar to the Shakespeare passage: The sinews of the hand twitch, the cold creeps up little by little from the feet, the tip of the nose grows sharp and thin, and a grin appears on the face. Death then ensues.

The interest in these parallels and the whole tradition lies in the consummate artistry with which Shakespeare absorbed and transmuted the grim medical details into a vivid dramatic scene, at once comic and pathetic. It is a sketch which illuminates the characters both of Dame Quickly and of Falstaff.

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<sup>25</sup> Sig. C 3<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Nicolls, Sig. L7<sup>r</sup>: "they auoyded by the mouthe, stynkyng and bitter humors".



Richmond Palace, from an inset in the map of Surrey in John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*. It was formerly called Sheen. Richmond, about 10 miles from London, was the seat of a royal palace from the time of Henry I. The original structure burned down in 1499 and was rebuilt by Henry VII. Both he and Elizabeth I died here.

The palace was partially demolished in the Commonwealth. See p. 596.

# "A Table of Green Fields"

## A Defense of the Folio Reading

EPHIM G. FOGEL



HE Hostess is telling the Boar's Head crew why she was sure that Falstaff was about to die: "for after I saw him fumble with the Sheets, and play with Flowers, and smile vpon his fingers end, I knew there was but one way: for his Nose was as sharpe as a Pen, and a Table of greene fields" (*Henry V*, II. iii. 14-18)<sup>1</sup>. By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the last phrase had become unintelligible. When Lewis Theobald changed it to "a' babled [or "babbled"] of green fields", many felt that he had disposed of the crux. Even the formidable Dr. Johnson, no lover of Theobald or of conjectural emendation, agreed that the change seemed "uncommonly happy."<sup>2</sup> "The most celebrated of all textual emendations", "the palmary emendation of all time"—such is the tenor of more recent acclaim.<sup>3</sup> Yet doubts as to the validity of Theobald's conjecture have been as persistent, if not as numerous, as the plaudits. Well-known scholars like Edmund Malone and C. J. Sisson have been numbered among the skeptics, and their objections to Theobald's revision, on paleographical and other grounds, have been cogent.<sup>4</sup> But the skeptics have almost always proposed another emendation as a substitute for Theobald's; moreover, they have usually ended by printing "'a babbled" in the text and by relegating their objections to the notes.

<sup>1</sup> Unless otherwise specified, quotations from Shakespeare's plays are from the Cornell University copy of the First Folio. Quarto variants (hereafter "Q") are cited from the Griggs-Practorius facsimiles.

<sup>2</sup> First suggested by Theobald in *Shakespeare Restored* (London, 1726), p. 138, "a' babled" was incorporated into the text of his edition of 1733 (IV, 30) and subsequently adopted by all 18th-century editors except Pope and Warburton. Johnson's acknowledgement of the conjecture—*The Plays and Poems of Shakespeare* (London, 1765), IV, 396, n. 9—is qualified insofar as his note is ironical at both Theobald's and Pope's expense. Theobald's discussion of 1726 gives credit to "a Gentleman sometime decess'd" who in his copy of Shakespeare had written "and a' talked of green Fields"—a reading which has since become the most frequently proposed alternative to "a' babbled".

<sup>3</sup> The first quotation is from the New Cambridge ed. of Shakespeare by William A. Neilson and Charles J. Hill (Boston and New York, 1942), p. 709, the second from Sir Ernest Barker's letter to the editor, *TLS*, April 13, 1956, p. 221.

<sup>4</sup> For some 18th-century objections, see the Malone-Boswell "Third Variorum" (London, 1821), XVII, 319-320. For more recent objections, see Henry Bradley, "Table of Green Fields", *The Academy*, XLV (April 21, 1894), 331; G. B. Harrison, ed. of Shakespeare (New York, 1952), p. 745; F. W. Bateson, in *Essays in Criticism*, V (1955), 92-95; Sisson, *New Readings in Shakespeare* (Cambridge, Eng., 1956), II, 59-60; and Leslie Hotson, "Falstaff's Death and Green-field's", *TLS*, April 6, 1956, p. 212. Theobald himself was the first to defend his "restoration" on paleographical grounds (ed. 1733, IV, 31): "The Conjectural Emendation I have given, is so near to the Traces of the Letters in the corrupted Text; that I have ventur'd to insert it as the genuine Reading." See also W. W. Greg, *Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare* (London, 1928), pp. 4, 30. The paleographical case against "a' babled" is set forth by Malone, ed. of Shakespeare (London, 1790), V, 492, n. 1; Alfred E. Thielton, *Notulae Criticae* (London, 1904), p. 14; and Sisson.

It seems evident that no mere emendation will supplant Theobald's, even if it is somewhat more probable than his. The critic may argue that the Elizabethan compositor would have derived "Table" more easily from "talkd" than from "babld"; he may protest that the Hostess nowhere else reveals a capacity for diction so precise, fresh, and unadorned as "a' babbled of green fields". But as long as he proposes still another emendation, he must finally yield to Theobald. All other conjectures involve at least as many changes in the folio text; none approaches Theobald's in its appeal to our sentiments, in its felicitous evocation of the green pastures of the twenty-third Psalm or the green meadows of Falstaff's youth. There is an alternative to emendation, however. If one can show that the original reading makes good sense in its context, then the burden of proof rests with anyone who would revise it. In his edition of Shakespeare, Theobald set himself the following aim: "His genuine Text is religiously adher'd to, and the numerous Faults and Blemishes, purely his own, are left as they were found. Nothing is alter'd, but what by the clearest Reasoning can be proved a Corruption of the true Text" (ed. 1733, I, xl). On the basis of this principle, Theobald himself would presumably hasten to withdraw "a' babbled" if it turned out to be superfluous.

A sound defense of the reading "his Nose was as sharpe as a Pen, and a Table of greene fields" must be based on a correct interpretation of "Table". Furthermore, the explication of the entire clause must be clear, and consistent with the rest of the Hostess' account. Malone pointed the way to the solution of the crux when he observed that a common Elizabethan meaning of "table" was "picture" or "tableau"; Leslie Hotson is to be commended for his recent stand in favor of the same meaning.<sup>5</sup> Unfortunately, however, both Malone and Mr. Hotson stumble when they try to explicate the rest of the clause. "Pen", Malone suggested, may mean "pinfold"; "the pointed stakes of which pinfolds are sometimes formed, were perhaps in the poet's thoughts"; the word *and*, finally, "may have been misprinted for *in* . . . and thus the passage will run—'—and his nose was as sharp as a pen *in* a table of green fields.'" But Malone seemed to be unsure of his rather unlikely interpretation, for he adopted Theobald's reading, stating that it was "preferable to any that has been yet proposed".

Dr. Hotson, for his part, discovers that the Hostess' phrase contains an allusion to the Elizabethan hero Sir Richard Grenville, who was often referred to as "Greenfield". The meaning then is that Falstaff's nose was as sharp as a pen and was a "spitten image" of Grenville's ("Greenfield's"). Moreover, Dr. Hotson continues, Grenville died at the Isle of Flores (also spelled "Floures" and "Flowers") in an "epic fight of One Against Fifty-Three". Hence, according to Dr. Hotson, when the Hostess says that she saw Falstaff "play with Flowers, and smile vpon his fingers end", the Elizabethan audience would sense a further comparison between fat Jack and Grenville:

As he speaks of Flores,<sup>6</sup> the dying Falstaff holds up one finger, for the Re-

<sup>5</sup> Malone added this note in his Dublin, 1794, edition, VIII, 396 (for additional comments on "table" as "picture," see V, 358); Hotson, "Falstaff's Death" (see previous note).

<sup>6</sup> Hotson observes that the quarto of 1600 has "and talk of floures", a reading that suits his argument better than the folio "and play with Flowers". But the 1600 text is a "bad" quarto—see Hereward T. Price, *The Text of Henry V* (Newcastle-under-Lyme, 1920), and W. W. Greg,



venge—*One Against Fifty-three*—and smiles upon it. . . . In his mind's eye Gadshill fight swells into another heroical Flores, with himself as Greenfield. . . .

It is doubtful that this new proposal will win many adherents.<sup>7</sup> To accept it, one must make a number of very far-fetched assumptions. Why, to choose but one example, should the Hostess compare Falstaff's *nose* to Sir Richard's? What has "Greenfield's" *nose* got to do with the matter?

The following defense of the folio reading seems to me to be straightforward, clear, and consistent with the various meanings in the passage as a whole.

1. "Table" here means "picture" (*Oxford English Dictionary*: "A board or other flat surface on which a picture is painted; hence, the picture itself"). There are vivid instances of Shakespeare's use of "table" in this sense:

Mine eye hath play'd the painter and hath steeld,  
Thy beauties forme in table of my heart,  
My body is the frame wherein ti's held,  
And perspective it is best Painters art.  
For through the Painter must you see his skill,  
To finde where your true Image pictur'd lies. . . .<sup>8</sup>

2. The phrase in which "Table" occurs has a simple ellipsis: "for his Nose was as sharpe as a Pen, and [it was] a Table of greene fields." Ellipsis of the subject and verb in the second of two conjunctive clauses is especially frequent in Shakespeare.<sup>9</sup>

It would have made for greater precision, of course, if the Hostess had supplied the ellipsis. But her grammar is no more precise than her diction or her religious allusions, and her account of Falstaff's death is a prize specimen of muddle in all three categories. "Nay sure, hee's not in Hell . . ." she begins; "a made a finer end [than is implied by that suggestion], and went away and it had bene any Christome Child." Johnson emended to "final end", Capell to "fine end", but emendation becomes unnecessary when one realizes that the Hostess is indulging in an incomplete comparison and that the reader is to understand some such phrase as has been added in brackets. Even in the speech of cultivated persons, ellipsis may create awkwardness or obscurity.<sup>10</sup> But in all

*The Shakespeare First Folio* (Oxford, 1955), pp. 282-283—and there are no grounds for the introduction of Q readings in passages where F is not manifestly corrupt.

<sup>7</sup> The publication of Hotson's article caused a flurry of discussion. So far, only Clarence Hotson is recorded in favor of his brother's argument (letter to J. Donald Adams, mentioned in "Speaking of Books", *New York Times Book Review*, May 27, 1956, p. 2; Leslie Hotson's thesis is also the subject of Adams' column of May 6). Dr. Hotson's views have been sharply disputed by Sir Ernest Barker, N. Young, and Oliffe Richmond (see *TLS*, letters to the editor in the issues of April 13, 20, 27, and May 4, 1956, pp. 221, 237, 253, and 269).

<sup>8</sup> Sonnet 24; I follow the text of the New Variorum edition by Hyder E. Rollins (Philadelphia and London, 1944), I, 69. For similar uses of "table", see *King John* II. i. 496-503, and *All's Well* I. i. 103-107.

<sup>9</sup> See E. A. Abbott, *A Shakespearian Grammar*, rev. ed. (London, 1884), pp. 281-285, 287-291; cf. also pp. 70-71, 164-167. "The Elizabethan authors", Abbott notes (p. 279), "objected to scarcely any ellipsis, provided the deficiency could be easily supplied from the context."

<sup>10</sup> For examples from the writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Lady Eastlake, Lady Jackson, and others, see William B. Hodgson, *Errors in the Use of English*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1882), pp. 149-152, 161. Or consider royal Malcolm's speech to Macduff:

fairness to the former Mistress Quickly, one must point out that the obscurity of her most celebrated utterance comes far less from its ellipsis than from modern unfamiliarity with an archaic meaning of "table" and with the medical lore which the Hostess is proudly displaying.<sup>11</sup>

3. The reading in question contains two tropes, then, a simile and a metaphor. Falstaff's nose, says Mistress Quickly, was (a) as sharp as a goose-quill and (b) a veritable image or picture ("table") of green fields—green as grassy meadows.<sup>12</sup> Shakespeare often uses "image" or "picture" in a figurative sense. We may cite examples similar to the present one from the beginning and the end of his dramatic career. Dromio of Syracuse refers to a sergeant in a leather jacket as "the picture of old Adam new apparel'd" (*Errors* IV. iii. 13-14), that is, like Adam after his expulsion from Paradise, when he clothed himself in the skins of animals. And Trinculo says that the tune played by the invisible Ariel is "plaid by the picture of No-body" (*Tempest* III. ii. 135). The use of "table" in a figurative sense follows readily from an analogy with the similar use of "picture".

The Hostess' metaphor is simpler and more commonplace than the dexterously witty metaphors of Dromio and Trinculo; indeed, it is eminently characteristic, as we shall shortly see. But first let us consider the medical implications of her trope.

Mistress Quickly is mentioning yet another unequivocal sign of imminent death—not only a sharp, pinched nose, but also a sickly-green complexion. These are the very symptoms that Hippocrates, Galen, and Tudor physicians regarded as the most dangerous signs in serious illness. Whatever its immediate source may be, the sketch of Falstaff's symptoms derives ultimately from Hippocrates' *Prognostic*, the opening sections of which summarize the signs of approaching death, the famous *facies Hippocratica*.<sup>13</sup> From various editions and translations

I am yong, but something  
You may discerne of him [Macbeth] through me, and wisdom  
To offer vp a weake, poore innocent Lambe  
T'appease an angry God. (IV. iii. 14-17)

Both of the two most widespread interpretations of the passage—Theobald's emendation of "discerne" to "deserve", and the more convincing view that the folio reading is correct—assume an abrupt and difficult ellipsis.

<sup>11</sup> An ellipsis between "and" and "Table" is taken for granted in the interpretations of Hotson (above), Rann (see n. 12, below), and Nicolaus Delius. (I have not seen Delius' edition; his awkward attempt to justify the folio reading is set forth by Henry Halford Vaughan, *New Readings and New Renderings of Shakespeare's Tragedies* [London, 1878-1886], II, 60.) But Delius fails to understand the meaning of "table", and Hotson, searching far and wide for curious topical allusions, overlooks the plain symptoms of death.

<sup>12</sup> While preparing the present article for publication, I found that Joseph Rann had apparently understood the crux in the same sense. Rann's eclectic text of Shakespeare (6 vols., Oxford, 1786-1794) silently incorporates the revisions of previous editors. Its brief notes, however, sometimes gloss several readings of a disputed passage, without identifying the source of the reading. Thus Rann prints (IV, 35) "and a' babbled of green fields", but has the following notes: "a' babbled"—he raved.—And a table of green fields;—and as green as grass." This unsupported but admirable gloss has been disregarded by all subsequent editors.

<sup>13</sup> The connection between Mistress Quickly's account and ancient and Elizabethan medical tradition has been recognized since the 18th century (see the "Third Variorum", XVII, 317-318); its ultimate indebtedness to Hippocrates has been specified by Francis Adams in his translation of *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates* (London, 1849), I, 236, n. 1. But since both Adams and John Charles Bucknill—*The Medical Knowledge of Shakespeare* (London, 1860), pp. 166-167—take "a' babbled of green fields" to be the true reading, they fail to connect the Hostess' summary of Falstaff's symptoms with Hippocrates' warnings about the patient's complexion.

of Hippocrates, more especially through Galen (who wrote a copious commentary on the *Prognostic*), and to a somewhat lesser extent through other writers (e.g., Lucretius, Pliny the Elder, and Celsus), the tradition of the *facies* was transmitted to Tudor physicians and became part of the common medical lore of Shakespeare's countrymen.<sup>14</sup> Now the *Prognostic* cites the following relevant signs of impending dissolution: plucking the nap of the bedclothes or picking at imaginary objects (Section 4; compare Mistress Quickly's "I saw him fumble with the Sheets, and play with Flowers"); delirium (*passim*); and cold extremities (Section 9). But the signs which are given the greatest prominence, being emphasized in Hippocrates' very first comments on the portents of death, are a sharp nose and a radical change in the patient's complexion. The physician, says Hippocrates,

should observe thus in acute diseases: first, the countenance of the patient, if it be like those of persons in health, and more so, if like itself, for this is the best of all; whereas the most opposite to it is the worst, such as the following: a sharp nose . . . the colour of the whole face being green, black, livid, or lead-coloured.<sup>15</sup>

Later in the same section, Hippocrates again warns that a dark countenance or a change in "the colour of the whole face" is to be reckoned among the "bad and fatal symptoms". At the end of the section, he states that if, along with some of the other symptoms, the eyelid, lip, or nose is "contracted, livid, or pale . . . one may know for certain that death is close at hand." Small wonder that the Hostess' account places such emphasis on the appearance of Falstaff's nose. When she saw that that feature, habitually inflamed by an intolerable deal of sack, had become both sharp as a goose-quill and sickly-green, she knew indeed that "there was but one way". We may observe, incidentally, that many emendations, including Theobald's, remove all reference to the dying Falstaff's altered complexion, that is to say, to one of the most familiar and impressive changes wrought by oncoming death.

There is of course an element of exaggeration in Mistress Quickly's "a Table of greene fields". A pale, sickly-sallow, or bilious complexion is not nearly as green as grass. On the other hand, when someone's face loses its normal ruddiness, it may indeed seem to turn green if its pallor is compared with pure white, for green is the complementary color to red. There is thus a physical basis for the fact that the English language, like the ancient Greek, freely uses "green"

<sup>14</sup> For the many Renaissance editions and Latin as well as vernacular translations of Hippocrates and Galen, see the *Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office* (Washington, 1880-1955), First Series, V, 242-245, VI, 246-249; Second Series, VI, 13-18, VII, 148-50; Third Series, V, 1014-1015, VI, 747. The *Prognostic* was first Englished ca. 1530 (see STC 13523) and again by Peter Lowe, *A Discourse of the Whole Art of Chyrurgerie. With the Presage of Hippocrates* (entered in the Stationers' Register as early as Feb. 16, 1597 [Arber, *Transcript*, III, 80]; the STC lists only the 2nd and 3rd eds., 1611 and 1634 [nos. 16870, 16871]). Galen's commentary on the *Prognostic* may be conveniently consulted in *Galen's Opera*, ed. Karl G. Kühn (Leipzig, 1821-1833), XVIII, pt. 2. See also Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, VI, 1190 ff.; Celsus, *De Medicina*, II, 6; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, VII, 50, 171. For Tudor and early Stuart discussions of the *facies*, see *The English Works of Sir Thomas More*, ed. W. E. Campbell, A. W. Reed, and R. W. Chambers (London and New York, 1931), I, 468; Thomas Lupton, *A Thousand Notable Things of Sundrie Sortes* (London, 1627 [1st ed., 1579]), pp. 38, 91, 157; and Thomas Lodge, *The Poore Mans Talents* (The Hunterian Club, 1882), pp. 73-74.

<sup>15</sup> Sec. 2, trans. Adams, *Genuine Works*, I, 235-236; Adams' italics.

as well as "pale" to describe the loss of normal color owing to passion, sickness, or death.<sup>16</sup> And with the same freedom, speakers of English sometimes strive for vividness by comparing a fearful or sick person's countenance with some familiar green object. In Lord Berners' translation of Froissart, for example, a fearful duke is said to grow "pale and grene as a lefe".<sup>17</sup> Similarly, the Hostess' metaphor makes the dying Falstaff's nose as green as grass.

This way of putting it is quite in keeping with her dramatic character. There is a good deal of commonplace exaggeration in Mistress Quickly's language, as indeed there is in the language of the ordinary gossip in all ages. In every scene in which Mistress Quickly appears, her speech is liberally adorned with trite universal affirmatives and negatives, with hackneyed comparisons and hyperboles. Not for her the splendidly imaginative exaggerations of a Hal or a Falstaff. Her characteristic utterance is as follows:

O rare [Q "O Iesu"], he doth it as like one of these harlotry Players, as euer I see. (1 Henry IV, II. iv. 436-437)

... he hath eaten me out of house and home. . . . (2 Henry IV, II. i. 80)

Sweet-heart [says Mistress Quickly to the tipsy Doll Tearsheet], me thinkes now you are in an excellent good temperalitie: your Pulsidge beates as extraordinaryly, as heart would desire; and your Colour (I warrant you) is as red as any Rose.<sup>18</sup>

"As ever I see", "as red as any rose"—phrases like these, seasoned with malapropisms, are the essence of the Quicklian idiom. Shakespeare has made the Hostess' account of Falstaff's last hours extraordinarily poignant without altering this idiom. Falstaff is in Arthur's bosom "if euer man went to *Arthurs Bosome*". Falstaff "could neuer abide Carnation, 'twas a Colour he neuer lik'd." So too the tropes which convey the unquestionably fatal character of Falstaff's symptoms are hyperbolic in a Quicklian manner. Falstaff's nose is not merely sharp, but as sharp as a pen; his feet are not merely cold, but as cold as any stone; and his color is not merely green, but the very picture of greenness, "a Table of greene fields".

Furthermore, the folio reading combines with other elements in the passage to bring to an ironical conclusion the motif of the drunkard's ruddy complexion, along with several other Falstaff-motifs. Insofar as the drunkard's floridity is an object of derision, Bardolph, with his "Lanterne in the Poope" (1 Henry IV, III. iii. 29), serves to draw that derision down upon himself and away from

<sup>16</sup> See the OED under *green*, *adj.*, 3; cf. Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, ll. 490-499, *Anelida*, l. 353, *Troilus* II. 60, IV. 1154, V. 243-245. In swift succession, Romeo refers to the moon as "sicke and pale", then "sicke and greene" (II. ii. 5, 8). Cf. also Lady Macbeth's taunt (I. vii. 35-37):

Was the hope drunke,

Wherein you drest your selfe? Hath it slept since?

And wakes it now to looke so greene, and pale. . . ?

For the Greek, see Liddell and Scott's lexicon under *χλωρός*, and note especially Galen's interesting discussions of the meaning of the word, *Opera*, ed. Kühn, XV, 554; XVII, pt. 1, 343; XVIII, pt. 2, 30-31.

<sup>17</sup> *Chronicles*, bk. II, ch. LXXX, ed. W. P. Ker. The Tudor Translations (London, 1902), IV, 448-449.

<sup>18</sup> 2 Henry IV, II. iv. 24-28. Before "sweetheart" Q has "Yfaith"; after "rose" it adds "in good truth law." Incidentally, the passage above affords another illustration of what Bucknill calls the Hostess' "medical propensities"; she "affects to nod" even in the technical language of the profession" (*Shakespeare's Medical Knowledge*, pp. 152, 165).

Falstaff, for Shakespeare does not wish to expose so rare a rogue as Jack to mere contempt. But old Jack's nose, although not a target of scorn and not so flaming as Bardolph's, is nevertheless appropriately illuminated. He himself refers to the power of drink to color his features. "Giue me a Cup of Sacke", he calls out, "to make mine eyes look redde, that it may be thought I haue wept" (1 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 423-425). In his panegyric on the beverage, he paradoxically associates sobriety and pious observation of meatless days with debility and a green complexion, but addiction to sack with health, valor, and a glowing countenance:

"There's neuer any of these demure Boyes come to any prooffe: for thinne Drinke doth so ouer-coole their blood, and making many Fish-Meales, that they fall into a kinde of Male Greene-sicknesse. . . . But your excellent sherry-sack", he continues, warms the blood, "and makes it course from the inwards, to the parts extremes: it illuminateth the Face, which (as a Beacon) giues warning to all the rest of this little Kingdome (Man) to Arme"

(2 *Henry IV*, IV. iii. 96-100, 110-117).

On Falstaff's deathbed, however, the circumstances and his point of view have changed. It is he, the "huge Bombard of Sacke" (1 *Henry IV*, II. iv. 497), who is now green, and he no longer deplors the consequences of thin potations. Quite the contrary: he cries out against sack and women, and the sight of a flea on Bardolph's great red nose—what a striking contrast, we can now see, with Falstaff's sharp green one!—reminds him, as he slips into the abyss of mortality, of a black soul burning in hell. The folio reading "a Table of greene fields" is fraught with a complex irony that is tough as well as poignant—unlike the touching but more sentimental images conjured up by Theobald's superfluous, though brilliant, "a' babbled of green fields".

A final observation on the account of Falstaff's death: in the folios of 1632, 1664, and 1685 there are two significant departures from the text of 1623 that seem to have escaped general notice in the long debate about the present crux.<sup>10</sup> "I felt to his knees", says the Hostess in F1, "and so vp-peer'd, and vpward"; F2 changes the last phrase to "up-war'd and upward"; F3 and F4 normalize to "upward and upward". A few lines later, Mistress Quickly apparently confuses "lunatic" and "rheumatic". F1 and F2 read, "but then hee was rumatique, and talk'd of the Whore of Babylon". F3 reads "rumatic", but F4 makes a more significant change to "rheumatic", which brings the orthography closer to medical usage and serves to clarify the Hostess' malapropism. The changes in both lines are evidently in the direction of greater intelligibility. On the other hand, except for such unimportant orthographical variations as F3,4 reading "green" in place of F1,2 "greene", the later folios make no change in the phrase "his Nose was as sharpe as a Pen, and a Table of greene fields". This differential treatment suggests, *prima facie*, that what has been a crux since the reign of George I was intelligible down through the reign of Charles II. But why, then, should it have become unintelligible a mere generation afterwards? Here the *Oxford English Dictionary* may enlighten us. The last illustration that it offers of the use of "table" in the sense of "picture" is from the year 1700. And the acute urge to emend the reading manifests itself only after that date.

<sup>10</sup> I cite from the Cornell University copies of the later folios (hereafter F2, F3, and F4).

If the arguments here set forth are valid, one can no longer maintain that "a Table of greene fields" is nonsensical and that emendation is the only recourse. On the other hand, this does not mean that Theobald's conjecture should pass into oblivion. Indeed, the editorial history of the passage makes such a result improbable. Since 1726, the readings "a table of green fields" and "a' babbled of green fields" have been inseparable. The latter has been printed in the text, while the former has been assigned to the notes, where it is usually accompanied by some remarks about its "unintelligibility" and by an encomium to Theobald's revision. The truth is that in the course of two hundred and thirty years it has become "almost blasphemous to question closely the most brilliant of emendations. . . ." <sup>20</sup> But all idolatry, whether of Shakespeare, Theobald, or anyone else, is unhealthy. A true critic will choose a different path. If it should be proved that Theobald's conjecture is wrong, writes W. K. Wimsatt, Jr., "There is no critic, so far as I know, certainly no school of critics, who would resist the restoration of Shakespeare's word." At the same time, continues Professor Wimsatt, "The critic is a person who would be prepared to argue that Theobald had done better than Shakespeare." <sup>21</sup>

This excellent formulation may suggest an appropriate procedure to future editors of *Henry V*. If they love "a' babbled of green fields" this side of idolatry, they will give it the recognition it deserves: they will reproduce it in their notes, where they may contend, if they please, that Theobald was in this instance a finer dramatist than Shakespeare. But if, in Theobald's own words, they cannot "by the clearest Reasoning" prove that there is "a Corruption of the true Text", and if they believe with Dr. Johnson that they should not disturb "the reading of the ancient books . . . for the sake of elegance, perspicuity, or mere improvement of the sense", <sup>22</sup> then they will print the following in their text: "I knew there was but one way: for his Nose was as sharpe as a Pen, and a Table of greene fields." <sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Sisson, *New Readings*, II, 59.

<sup>21</sup> "History and Criticism: A Problematic Relationship", *PMLA*, LXVI (February, 1951), 25-26; reprinted in *The Verbal Icon* (University of Kentucky Press, 1954), pp. 258-259. Professor Wimsatt assumes, for the sake of argument, that Shakespeare actually wrote "a' talked of green fields."

<sup>22</sup> "Preface to Shakespeare", in *Johnson on Shakespeare*, ed. Sir Walter Raleigh (Oxford, 1946), p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> Since I completed this article (July, 1956), the following discussions of the crux have come to my attention: Hilda M. Hulme, *N & Q*, N. S., III (1956), 283-287, *Essays in Criticism*, VI (1956), 117-119, and VII (1957), 222-223; Ernest Schanzer, John S. Tuckey, Peter Ure, and F. W. Bateson, *Essays in Criticism*, VI (1956), 119-121, 486-491, and VI (1957), 223-226; R. L. Eagle, *N & Q*, N. S., IV (1957), 240; letters to the editor of *TLS* by Robert Gittings, Leslie Hotson, E. M. W. Tillyard, J. C. Maxwell, N. Young, Roy Walker, Chalmers H. Davidson, A. L. Rowse, Hugh Ross Williamson, and E. G. Coulson, in the issues of May 9, 16, 23, 30, and June 6, 13, 20, 1958, pp. 255, 269, 283, 297, 313, 329, and 345. These spirited and frequently erudite comments represent a wide range of opinion for and against defenses of the folio reading (it should be remarked, as a supplement to n. 7, above, that Dr. Hotson has gained a second supporter in Mr. Gittings) and various emendations. None of them, however, seems to me to call for a revision of the present argument.



# Hamlet, Antonio's Revenge and the Ur-Hamlet

JOHN HARRINGTON SMITH, LOIS D. PIZER,  
AND EDWARD K. KAUFMAN

**D**ESPITE its striking parallels with *Hamlet*, Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* appears to have fallen into neglect of late, and even the *Ur-Hamlet* would seem to have lost something of the regard in which scholars formerly held it as a prime source for Shakespeare's play. Thus Professor Robert A. Law, in "Belleforest, Shakespeare, and Kyd" (*Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, 1948), does not even mention Marston, and finds that *Hamlet* could readily have been produced by Shakespeare from Belleforest alone even had no earlier play on the subject existed. (But since an earlier play did exist, and Professor Law admits that Shakespeare must have got the Ghost from it, then why not other features of *Hamlet* as well?) As for *Antonio's Revenge*, it would seem that a good deal of attention ought to be paid to a play in which a Ghost appears to a son, tells him that he was poisoned, and exhorts him to revenge;<sup>1</sup> the son has an opportunity to stab the villain in the back but desists, with intention to gain a more complete revenge later (I, 102), and the hero, his mother, and the Ghost meet in a closet scene (I, 107-108). How are these and the other similarities to *Hamlet* to be accounted for? Did Shakespeare write after Marston's work had appeared, as a number of scholars, perhaps a majority, have envisaged the case?<sup>2</sup> Or did *Hamlet* come first, so that it was Shakespeare who was "responsible for the revival of interest in the tragedy of revenge,"<sup>3</sup> with Marston "merely the grating gramophone of Shakespearian phrase and thought"?<sup>4</sup> Everyone who has dealt with the problem seems to have assumed that there must have been borrowing in the case one way or the other; and prejudice would seem sometimes to have helped dictate the choice.<sup>5</sup> No one

<sup>1</sup> *The Plays of John Marston*, ed. H. Harvey Wood (Edinburgh, 1934-9), I, 99.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. A. H. Thorndike, "Hamlet and Contemporary Revenge Plays", *PMLA*, XVII (1902), 125-220; E. E. Stoll, "Shakspeare, Marston, and the Malcontent Type", *MP*, III (1905-6), 281-303; Friedrich Radebrecht, *Shakespeares Abhängigkeit von John Marston, Neue anglistische Arbeiten*, III (Cöthen, 1918). E. A. J. Honigman, in "The Date of *Hamlet*", *Shakespeare Survey* 9 (1956), p. 30, dates *Antonio's Revenge* 1599 (though he concedes that this date is "not a certainty") and has it preceding Shakespeare's play.

<sup>3</sup> Donald J. McGinn, "A New Date for Antonio's Revenge", *PMLA*, LIII (1938), 137.

<sup>4</sup> W. J. Lawrence, "The Date of *Hamlet*", *TLS*, 8 April 1926, p. 263.

<sup>5</sup> Thus McGinn places the composition of Marston's play "fairly late in the winter of 1600-01", yet assumes that by that time Marston "had already seen Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, which probably had appeared in a more or less complete form by the opening weeks of 1601." This seems to allow very little time for borrowing; if the time differential was no more than this, one would think Marston could have been let off. Professor Fredson T. Bowers, in *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy* (Princeton, 1940) has *Antonio's Revenge* "produced in 1599" and describes it as "a patchwork from *Hamlet*" and other plays, but does not state when, in his view, *Hamlet* would have come to the stage.

seems to have thought it possible that the dramatists might have written independently of each other, in which case the duplication of motifs would have to be ascribed to their use of the old *Hamlet* as a common source.

Despite the pitfalls inherent in the undertaking, we should like to have another try at the problems presented by these three plays—Shakespeare's, Marston's, and the *Ur-Hamlet*.<sup>6</sup> Of great importance, of course, are the dates for *Hamlet* and *Antonio's Revenge*, which as lately as 1939 Marston's modern editor Mr. Wood regarded as "yet unsettled" (III, xxiii).

# I

Mr. E. A. J. Honigman, in his recent attempt to establish the date for Shakespeare's play, prefers "late 1599 to early 1600" (p. 33). But both his procedure and result seem to call for some remarks.

1. He takes the reference to Essex in Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia—"The Earle of Essex much commendes . . ." (a phrase in the same passage with a remark on *Hamlet*)—as implying that when Harvey wrote the passage Essex was still alive, and therefore implying for *Hamlet* a date before February 1601, when the Earl had shuffled off this mortal coil. But setting aside the seemingly insolvable question whether, in writing "Essex commendes", Harvey was speaking in the actual or the historical present tense, the reference to *Hamlet*—"The younger sort takes much delight in Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis: but his Lucrece, and his tragedy of Hamlet . . . have it in them, to please the wiser sort. Or such poets: or better: or none"—certainly seems to imply a play capable of being read, available in print. If so, Harvey cannot have penned the passage before 1603, and consequently it can have nothing to say as to when *Hamlet* appeared on the stage. We indeed believe that the play antedated the Earl's demise, but insist that no support for dating it can be found in the Harvey marginalia.

2. Mr. Honigman (p. 30) follows W. J. Lawrence in reading Hamlet's reference to the "inhibition" of the adult players (II. ii. 346) as an allusion to a Privy Council order of 22 June 1600. If the line is to be so read, does it not point to this date as an earlier terminus for *Hamlet* (or at least the last three acts of it) and consequently to completion and production some months later?—unless Mr. Honigman takes the line to have been added after the play was first completed—which as we read him (p. 29) he does not seem to do, but rather the contrary.

3. He does not perceive the importance, chronologically, of a passage in *Satiromastix* which, some years ago, Professor Bowers identified as a backward reference to *Hamlet* on the stage.<sup>7</sup> It occurs in V. ii. Tucca enters, followed by

<sup>6</sup> Relying on the findings of G. I. Duthie in *The Bad Quarto of Hamlet* (Cambridge, 1941), we should like to assume that it is necessary to reckon with, essentially, only one *Hamlet* by Shakespeare (that variously represented by Q<sub>2</sub> and F<sub>1</sub>, Q<sub>1</sub> being a memorial reconstruction of it) and that *Fratricide Punished* depends on Shakespeare's play to such an extent as to justify our neglecting it in the present paper.

<sup>7</sup> Fredson Bowers, "The Pictures in *Hamlet* III. iv: A Possible Contemporary Reference", *SQ*, III (1952), 280-281. In the article Prof. Bowers claims to have established only "the strong possibility" that the Dekker-Marston play "borrowed a sensational episode from Shakespeare", but we regard his demonstration as conclusive. However, he made no attempt to apply the discovery to the dating of *Hamlet*.

his boy "with two pictures under his cloake". One of these, it proves, is a portrait of the true Horace, the other of the counterfeit Horace in the play (Jonson); and when the time is ripe, Tucça produces them, shows them to the impostor, and delivers a stinging disquisition on the difference between the two faces thus set against each other. Dekker and Marston must have got the idea for this from the closet scene in *Hamlet* ("Look here, upon this picture, and on this"); and as they could not have expected audiences to savor the allusion unless the original had become familiar, it seems permissible to think of Shakespeare's play as having been for at least some months on the stage when *Satiromastix* was composed.

If Shakespeare wrote all (or, at any rate, most) of his play after 22 June 1600, and it had become established as a stage piece by the time Dekker and Marston got their heads together on their answer to Jonson in the late spring or early summer of 1601, then (splitting the difference) a reasonable date for the première of *Hamlet* would be late 1600 or early 1601.

As for *Antonio's Revenge*: 1599, the date usually assigned to it, is demonstrably incorrect. It is a sequel to *Antonio and Mellida*; the two parts were entered as one (24 October 1601) and printed together in 1602. However, it seems clear that as regards composition they were separated by an appreciable time, for in the Induction to the first part the author announces plans for a sequel that were far from being carried out in the second part as written. *Antonio's Revenge* has, moreover, a prologue in which the arrival of winter is alluded to.<sup>8</sup> The question is, which winter: 1599-1600, or 1600-1601?

The date of *Revenge* depends in part upon the date for *Mellida*, itself most uncertainly located in time.<sup>9</sup> Marston dated it 1599 in V.i, in a dialogue between the comic courtier Balurdo and a painter who as samples of his work shows Balurdo two portraits, one inscribed "Anno Domini 1599," the other "Etatis suae 24". In the days when the only evidence bearing on Marston's age was the record of his matriculation at Brazenose College, Oxford (4 February 1592, "act s—16"), the inscriptions on the portraits appeared to present no difficulties; and E. K. Chambers could write,

As he must have completed his twenty-fourth year by 3 Feb. 1600 at latest, Part i was probably produced in 1599. The prologue of Part ii speaks of winter as replacing summer, and probably Part i is to be dated in the summer, and Part ii in the early winter of 1599.<sup>10</sup>

It should be noted, however, that these assignments of date depended on Chambers' taking the Brazenose record to mean that the dramatist was sixteen years old as we use the term today (that is, had reached or passed his sixteenth birthday) when he entered the University.

Then in 1927 Mr. R. E. Brettle announced a christening date for Marston of 7 October 1576,<sup>11</sup> implying a birthdate of about 1 October of that year. This has

<sup>8</sup> "The rawish danke of clumzie winter ramps/ The fluent summers vaine . . .", Wood, I, 69.

<sup>9</sup> E.g., in the Herford and Simpson *Jonson* (Oxford, 1925-50), IX, 396, "*Antonio and Mellida*, produced in 1599, probably in the summer"; *ibid.*, 408, "the first part of *Antonio and Mellida*, perhaps acted in 1600."

<sup>10</sup> *The Elizabethan Stage*, III, 429-430.

<sup>11</sup> *MLR*, XXII, 318-319.

been taken as throwing the inscriptions on the portraits out of agreement.<sup>12</sup> Not so! It merely made clear that in both the Brazenose record and the inscription, "aetatis suae" with a number with it meant, not "when Marston was sixteen, twenty-four years old", but "when he was in the sixteenth, twenty-fourth year of his age", that is, in the year prior to his attaining his sixteenth, twenty-fourth birthday. This narrows the date for the play considerably. It cannot be ascribed to the summer of 1599, for it would not be until 1 October at the earliest that Marston could speak of himself as "aetatis suae 24". Hence it must be later: so there is the winter of 1599-1600 already pre-empted by *Mellida*, with the sequel play as yet only dimly projected.<sup>13</sup>

That *Antonio's Revenge* cannot be fitted into this winter is made more likely in that *Jack Drum's Entertainment*<sup>14</sup> seems to have been on the stage in the late spring of 1600.<sup>15</sup> The reference in it to "the new poet Mellidus"<sup>16</sup> must be Marston's self-advertising reference to himself as the author of *Mellida*. It would seem he could scarcely have written *Mellida*, *Revenge*, and *Jack Drum* between 1 October 1599 and the spring of 1600; and against this order, in any case, would be the disparity between the sequel to *Mellida* as promised and the sequel as written, and the change from summer to winter in the prologue to *Revenge*. Thus one comes perforce to the order, *Mellida*, *Jack Drum*, *Revenge*, which would have Marston at work on *Revenge* in the summer of 1600, with production in the winter following.

Thus a reasonable date for the première of *Antonio's Revenge* would be late 1600 or early 1601—precisely that arrived at, above, for *Hamlet*. Marston and Shakespeare thus must have been writing during the same period (summer, fall, of 1600), neither able to see what the other was doing, each with an eye on the old Hamlet play.<sup>17</sup> If so, they can have got their similar materials only from that

<sup>12</sup> McGinn deduced from the new date for Marston's birth that he "would have become twenty-four years of age not earlier than the fall of 1600", that this conflicted with the date on the other portrait—1599—and thus that the inscriptions could furnish "little or no biographical information."

<sup>13</sup> In assigning a date in the winter of 1599-1600 to *Mellida* one has to cope with only one fact, puzzling at first sight: that the scene which has the inscribed portraits, V. i, also has a line in which Balurdo asks the painter whether he can paint a belch. This is patently a hit at the third passage of *Spanish Tragedy* Additions, in which Hieronymo asks the Painter, "Canst paint a doleful cry?" and Henslowe's first payment for the Additions was not made to Jonson until 21 September 1601. The date assigned to *Mellida* must stand, however—the line lampooning Jonson must simply be a later addition to the text. Indeed the whole Balurdo-painter dialogue was probably added later, but this does not shake the testimony of the inscriptions on the portraits, for whenever Marston wrote the scene he would of course know when the play was first composed, and in what year of his age.

<sup>14</sup> Scholars have sometimes been hesitant to receive *Jack Drum* as Marston's, but it is presently accepted—and ought to be—as entirely by him. See R. E. Brettell in *Oxford University Abstracts of Dissertations* I (1928), 21, and in *RES*, XI (1935), 223.

<sup>15</sup> S. R. 8 September 1600: and an earlier limit, as F. G. Fleay seems to have been the first to notice, is furnished by the reference (Wood, III, 182) to "Kemp's Morice", that actor's marathon dance from London to Norwich in the spring of that year. It is referred to as of recent occurrence; and spring is the time in the play. "'Tis Whitson-tyde, and we must frolick it", says one of the characters.

<sup>16</sup> Wood, III, 221.

<sup>17</sup> Marston had made brief (and, we think, facetious) use of the old play a year earlier, in a scene in *Mellida*. This is the one in which the hero, who has been frequenting his prospective father-in-law's court disguised as an Amazon, gets Mellida alone, melodramatically asks her to look at a non-existent apparition, and then, with her attention thus misdirected, pulls off his disguise, so that when she looks at him again he is revealed in his own identity. As printed by Wood (I, 28-29) the passage preserves misassignments of speeches from the copy; but with the corrections suggested by J. le Gay Brereton in *Englische Studien*, XXXIII (1904), 225, it becomes

common source; and consequently, wherever their plays agree, one may suppose that some feature of that source is thereby shadowed, however dimly.

## II

Not that we propose to attempt an elaborate reconstruction of the *Ur-Hamlet*. Such creations in the past have proved to be only as valid as their postulates; the more elaborate, it would seem, the less convincing they have been; and none would appear to have gained general acceptance. Nor have we, in the present paper, offered adequate grounds on which to bring Belleforest's history (if indeed Shakespeare used it) or Kyd's dramaturgy in *The Spanish Tragedy* into such a synthesis.<sup>18</sup> Some conjectures as to the old play, however, would seem permissible.

As of course would be to be expected since the authors worked independently, the things they took from the source shifted position or diverged in the attendant circumstances. Even when the parallels between *Hamlet* and *Revenge* are quite striking, the settings in which they are found may be quite different. "I have a thing sits here", says Antonio, striking his breast (90).<sup>19</sup> "I have that within which passeth show", says Hamlet. But Antonio is speaking to his friends, Hamlet to Gertrude. Antonio forbears to take a favorable opportunity to kill the villain (102), but the latter, though in a church, is not at his prayers at the time. Antonio reacts indignantly to the claim of another character in the play, comparably bereaved, to be "the miserablest sowle that breathes", and insists that he, Antonio, is "most miserable, most unmatched in woe" (121). But the contention does not take place at the heroine's grave. Ghostly groans are heard from the cellarage at various points in Marston's play (102, 104); and later Antonio and other conspirators "wreath their armes" and swear to accomplish the revenge. But no close parallel to the swearing scene in *Hamlet* appears. In both plays the heroine dies off-stage, and her death is pathetically reported by the hero's mother; also in both, the incident happens to occur in Act IV. But the circumstances differ considerably. Still, it would seem certain that all these elements were in the *Ur-Hamlet*, though whether in this or that case Shakespeare or Marston more closely preserves the original it would seem difficult or even fruitless to guess.

It is possible that in permitting the Ghost to appear to the hero's mother in the closet scene Marston adheres to the source the more closely, for the Ghost's reproach to her, "Disloyal to our Hymniall rites" (107), goes beyond the facts of the situation (she has not made a second marriage) and consequently the line could be one absentmindedly retained by Marston from the old play.<sup>20</sup> Some-

evidently a reflection of some scene in the old play on Hamlet involving the Ghost, the hero, and a female character, who, being unable to see what he sees, is concerned for his sanity.

<sup>18</sup> Kyd would seem the logical man to have written the *Ur-Hamlet*—unless someone else wrote it first, and thereby taught Kyd how to write. His authorship has sometimes been questioned, most recently by Mr. Honigman, who (*MLR*, XLIX, 298-300) theorizes that the early Hamlet play was probably written by Shakespeare (he does not say whether before or after *The Spanish Tragedy*). But in any case the question of authorship is of no importance for the present paper.

<sup>19</sup> P. 90 in Wood, vol. I. From this point we shall give *loci* in *Antonio's Revenge* by such parenthesized numbers. References to *Hamlet* (the standard text) perhaps may be permitted to go unlocated.

<sup>20</sup> Two other cases of what seems unconscious reminiscence of the old drama may be noted in *Revenge*. The villain hurls "incestuous" (80) at the dead friend of the hero for alleged relations

thing approximating the tenderness which the older Hamlet's Ghost displays toward Gertrude must have been in the source, for the Ghost in Marston, after a stern beginning, softens—

Go to, calme thy feares.  
I pardon thee, poore soule. O shed no teares,  
Thy sexe is weake. (107)

But the Ghost in Shakespeare is more considerate still, in electing to spare Gertrude the shock and strain of the sight of him.

The fact that in Marston's scene the Ghost exhorts the mother to "joyne with my sonne, to bend up straind revenge" (107) and that she does so, lulling the villain's suspicions by leading him to believe that she favors his suit, and joining with Antonio and the other avengers in the scene in which the revenge is consummated, appears to us to indicate that the old play ended happily. Seemingly without exception, previous students have inferred from what is the case in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, and *Fatricide Punished* that the *Ur-Hamlet* ended with the death of the hero. In *Antonio's Revenge*, in contrast, Antonio and his fellows take the villain's life without losing their own. This ending has been taken as due to Senecan influence.<sup>21</sup> But the upshot of the revenge action in the old history was fortunate; why may not this feature have been preserved in the first play on the theme? That a promise by the Queen to assist in the revenge appears in Q1 of *Hamlet* (sigs. G3, G3<sup>v</sup>; also implied, H2<sup>v</sup>) does not impugn this possibility, but rather assists it, for Mr. Duthie (pp. 204-206) has shown that this motif must have got into the Q1 text by way of the reporter's memory of the old play. Some support, also, may be adduced from the ending of Chettle's *Hoffman*. There, as in Marston's ending, the Duchess lures the villain into a trap in which the avengers torture and kill him and emerge triumphant, assured that their duty has been well done. Did Marston and Chettle draw independently on the old Hamlet play? Unfortunately *Hoffman* seems to have been written late enough to admit the possibility that the model for the ending was *Antonio's Revenge*.<sup>22</sup>

If the death of the hero at the end was original with Shakespeare, this was a most important change indeed. But we shall not insist much on it, having already done, perhaps, enough insisting for this time.

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with Mellida; the epithet does not apply. Then there is the reason which Antonio gives for adopting his disguise (he has had his death reported, donned motley, and re-entered the court as a jester attendant on his mother): "When will the Duke hold feed Intelligence . . . To dogge a fooles act?" (109). This line does not quite make sense, for the disguise is a total masking of identity intended to take in the villain completely and leave him no reason to have the hero watched. But it would of course make sense in terms of the antic disposition put on by the hero in the Hamlet story. No doubt it was feigned madness, not disguise as a jester, in the *Ur-Hamlet*.

<sup>21</sup> Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy*, p. 124; see also E. E. Stoll, *John Webster* (Boston, 1905), pp. 95-96.

<sup>22</sup> The earliest record of *Hoffman* is dated 29 December 1602, when Henslowe made a payment of five shillings on the play. The smallness of the amount suggests that it was not finished but only under way at that date.



# Reputation, Oft Lost Without Deserving . . .

MARVIN ROSENBERG



El libel poor Thomas Bowdler, dead these hundred years, when we make his name stand for the first and worst in the censorship of Shakespeare. He was neither. He does not deserve our ugly "bowdlerize", suggesting a monstrous old-maidism, a prurient delight in hunting down literature's "indelicacies" for their own sake. Let us do him justice.

It was not even Bowdler's idea to publish the expurgated *Family Edition* that brought him so much infamy. According to a family memoir<sup>1</sup> the first, smaller edition (20 plays), which appeared without an editor's name, was done by an unidentified near relative. Bowdler took over the work because he believed, though sometimes reluctantly, that this "refining" of Shakespeare simply had to be done—to protect the purity of British womanhood from contamination by indecent language.

How foolish it sounds now; but in Bowdler's day, society agreed that many of Shakespeare's words were simply too potent to be trusted with a lady. They had a raw, assaulting maleness safe only in the company of men—if there. (How this happened to a nation whose women once openly delighted in the lustiness of Chaucer, the Elizabethans and Restoration comedy makes interesting speculation for the historian and the psychologist.) Of course Victorians of all classes often ignored this—and their other—professed conventions; a society with rigid taboos always has a less inhibited subculture, and an unwritten vocabulary that deals frankly with the forbidden. Our own has. But to Bowdler, as to many of the Brahmins of his time, the tyranny of words was absolute. It was a hard fact that Shakespeare was soiled with rapacious indecencies.

Still, Bowdler wanted Shakespeare widely read:

The transcendent beauties ought to be accessible to every person who possesses a single spark of poetic taste. . . . [But] . . . I assert, that although the writings of Shakespeare possess greater merit than those of any other dramatist, they are, nevertheless, stained with words and expressions of so indecent a nature, that no parent would chuse to submit them, in an uncorrected form, to the eye or ear of a daughter.<sup>2</sup>

So Bowdler completed the *Family Edition*, and offered England a Shakespeare that "a father could read aloud to his children, a brother to his sister, or a gentleman to a lady." This was important; reading aloud was a basic form of social activity in that primitive pre-movies-radio-television era. Parents commonly read to

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of the Life of John Bowdler* (London, 1824), p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Bowdler, *A Letter to the Editor of the British Critic* (London, 1823), pp. 12-13.

families of an evening; the illiterate joined tea clubs, where they heard novels by the chapter; even in the sweatshops a girl would be told off to read to her fellows at work. *Gentlemen read to ladies*—think of that! Bowdler provided a Shakespeare that a decent British female could listen to without being despoiled.

It was an honorable purpose, but of course honorable purposes are not enough. If Bowdler had twisted Shakespeare's plot lines to make the plays morally palatable; or if he had translated profound passages into simpler, baser language for the sake of baby comprehension; or if he had so slashed out indecencies in the plays that the central fabrics were torn and unrecognizable, his good intentions would have been worth nothing; he would have been paving the highway to an artistic hell. There was a great temptation to do this in Bowdler's generation, and others succumbed to it; Bowdler did his best not to.

Now I do not apologize for the least of Bowdler's expurgations. Censorship is always a dangerous social act; where it involves the pruning of Shakespeare's language, it is artistically dangerous as well, for the playwright frequently used profanity and sexual allusion to strengthen character and mood, and to intensify action, and these suffer when the language is meddled with. But censors, it seems, we have always with us. Late in Shakespeare's own lifetime a ban on stage profanity forced changes in the language he had already written, and limited his freedom to use it in his last plays. After the Restoration, and through the 18th century, a growing middle-class sensitivity to what was "vulgar" and "indecent" wore away at his frank language until, long before Bowdler's time, the plays were already extensively cleaned up. British literature generally was "Victorian" years before Victoria was crowned and gave her name to a repressive way of life; and Bowdler's expurgation came only after many years of other Shakespeare bowdlerizations—I use the word only until I propose a better one in a moment—that were generally *much worse* than his.

These earlier butcheries were editions of the plays as acted on the London stages. These "theatre" versions were for the public, and not only for actors and others in the profession, as might be supposed. Thus Bell's Shakespeare of 1773-4, the first of the collected theatre versions, was the most popular edition of Shakespeare up to that time.<sup>3</sup> Eight hundred sets were sold the first week—an impressive record then. The plays in Bell's edition were also available separately, as were literally dozens of other theatre editions in the late 18th century. They were printed in the hacked-up acting form to please a large public that wanted to read only those parts of the play "decent" enough to be spoken in the theatre.

But as much as a third of Shakespeare was lost in these strenuously censored versions, much more than Bowdler was willing to yield. His *Family Edition* gave Victorians their Shakespeare nearly entire, and they were happy to have it. The edition went into many printings, and was generally well received both by the people of his era—even Swinburne was to praise it—and by the press. The one paper that hit at it hard enough to provoke a reply, *The British Critic*, attacked, on principle, all editors who changed a single word, even for sense, in the original text, and it put Bowdler in good company: "They have purged and castrated Shakespeare, tattooed and beplaistered him, and cauterized and phlebotomized him . . . Here ran Johnson's dagger through, 'see what a rent an en-

<sup>3</sup> William Jaggard, *Shakespeare Bibliography* (Stratford, 1911), p. 504.

vious Pope has made', and 'here the well beloved Bowdler stabbed. . . !'<sup>4</sup>

Bowdler was shocked. He decided the reviewer must know Shakespeare only through the "theatre . . . where [the plays] are never performed without being . . . more or less cleared of indecency . . .", for he " . . . paid but little attention to some words in the original which are so indecent, that if the Reviewer should dare to read them aloud in the company of virtuous women, he would be (or he would deserve to be) immediately ordered to quit the apartment" (p. 15).

Bowdler adds:

I have been told, that at the first performance of the lately-revived play of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," some indelicate words of Lance, respecting his dog, were very properly marked with the disapprobation of the audience, and omitted at the second representation of the play. This surely was very proper; yet these words, though much better omitted, were far less objectionable than the [sexual] speeches which I have mentioned.

(Pp. 16-17)

Hence his guiding axiom, preserved in capitals:

IF ANY WORD OR EXPRESSION IS OF SUCH A NATURE, THAT THE FIRST IMPRESSION WHICH IT EXCITES IS AN IMPRESSION OF OBSCENITY, THAT WORD OUGHT NOT TO BE SPOKEN, OR WRITTEN, OR PRINTED: AND IF PRINTED, IT OUGHT TO BE ERASED.

It was not simple vulgarity that bothered Bowdler, but a deep-lying sexual guilt. To protect womanhood from seduction by language, he wanted to edit out not only " . . . words which are in themselves indecent, but those which, though naturally innocent, are rendered otherwise by the context. No word can be more harmless than the short words *to do*; yet in the mouths of Pandarus and Cressida these words are unfit to be repeated.

[*Cress.* . . . you naughty, mocking uncle!

You bring me to do—and then you flout me, too.

*Pan.* To do what? To do what? let her say what:

what have I brought you to do?]

I observe in one pretty edition of Shakespeare . . . the reader is informed in a note, that the words *to do* are to be understood in a wanton sense. If this be true, and I think that no person who reads the passage can possibly doubt it, I assert, that . . . it would be better to omit them, than to explain them." Bowdler did not want to "blot his pages" with many examples, but he warned parents against such speeches as Hamlet's in the mousetrap scene, and that remarkably bawdy English lesson the French princess gets in *Henry V*, if they valued "the purity of their daughter's mind." A modern psychologist would find much food for thought in Bowdler's still harping on his daughter, in his anxiety to protect her from sexual allusions that would be meaningless unless she already understood them. It is a tribute to the frightful potency of words that Bowdler's proudest claim was, "I have rendered these invaluable plays fit for the perusal of our virtuous females."

<sup>4</sup> Bowdler, pp. 6-7.

This was Bowdler at his protective worst, the complete child of his culture. Still, he could rise above it when he had to; his fear of the assaulting power of language could not destroy his fidelity to his author's art. He was able to convince himself, usually, that the indelicacies he deleted were superfluous "excrescences . . . one might almost be led to consider them as interpolations, as if the wretched taste of the age had compelled Shakespeare, after he had finished those beautiful plays, to write something of a ludicrous cast . . ." (p. 22). If this was rationalization, weightier critics than Bowdler shared it. The mighty *Edinburgh Review* declared, "It has in general been found easy to extirpate the offensive expressions . . . without any visible scar . . . in the composition—the work generally appears more natural and harmonious without them."<sup>8</sup> But Bowdler himself could not always swallow this. His honesty and his genuine appreciation of Shakespeare's greatness stopped him from practising the censorship he preached. He recognized cases where the plays could not be "refined" and keep their integrity. For his courage here we can look more kindly at his other work.

His severest test came with *Othello*. The adultery and sexual jealousy with which the play deals carried echoes of all the guilty thoughts that underlay the Victorian taboo system—yet the rich, erotic imagery was essential to the play's tragic atmosphere. *Othello* has a prostitute, a wife cynical about fidelity, and a bedroom scene. If the playwright had deliberately set out to shock poor Bowdler's sensitivity, he could hardly have done better.

And yet while the censor in Bowdler was affronted, the man recognized the greatness of the play, and yielded to it. He wrote in his preface to the play: "This tragedy is justly considered as one of the noblest efforts of dramatic genius that has appeared in any age or in any language; but the subject is unfortunately little suited to family reading. The arguments which are urged, and the facts which are adduced, as proofs of adultery, are necessarily of such a nature as cannot be expressed in terms of perfect delicacy; yet neither the argument nor the facts can be omitted . . ."

So Bowdler tried only lightly to clean up the play's surface; he protected the core.

From the multitude of indecent expressions which abound in the speeches of the inferior characters, I have endeavored to clear the play; but I cannot erase all the bitter terms of reproach and execration with which the transports of jealousy and revenge are expressed by the Moor, without altering his character, losing sight of the horror of those passions, and, in fact, destroying the tragedy. I find myself, therefore, reduced to the alternative of either departing from the principle on which this publication is undertaken, or materially injuring a most invaluable exertion of the genius of Shakespeare. I have adopted the former alternative . . .

Compare the stage version of *Othello* with Bowdler's. At this time many British publishers were publishing, and the two royal theatres were playing, the John Philip Kemble cutting of the tragedy. A full third of the original had been slashed away. Some deletions were made because *Othello* was too long for the fashionable playing time; but the depth and character of the cutting can only be explained by the social dread of certain words and ideas. Most of the dele-

<sup>8</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, No. 71, p. 53.

tions in the first two acts are from Iago's sensual talk to Roderigo, and from his ribald language on the Cyprus quay and later, as he gets Cassio drunk. Act III loses the clown and his rowdy puns and, at the end, the scene between Cassio and his wench Bianca. Bianca, poor hussy, had long ago been considered an intolerable indecency in the theatre, and had been altogether banished from the staged play 50 years before Bowdler's work.

What the stage did to the first three acts is as nothing to the butchery of Act IV, where Othello's fevered imagination is most inflamed by Iago's erotic allusions. A full half of the long crucial first scene is erased. This dispenses with Othello's growing torment, the fit that follows, the byplay between Cassio and Iago, and Cassio's overheard talk about the handkerchief with Bianca. Finally, this great chop removes one of the most poignant moments in the tragedy, when Othello recalls Desdemona's sweet loveliness, and wavers in his murderous purpose. All this goes; and at the end of the act, only a severed stump remains of the haunting scene where Emilia helps prepare Desdemona for bed. All of Emilia's earthy talk on married life is cut; and we lose with it the touching moment when Desdemona murmurs the Willow Song, and weeps. This rape of the play is completed in the fifth act with various small cuts, including, of course, the lines of Bianca.

It would seem that even the sternest 19th-century Puritan might have been satisfied with this truncated stage *Othello* of Kemble's; and yet *The Monthly Mirror* wrote of it in 1808: "... as it is at present altered for the stage, we contend that it can never be played without committing such a violence on the modesty and decency of the house as is altogether intolerable."<sup>6</sup>

Against this background, we can appreciate what Bowdler did—and did not do. He left the basic structure of the play untouched, only took out a line here and there, and changed a few words that were more than he could bear. Could we expect him to read without blushing Iago's taunts to Brabantio about the old black ram tugging his white ewe, and the two-backed beast? Images of this kind must have struck the repressed imagination of his time like an electric shock. Where Bowdler could, he kept the sense, but blurred the image: the beast figure became "your daughter and the Moor are now together." The ram was obliterated—as it had been on the stage. In two cases, to weaken Shakespeare's imagery Bowdler used language more explicit than the playwright's; thus, where Iago, in soliloquies, voices his suspicion that Othello has "done my office", and "leaped into my seat", Bowdler has, "in my bed has done me wrong", and "hath wrong'd me in my bed". Some taboo words bore by themselves images that were intolerable to Bowdler; thus, from Othello's phrase, "lest her body and beauty unprovide my mind", the offending "body" is removed. He cut briefly in the temptation scene: "I have reduced two lines and a half to two, in a speech of Iago, (In the third scene of the third act,) which begins 'And may, but,' etc. Perhaps some persons may blame me for omitting so much; but I think that even the British Critic, if he were to retain the half line, could not object to the substitution of the word 'crime' in the place of the last word of the speech [Would you, the supervisor behold her topped], a word which, whether it be written in the old or in the modern way, (both are to be found in various edi-

<sup>6</sup> *Monthly Mirror*, N.S., 111, January 1808, p. 51.

tions,) is equally impossible to be pronounced in the company of virtuous women." Even here Bowdler deserves some credit; the sentence he ends in "crime" had been stricken entirely from the earlier *Family Edition*. He dared to restore the sense of it, as he restored a few other lines previously cut.

True to his principles, Bowdler hounded out, too, the simple words that were sinister in context. Thus, Iago tantalizes Othello with the thought that the lovers would hardly allow him to "see them bolster". Bowdler observes that "bolster . . . is as innocent a word as any in our language . . . but so employed as to assume a meaning so grossly improper that no gentleman could venture to read it to a lady" (p. 20). Bowdler substituted "to see their guilt."

Inevitably, in this kind of censorship, the poetry of the play sometimes suffered; and thus "the bawdy wind that kisses all it meets" becomes merely, "the very wind". But Bowdler did no more of this than he thought he had to do; again and again he kept what the theatre threw away, e.g., the Act II scene, where Desdemona comes to the Cyprus riot flushed from bed, and is led back to it by Othello. Bianca is preserved with her full part. The hot fourth act is refined a little, but only a little. Words like "naked", of course, must be removed, and a few others; but the nature of the images that torment Othello to the point of his trance is unmistakable. The moment in which his mind keeps wandering back to the loveliness of Desdemona is preserved. So is the Willow Song scene; Bowdler omits from the ballad itself only the couplet with "If I court more women you'll couch with more men." Emilia's earthy talk is reduced only by a few words and a couple of sentences, including her gag: "Nor I neither by this heavenly light. I might do it as well in the dark." In the fifth act hardly a word is changed. The characters go to their doom in Shakespeare's language.

Bowdler might have done much, much worse for his readers; and to see how much, consider the crime committed on the play by another 19th-century censor, the Reverend James Plumptre. Some years before Bowdler's *Family Edition*, Plumptre published a savagely refined version of 18th-century plays titled *The English Drama Purified*. Besides his fashionable fear of the sight and sound of words that suggested physical love and physical function, and his fastidious aversion to language of violence, Plumptre was also infected by a Rymer-like passion for poetic justice. He liked the kind of happy ending Tate had grafted onto *Lear*. Plumptre wanted to do at least as much for *Othello*.<sup>7</sup>

He wrote in preface: "The object, in the following alteration of *Othello*, has been to do away with the prodigality of death . . . and to clear injured virtue in preserving the life of Desdemona, and, with that, the life of Othello, and to expose and punish the villainy of Iago. . . . It seems surprising that it did not occur . . . to any other manager or author . . . to give a happy termination to the play."

Plumptre was not content with merely bettering the plot line; he generously offered to improve Shakespeare's characterization, too. "Another object has been to soften some of the less amiable features of Othello's character, his concern with his own disgrace at the supposed infidelity of his wife, more than for the sin which she is laying upon her soul. . . . It seemed desirable, too, to make Emilia's character less doubtful, and to save her life likewise."

The resulting playscript has all the worst excesses of the gutted theatre ver-

<sup>7</sup> His mutilation, never published, resides in an interleaved edition in the Boston Public Library.



sions, plus much of Plumpтре's own mortal verse. Bianca and the clown are of course out, with all the other major and minor stage cuts. The fourth act is dismembered as usual. The Willow Song is lifted bodily from this act, and put into a new context in the fifth act. This opens on Desdemona in her bedchamber and with another character Shakespeare never dreamed of seeing there, a maid, Barbara. Plumpтре has Desdemona say:

I pray thee, Barbara, stay with me yet.  
I feel unwillingness to go to bed.  
I will but in my night clothes lay me down,  
Until Othello comes. You have a song  
Of Willow; an old thing it is; tonight  
That song will not go from my mind.

Barbara explains, in Plumpтре's weak lines, that her sister used to sing it when her love prov'd false. Urged by Desdemona, she begins to sing a Plumpтре ballad. The changes from the original emphasize the baseness of what the editor has added. Thus, the original:

The fresh streams ran by her, and murmured her moans,  
The salt tears fell from her, and softened the stones . . .

becomes, in Plumpтре:

The cold streams ran by her, her eyes wept apace,  
The salt tears fell from her, which drowned her face.

The song goes on in Plumpтре's vein for many lines more, and ends

Farewell, O false-hearted: plaints end with my breath!  
Thou loaths't me, I love thee, Tho' cause of my death!

But by the time it gets this far, Desdemona is in bed, asleep—or at least she is pretending to be, so Barbara will stop. Barbara goes. The fifth act then proceeds pretty much as in the stage version, until Othello first strangles Desdemona. He does not try to administer the *coup de grace*; and when Emilia enters Desdemona gives herself away by moaning. There are large cuts in the moving poetry of this scene, as Plumpтре rushes it to climax. Iago comes in; but instead of wounding his wife, he is stabbed by Othello. Emilia revives Desdemona, and cries

My mistress' fame is clear'd: her innocence  
Is pure and spotless as the driven snow.

Othello. O my much injur'd, dearest Desdemona,  
How can I dare to look thee in the face,  
How hope forgiveness ever can be mine?

How, indeed, with these lines?

Desdemona, now fully recovered, leaps across the stage, and they embrace. She says

The storm is over-past—The sky is clear.  
And heavenly sunshine is again our own.

Plumpтре now garbles Othello's last speeches, joining four lines beginning "Here

is my journey's end", with a dozen of those that follow the final "Soft you, a word or two before you go." However, when Othello gets to the final, tragic "Set you down this—" instead of going on to the suicide planned for him by Shakespeare, he finds himself interrupted by his wife—a rather ominous sign, too, for the poor man, who will surely spend the rest of his life repenting under the thumb of this amazingly resilient woman who can spring up from a strangulation to finish his speeches for him. Where, indeed, can this poor Othello go now? What a parody of the tragedy, as the triumphant Desdemona brings down the curtain with these lines to Lodovico:

Say thou, moreover, when, unto the state,  
Thou shalt, with heavy heart, these deeds relate,  
With Desdemona all is clear and bright—  
Iago was the black—Othello white.

This is Plumptre's *Othello*. Surely his kind of work earns itself a special title in the language of literature. If we need a word to describe prudish, Philistine assaults on great writing, would it not be fairer to give Bowdler back his patronym, and make a new word from the name of this literary Jack the Ripper? I propose: "*plumprization*".

Can we read Plumptre's rape of the noble play, or read the butchered theatre versions, and not feel a little kindly toward Bowdler, with his limited "refinements", and his careful preservation of the basic character of the tragedy? True, when Bowdler finished his editing of *Othello*, he wrote uneasily, "... if ... it shall still be thought that this inimitable tragedy is not sufficiently correct for family reading, I would advise the transferring it from the parlour to the cabinet, where the perusal will not only delight the poetic taste, but convey useful and important instruction to the heart and the understanding of the reader." Perhaps Bowdler would not dare to risk his own daughter's virtue with the passionate language of Shakespeare that he saved; but the play is there, in his edition, along with all the others, for those who did dare. Probably Bowdler's edition assured the Victorian family circle the oral reading of a good deal more Shakespeare than is provided in these enlightened days by most parents. Certainly it offered more Shakespeare than adolescents get today from some of the *plumprized* versions of the plays used in school, or on radio and television.

I like to think of Bowdler, after his labors, sitting in the midst of his family, and reading from his edition the most nearly authentic Shakespeare virtuous females were then likely to hear. I like to think of him too, after the reading of one of the comedies in the parlor, withdrawing, as was his male privilege, to his study to enjoy privately the *Othello*—even if perhaps he first hid it inside the covers of a larger book, lest his wife pop suddenly in. After the best fashion he knew, Bowdler was faithful to his author.

*University of California, Berkeley*

The Shakespeare Season  
at  
The Old Vic, 1957-58  
and  
Stratford-upon-Avon, 1958

M. ST. CLARE BYRNE



HE program was again a full one: eight plays at the Old Vic, five at Stratford, and the transfer of Stratford's *Tempest* to Drury Lane for a seven weeks' season at Christmas—fourteen productions in all. Selection being essential, I have tried to avoid making it invidious by concentrating on the plays likely to be of most interest to American readers—*Pericles*, for its rarity; the two *Hamlets*, because I think that Stratford's was the most important event of the year; *Henry VIII*, with Dame Edith Evans and Sir John Gielgud; the two *Twelfth Nights*, because in both I felt nothing was gained and something essential lost by the endeavor to "do something different"; and *Much Ado*, because it was even more different and the reverse was true. I have not attempted to review Margaret Webster's production of *Measure for Measure* (Old Vic, 19 Nov. '57; decor and costumes, Barry Kay) because her work is well known to American playgoers. I will only say that her sympathetic, vigorous and forthright handling of this "un-favorite" play won praise from all the critics, who made it very clear that they welcomed with genuine pleasure the opportunity to confirm "over here" the reputation she has already won "over there". Philip Hope-Wallace in *Time and Tide* spoke of her as "the best Shakespeare producer I have encountered for ages" and considered she brought out "the best individual acting we have seen for some time at the Old Vic", like most of his colleagues singling out Derek Godfrey's Lucio and Paul Daneman's Pompey for special praise.

"In my end is my beginning". Last year's chronicle finished abruptly with a notice of the first night of *The Tempest*; the thread is picked up again with the last night but two at Drury Lane, not simply because everyone felt that destiny was paying a debt long overdue in bringing Sir John Gielgud in Shakespeare to the boards trodden by Garrick, Siddons and Kean, but because it again brought home to me personally the inadequacy of first night reviewing for these Shakespearian performances. The production had come together, minor blemishes had been put right, so that the whole was infinitely more satisfying; and at the heart of the play, what had before been Sir John's original, profound and intellectually and technically remarkable performance, became

absolute and flawlessly realized—the definitive Prospero. He is now at the very height of his powers. The range and magnificence of his voice and his perfect diction are without parallel in our theatre for the speaking of Shakespeare's verse, and they have never been more incomparably displayed. On the first night his conception was crystal clear, but the full expressive range one knew him to possess was not being called upon: there was a dominant harshness, a lack of gentleness. The voice was not yet achieving all its characteristic modulations and the matching of strength and sweetness. But at Drury Lane, as during the Stratford run, the full orchestration was achieved, and heart and mind and voice, in threefold harmony, "made up full consort to th'Angelike symphony". And never before, in the theatre, have I been made more conscious, through the actor's power of direct, passionate projection, of the fiercely vital and whole-hearted Elizabethan absorption in study and in science that we recognize in a Bacon or a Raleigh but fail to imagine seriously in the nature of a Prospero or a Hamlet.

At Drury Lane, the Miranda of Miss Doreen Aris was wholly transformed. Freed from her sarong and unkempt dark hair, dressed in a simple, flowing, pale-green gown that restored grace and freedom to her movements, with lightish golden-brown hair hanging loose and straight and making the right frame for her sensitive features, all the coltish awkwardness and bounce had been shed, and her performance had flowered into a quiet innocent beauty, its young dignity in tune with Prospero's. Caliban, overshadowed on the first night by Stephano and Trinculo, came right into the picture: Alec Clunes had fully adjusted the balance of the trio without in any way diminishing the drollery of the two clowns. And whether because I was much more favorably placed in the larger house, or whether because subtleties of lighting had been introduced later on, Ariel was visually more aery, almost to the point of an illusion of transparency at moments. His edges were fuzzy with light, like some being drawn by Fuseli or Blake, and the way in which he was made to look insubstantial while Prospero looked contrastingly solid when they were in close juxtaposition was very remarkable. I still found the scene operatic and bleak: for me it lacked magic, sufficing as a background without pleasing; but I found I could hear the "*musique concrète*" on this second occasion, and the masque had been much improved, the three goddesses, now complete with Juno's car and gorgeous with peacock's tail, making a braver show.

In commenting upon *Henry VI*, telescoped into two plays, at the Old Vic, (Pts. I and II, 16 Oct. 1957: Pt. III, 17 Oct.), it is impossible not to be influenced to some extent by recollections of the famous 1953 production, when the Birmingham Repertory Theatre presented the entire trilogy, and astonished and delighted the Old Vic audience with its stageworthiness. Detailed comparisons would be unfair, because originally it came to London, having played itself in on the home ground, with the young company at the top of its form, individually and as a team; but when all allowances had been made, no doubt remained that it was much more effective as three plays, and would be more effective still if *Richard III* were allowed to conclude the story. Nor do I think it was merely personal taste which made me prefer the simple permanent set of three Gothic arches, used by the Birmingham company, to this vaguer setting, apparently made over from last year's *Richard III*.

There were many fine pictorial moments, some admirably sinister effects with cross lighting, Mr. Seale's skilful and fluent grouping, and fine fifteenth-century costumes (Leslie Hurry). As in the Birmingham production, the King's soliloquy at Towton was beautifully done, by Paul Daneman, and the scenes with the fathers and sons who have unwittingly slain each other came over very movingly indeed. As in the Birmingham production, where the performance of Edgar Wreford as Gloucester left one longing to see him attempt Richard III, so this time Derek Godfrey made one hope that somebody will soon give him this particular opportunity.

*A Midsummer Night's Dream* ran for six weeks at Christmas (23 Dec. 1957) and a very delightful production it was, playing to capacity at every performance. Frankie Howerd, the music-hall and pantomime star, as Bottom, made his debut in Shakespeare as happily and as naturally as if he had never played anything but "the legit" in his life—a real honest comedian who, as *The Times* critic wrote, "gave us the poet in Bottom as only a comedian with poetry in him could have given it". There was no overplaying of the "base mechanicals", with the excuse of Christmas and young audiences. Michael Benthall had balanced his production as gracefully as the author intended; the lovers, the fairies and Bottom and his crew all had, and took, their chances fairly, with the result that the play came over as a satisfying whole. The scene (James Bailey) was basically simple, and could not have been prettier; Corinthian pillars, magnificent swags and drapes, transparencies and gauzes, a wood of blueish-mauve and silver, changing to a silver-green, two trees, one central drooping branch, sparkling stars in the sky, a Charles Kean moon, and some of the best moonlit-night lighting that I have ever seen on any stage. Mr. Bailey's male costumes were handsomely *à la Romaine*, the ladies' Græco-Victorian and very charming, suiting to perfection both Coral Browne as a richly romantic, beautiful, statuesque Helena and Rosemary Webster's fluttering Hermia. Helena nowadays goes to an actress with a real sense of comedy and becomes one of the most delightful features in the play, and Miss Browne gave us one of the best I have ever seen. Similarly, the lovers as a group have come into their own in our more recent revivals, and they were so entertaining and effective this time that one distinguished critic accused them of "stealing the middle of the play".

Douglas Seale's direction of *King Lear* (19 Feb. 1958; decor and costumes, Leslie Hurry) had certain features which made the production as good as any I have seen. The permanent setting was the best and most practicable we have had since Komisarjevsky's steps and cyclorama; and its central, stepped rostrum, with sweeping elliptical ramps, was admirably functional for the producer's menacing, encircling movements with soldiers and attendants. For once, *Lear's* knights made a brave show: Mr. Seale knows how to crowd his stage, if required, without using more than ten men. It was objected at the time that there was no hovel. Personally I have more often been disturbed by that hovel than by the lack of it, and would trade it any day for Mr. Hurry's mysterious, grey-green, rocky background, towering up out of sight on all sides, which yielded most varied effects under the skilful lighting. I thought it one of the best designs he has done: set and costumes were quite unusually good to look at—so good, in fact, that the ravishing and elegant gowns worn

by Coral Browne as Goneril, superb in red, and Barbara Jefford as Regan in green and gold, would have graced any modern *salon*. The colors were strong and clear—extremely fine both in group and individual effects. Whether this civilized savagery, evoking thoughts of *haute couture*, is quite the thing for *Lear* is obviously the starting point for a profitable argument between the Stonehenge-Druidical school and those of us who gave up our pre-1914, monolithic, visual imaginings longer ago than we care to recall. I have been all for normal Jacobean, and was more than confirmed in my predilection by Professor C. J. Sisson's brilliant Northcliffe lecture, in which he revealed the basic and almost incredibly literal topicality of the play. But space forbids the coursing of this particular hare. Mr. Seale has a fine grip on dramatic structure. I have never known the line of the play and the shape of the plot more clearly conveyed. Visually, the opening was new and brilliant; the direction throughout was vigorous; individuals like Oswald and Curan made much more impact than usual; there was good work from Coral Browne, Barbara Jefford, Derek Francis as Gloucester, Jack Gwillim as a most sympathetic Kent, Paul Daneman as the Fool, and Rosemary Webster as Cordelia. It had moving passages, but the whole left me singularly unmoved, because Lear himself is not yet within the scope of Paul Rogers, whose performance cannot sustain comparison with at least four living actors, all still in their prime, who have played it during the last twenty-five years. Mr. Rogers' line, at present, is character; but in spite of this, and of a remarkable make-up, he never for a moment convinced me that he was an old man, nor such an unworldly-wise man as Lear is. There was no reason at all why he should have handed over his kingdom to his daughters, and Lear's passionate heart was not there to be broken.

The season and the Folio plan finished up with a red-letter night, a great acting occasion. Normally very much of a producer's play, *Henry VIII* and its production were inevitably overshadowed by, though in no way sacrificed to, Dame Edith Evans as Queen Katharine, and Sir John Gielgud as Wolsey. There was some of the usual critical disparagement of the play—quite unjustified with a text as good and as full as this was; and those who run down modern production methods would do well to compare Guthrie's 1949 text and this of Michael Benthall's with the versions used by Kemble or Irving or Tree, if they want to see what can be said in defence of the present day. Mr. Benthall's followed Guthrie's pretty closely. What was particularly satisfactory was to see the trial scene again carried through to its proper conclusion, with Henry's long speech justifying his actions (ll. 153-207) kept almost in its entirety, instead of being cut, as in the older stage versions, from l. 170 to l. 220.

Harry Andrews was an excellent Henry VIII, and like Anthony Quayle at Stratford in 1949 played him at the right age, young enough to look more attractive than he does in the Holbeins, the popular, hearty, burly young monarch with an aging queen. Mr. Andrews' resemblance in profile to the British Museum's Hans Schwartz leaden medal of the King was quite uncanny. Rosalind Atkinson once again was admirable as the Old Lady. I shall really miss her if anyone tries to produce this play without her. Derek Francis gave a beautiful account of the epitaph on the great cardinal; and Margaret Courtenay, with next to no words at her disposal, made a most sympathetic and convincing Patience, lovely to behold and admirably Tudor. What



a sense of style this actress has for the wearing of period costume! I never expect to hear Cranmer's concluding oration more movingly spoken. It was kept almost in its entirety, including the prophecy of the continuation of the succession in James I, which was cut in 1949. It was most satisfactory that David Dodimead should have had this fine opportunity to fulfill so amply his promise of being far and away the best speaker of blank verse among last year's new-comers to the old Vic. He held the house spell-bound.

Dame Edith and Sir John were both superb. For perfection of diction they are admittedly unrivalled, but it is not every play that makes us so conscious of this mastery. There is no easy emotional flow in the verse, none of the sensuous word-music that can intoxicate both speaker and listener. What they both gave us, however, was a purer relish of the words, a subtler melody, a more austere beauty. Structurally and in characterization, and therefore in its verse, this play is reaching out towards a form more modern and realistic than the drama of its time. The working playwrights of the early 17th century who used verse as the acceptable medium—as inevitable as prose with us, until lately—were concerned with exploiting the possibilities of blank verse for the actor and with the modifications of a literary form necessary for good stage speech. The charge of degeneration brought against much of it by literary criticism is meaningless, in the dramatic context, if what the play substance requires is closer approximation to the conversational note, where so-called "poetic" weakness can in fact mean idiomatic strength. A passage like the Queen's description of Wolsey ("His own opinion was his law") is admirable stage speech. Theatrically naturalistic, it is dramatically (i. e. with reference to character and situation) expressive in its stubborn, prosaic, bitten-off movement. We know well what these two players can do with the greatest "poetic" passages and the arias and threnodies of Shakespeare's blank verse. They have all the gold and silver and jewelled magnificence of the world of great rhetoric (in its proper sense) at their command. But this was a different kind of challenge, met with complete understanding of the author's intention, and neither of them yielded a syllable to lyric or romantic temptation. All was true, like the play—true as steel, "steel-true, blade-straight".

Both gave us, in their big scenes, that perfect crystallization of mood and experience which conveys the whole life and meaning of a personality, the authentic being. I do not know whether Dame Edith, by her exquisite art, took me back with her through four centuries or brought Queen Katharine among us as if she were living now—which is as much as to say, she both particularized and universalized, as only the greatest acting can do. The authenticity, the absolute truth, simplicity, naturalness and restraint, the clear, cool, royal quality of every tone and inflection, the control of every shadow of emotion, had that perfection which makes one swear, as one watches and listens, that she does not "act" at all—she simply is. For its dignity, its beauty and its intuitive sureness of the deeply-moving actuality of the author's conception, this performance of Queen Katharine, who Mrs. Siddons and Dr. Johnson agreed was "the most natural" of Shakespeare's characters, must rank as nobly as anything Dame Edith has ever done.

The play makes Wolsey's part a pretty thankless one whenever he confronts Queen Katharine, and if I plead guilty to paying next to no attention

even to Sir John while Dame Edith was on the stage I have a strong suspicion that this was precisely what Sir John intended. Equally, however, no one and nothing else existed for me while Sir John, in a matter of minutes, lived through the life and downfall of Cardinal Wolsey even as in Prospero's expository speeches he had made us live through with him the actual experience he was recounting. If anyone were to ask me, What, in fact, did he *do*? I believe I should say that he simply stood still and *spoke*, and that such is now his mastery of the spoken word that this is all he needs to do. The sheer intensity of passionate imagining ravaged, and aged and purged the man as one watched; but it was the actual speaking of the words, not physical action, that projected this human experience so that it was emotionally as well as intellectually apprehended, "felt in the blood and felt along the heart". The immense energy of the conception was wholly canalized into the words, as it was in the storm scenes of his Lear in the later weeks of the run at Stratford in 1950, and as it was in his Prospero in the noble invocation when he abjures his magic. It is strange to reflect that William Archer, in his endeavor to cultivate our appreciation of the pregnant silences of our modern drama, should have written commiseratingly, "On the bare Elizabethan stage people had to unpack their heart with words . . . Shakespeare had to fall back upon words"; and pleasanter to realize, on an occasion like this, that we have not forgotten how to listen, and to accept this enlargement of our individual apprehension of the full intensity of this passionate experience of Being, when it is thus made articulate and communicable by words as spoken by two great players.

I did not see the first night of the Old Vic's *Hamlet* (18 Sept. 1957; decor and costumes, Audrey Cruddas), but I obviously saw the same kind of performance as the regular critics. Nobody, apparently, reviewed it again when it came back into the repertoire after the six weeks continuous run of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and it is clear that the critics were no more aware at the time than I was that what we had seen was not really "John Neville's Hamlet" at all. Having expected a fine first attempt from this serious—one might almost say dedicated—young actor, and having been sadly disappointed, I wrote originally that much of his performance was "lifeless and lacking in the substance and depth which he will one day bring to the part"; which I now learn, six months later, was true in a very different sense from that intended. I was describing a very sick young man, on the verge of a serious poisoned tonsils operation, who ought not to have been playing any role at all, let alone Hamlet's, with its tremendous demands upon voice and vitality. In the circumstances it is hardly surprising that I thought his voice, which really has the right qualities, "frequently monotonous and almost mechanical, and lacking in the necessary emotional force, the genuine passion and persuasive music". I quote because this unfortunately reflects the tone of most of the remarks which now make up the written record, and though true they are irrelevant. Quieter and more naturalistic passages went well; he was excellent with Yorick's skull, and at the end of the closet scene; and the gentle, almost caressing, pleading note at the beginning of the nunnery scene was genuinely moving. But no one can play Hamlet without his own voice and all the vitality he possesses, plus something more. I hope I shall one day see his real Hamlet. I understand that his performance had a fine reception in Paris.

In looking around for some explanation of this then-unaccountable failure to move me, except momentarily, my guess was—having seen two of his previous *Hamlet* productions—that this is not really Michael Benthall's play, and that there had, consequently, been nothing in the direction to touch off that extended sensitivity which sparks from great sympathy of approach between actor and producer. I have never felt that Mr. Benthall gets the play's real movement. He seems to confuse clarity of line with speed, in action and speech, as if the only clear dramatic line is the straight one which rises steadily; and he is prepared to go for this line by "logical" alterations or simplifications which are not borne out by the text and also interfere with the presentation of Hamlet's character. This production has been praised for the transposing of "To be or not to be" from the position of fourth soliloquy, to third, taking with it the nunnery scene.<sup>1</sup> I am more than doubtful about the wisdom of following the scene order of the First Quarto here, though I can well believe that this is how the play may originally have been acted (but not, *therefore*, constructed). *Hamlet* does not drive ahead like *Macbeth* or *Othello*: it is a play which needs space as well as speed, expansion as well as progression—a movement like the waves of an incoming tide, which fall back after each surge forward and spread more widely the next time. The scenic order upon which the Second Quarto and the Folio agree makes this the characteristic movement of the play as a whole, and the tension thus created is subtler and more dramatic, with its alternations of depression and exaltation, inertia and energy. The Elizabethans knew all about the manic-depressive pattern, even if they called it something else, and that is the corresponding mental temperature chart.

As I see this pattern, the "rogue and peasant slave" soliloquy is the manic energy which can plan action and is naturally released by the breaking-in of normality with the arrival of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern and then the players. But in the interim between the acting and the first motion, as Brutus knew, the state of man suffers the nature of an insurrection; and for Hamlet there is an interim of a day and a half and a night before his plan can be put into execution, so that, inevitably, the depressive phase is upon him as he waits, and wonders, in "To be or not to be", if there is any point in taking arms against his sea of troubles. The suspiciously obvious and easy theatrical clarification which huddles the Ophelia plot and its acting into one, and destroys any sense of real time-lapse between Hamlet's plan and the acting of it, is less naturalistic and is also destructive of what the two more substantial texts establish as the characteristic movement of the action. It is the very essence of Hamlet's nature that he questions everything with his intelligence, and we lose the effect of shock and strain upon such a nature if we forego the alterations of energy and inertia, advance and recoil, for the sake of undeviating plot progress. I have no authority for imagining that Mr. Neville did not agree with his director in this transposition of the soliloquies which so pleased some of the critics, but I felt at the time as if a simplified intellectual concept of the play and the character were being imposed from without and had left them both

<sup>1</sup> Which means that as in Q1 the Ophelia decoy plot instead of being followed by the fish-monger scene, Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, the arrival of the players, Hamlet's plot, and the "rogue and peasant slave" soliloquy, is followed at once by "To be or not to be" and then realized in action.

too neat and too whittled down to move me as I have often been moved by less technically adept productions.

The dispersal of the Court after the play scene was as bad as any I can recall. Everyone flew out and even the chandelier flew up! This exit is one of the outstanding instances where theatrical tradition, plus the modern craze for balletizing crowds in Shakespearian crises—influenced, perhaps, in this and other cases, by Gordon Craig's superb but misleading design—betrays producers into theatrical statements at variance not only with any kind of "reality" but with the author's dramatic intention, so that plot-statement is sacrificed for momentary excitement. These carefully-patterned crowd stampedes remind me of nothing so much as the well-known print of the fire at the masked ball at Covent Garden in 1856. As Mr. Benthall has gone back to Q1 for the cue for shifting the fourth soliloquy to third place, it is not unfair to remind him that *Fratricide Punished* may be genuinely illuminating for this exit. Polonius-Corambus, as Chamberlain, gives the instructions proper to his position; "Pages, lackeys, light the torches. The King wishes to leave", which is the signal for a royal exit similar to the entry. The effect is not a question of theatrical taste but of dramatic structure. The statement of a stampede, led by the King, is "Fly at once! All is discovered!", and the impression left on the audience is that now everybody knows Claudius murdered his brother; whereas what has actually happened is that the insults about second marriages and the threat implicit in the attempt by a nephew on an uncle's life have convinced the Court that Hamlet is a dangerous lunatic. The dramatic irony of the situation is that the crisis which resolves all Hamlet's doubts puts him at the same moment, for the first time, in his uncle's power. Claudius can move against him, immediately and effectively, with the support of public opinion. A hurried but still formal retirement, with marked cold-shouldering of the Prince, is the dramatic comment needed; the other is, as we say, melodrama.

Mr. Benthall's 1948 *Hamlet* was costumed in the crinolines and uniforms, frock coats and trousers, of the eighteen-fifties. The costumes of the present production have been variously described as "put back some fifty years", "early Victorian" and "about 1848". The effect, actually, is pure Ruritanian, like Guthrie's famous 1938 modern dress "entirety"—one the best of many possible solutions, as it comes as near to being timeless as any known style can. It is good to look at, smart by modern standards, picturesque yet formal, and eminently suitable for a Court. The colors were good and the effect dignified—Claudius and Gertrude in red and crimson, crimson uniforms for their attendants, Polonius in purple Court tail-coat and black silk knee-breeches, Ophelia in pale green, and Laertes in a uniform of darker green with crimson facings. A dowager in dark purple and a young lady in cyclamen mauve were typical of the discreet color range, and there was admirable use of good uniforms, medals, stars, orders and tiaras. The set was basically simple—columns and sky, drapes and swags and rostrums; and the various interior arrangements, and the misty darkness of the ghost scenes, of the praying scene and the pursuit and arrest of Hamlet, reinforced the sense of timelessness.

Coral Browne gave one of her best performances of the season as Gertrude. She has vigor and intelligence; her voice and appearance have richness and authority as well as beauty, and she was particularly good in the end of the

closet scene and the ensuing passage with Claudius, and in the account of Ophelia's death. Judi Dench received less than her due of praise for Ophelia, if her first night performance was as good as the one I saw. Her outburst at the end of the nunnery scene, like Dorothy Tutin's, was strongly and clearly carried for the sake of what it has to say, and for that I am more than ready to trade realistic "acting". Her madness had an effective darting vigor, and the timing was good. I found her playing touching and honest and very much the reasonable equivalent for what we know a good boy-player can give in the part. Derek Francis was a very good Polonius, and though he failed to bring off the enumeration of the players' qualities, he was excellent with the weasel and the whale; and I liked the intimate, kindly way he gave Ophelia his handkerchief to dry her eyes after her account of Hamlet bursting into her closet. Notes that jarred were Ophelia's laugh at his advice to Laertes, and Polonius sitting in the King's chair of state for the scene with the players, because both details seemed out of character. The episodes were crisp and clear and excellently managed throughout, and the pursuit and arrest of Hamlet was particularly effective: the culminating moment, when he was caught in a ring of steady, pointing swords by his black-cloaked pursuers, was as true and brilliant a dramatic climax and statement as the hurried play-scene exit was weak and misleading.

A final word on the text. While appreciating the clarity with which Mr. Benthall presents the plot, I still see no adequate reason for his habitual transposing of the Claudius-Laertes poisoned-foil plot to the end of the graveyard scene; and the cutting of the Stratford text reinforces my belief that the Old Vic cuts were too drastic. The Ambassadors and Reynaldo had gone, and so had the dumb-show—usual, but not commendable cuts; also the long passage at the beginning of V.ii, describing the voyage to England, which is the most unkindest cut of all, and of which more presently. The First Player's Hecuba speech was drastically cut, and what was left was inadequately handled, being cast below its deserving; and unless I had a momentary black-out, Hamlet's apology to Laertes in the final scene had gone. These are typical instances only, not an exhaustive list.

I had the advantage of seeing the Stratford *Hamlet* (3 June, 1958; scenery and costumes, Motley) in its seventh week, when Michael Redgrave had thoroughly settled into his performance, and much as I had admired his interpretation of the part eight years ago, this was an infinitely richer and subtler reading, and so comprehensively vigorous in its intellectual grasp that it puts him, for me, in the top flight of "Hamlets I have known". At the opening, he established at once, behind his anger and grief, the positively and robustly Elizabethan "courtier, scholar, soldier"; he was neither frozen with grieving, nor distracted by premature suspicions. Standing downstage left, with his back to the audience, he was a participant, attending to what was going forward, not the withdrawn, solitary, mourning youth who gazes into vacancy at the back of the stalls. This was a man of perhaps thirty, such as Burbage must have presented,<sup>2</sup> whose stubborn, black protest, now that Court mourning is over, is something with which both the new King and Gertrude must

<sup>2</sup> It has taken a scholar—Dover Wilson—to insist that Hamlet is the age his impersonator chooses to present.



reckon. Details like his gesture to Laertes, when the latter receives permission to return to France—a brief smile and a light wave of the hand—made the basic conception clear and positive from the start. His trouble was not a “settled melancholy” and the sooner we get rid of this facile phrase and its implications, the better, in my opinion. This was a son—shocked by the sudden blow of death, and wounded, on another level, by the speed and the nature of his mother’s re-marriage.

I do not know when I have been more constantly alerted by what were not in fact “new” readings or points, but which, owing to Redgrave’s subtleties of timing or inflection or punctuation, had never made such a vivid impression on me. One example of this electric impact with which he charged words and passages throughout the text occurred when Hamlet tells Ophelia he is “very proud, revengeful, ambitious”. I have never before realized with a shock, Yes! you could be, and you know these traits in yourself, and do not want your action of justice tainted by them. Again, he is not the first Hamlet to spring to life and abandon himself to the natural fun of chaffing Polonius and to the normal interest of the ensuing scene with the players; but there was a young, arrogant, mischievous, vigorous and aristocratic quality of assertion in his playing here which made the whole thing more positive and vitally in character. Similarly, it was this intellectual grasp of the implications of the simplest phrases that made the delivery of his final appeal to Horatio more urgent and moving than any I can remember. One is so often caught up by and left with the music of “Absent thee from felicity awhile”, the last four words lingering only as a concluding chord. But this time, with a terrific last summoning of strength, “to—tell—my—story”—each word spaced-out and equally stressed, torn from him in gasps—came like hammer-blows on the heart. It is sometimes forgotten, though never by this actor, that the justice of his “revenge”, and the true story of it, matter vitally to Hamlet. I came away feeling I had never encountered either in acting or in criticism, a more comprehensive understanding of the text. The quicksilver mind of the man finds its true complement in the mind of the actor, which contradicts throughout, by its unabated liveliness, the “settled melancholy” concept. The vitality and immediacy of his mental reactions give us a more continuously positive awareness of Hamlet himself, the underlying personality, the whole man. Cutting, and bias of interpretation, can, and sometimes do submerge this, letting the soliloquies overshadow the effects of the dialogue and the episodes. Here, playing and production preserved a truer balance, and the continuous impression of a character existing in greater depth gave a genuine, and I believe warranted, adjustment of values.

His voice was at its strongest and most resonant, and gave the impression of a tremendous amount of emotion lying just beneath the surface and ready to break through. There was great variety, vigor and clarity in his speech, and though his voice has not that extra music and magic which puts Gielgud’s, in his greatest moments, in a world apart, he has the same mature, poetic approach to the great soliloquies—he just stands still and quite simply speaks them. The passion is there. And whether by accident or design, this classicism gives us one unforgettable visual moment, when for “How all occasions do inform against me”, he stands outlined against the cyclorama sky looking breath-takingly like the Lawrence portrait of Kemble as Hamlet, and just as majestic. It



is, of course, possible to pick out scene after scene for comment; the opening gentleness, the grief at parting from Ophelia, and the fierce but not hysterical rage which follows upon his discovery of the King and Polonius, make the nunnery scene, for example, deeply moving, as was the gentleness with which he concluded the interview with his mother. (Incidentally, Dorothy Tutin gives us, in the former scene, what is perhaps the most outstanding passage in her performance. It has a strength and poignancy as well as a young bewilderment that makes it understandable that this Hamlet should have loved her.)

He seems to me to recreate the Elizabethan Hamlet as nearly as this can be imagined.<sup>3</sup> This is a Hamlet to move us as Burbage must have moved his audiences—a Hamlet of Elizabethan sensitivity and virility, to blow away the dust and critical cobwebs of the accumulated theories of two centuries. I have never felt more in sympathy with every detail of the reading of the character, or felt that it has been more faithfully understood as its Elizabethan author created it. This is not to say that he is everybody's Hamlet, and I cannot say I like it better or less than Gielgud's, as I have no desire whatever to compare them; for me, each exists absolutely, in its own right. But I am prepared to say I like them both better than Forbes Robertson's, though that, too, has its absolute and special value.

Glen Byam Shaw's production was clearly shaped and sensitively attuned, as his work always is, to the powers and needs of his actors, and in this case, to the very quality of his Hamlet. I was particularly conscious of the instinctive sympathy of approach that obviously existed between actor and director, however they may have differed over points of detail. The movement of the whole was swift and clear, without ever being hurried; there were no transpositions; there was one vital textual restoration hardly ever found in a cut text; and there were many moments of pictorial beauty and dramatic value—notably, as at the Old Vic, the arrest of Hamlet, caught in a ring of swords and spotlights, the attendants in their red liveries holding the real torches that give Stratford such an unfair advantage over the metropolis with its fire regulations.

The integrating of the various groups was well managed, not by any bits of fussy business—it was a beautifully uncluttered production—but by the care taken that the individuals who in any way forward the action were seen to belong, easily and credibly, to the same world. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were both very good and well contrasted, and definitely "belonged". (Never shall I forget the two scarecrows who made farcical nonsense of these characters and their function in the play in the first Redgrave Hamlet! They were nothing but a producer's gimmick, a "poor scholar" stunt, completely out of the picture.) It is usual nowadays, in a good production, to jettison the last-moment, sudden-apparition, surprise-value, fantastic-fop Osric, and to incorporate him throughout as a recognizable though silent figure. (How well Mr. Benthall did this in 1948!) But it remains a pleasure to see him gently planted at the opening, and unobtrusively but usefully employed throughout, and then given one of the most gorgeously ironic and aristocratic deflationary treatments I have ever seen a Hamlet administer. The general exit after the play scene was better than usual nowadays, though still, I think, not positive enough

<sup>3</sup> For those who want details of stage business—his own portrait of his father is a miniature hanging around his neck and the portrait of Claudius is a coin taken from his pouch.

as dramatic statement. There was no panic; but at least they vanished like ladies and gentlemen, discreetly but rapidly, into the darkness.

Googie Withers was an effective Gertrude. This is her first season in Shakespeare and she was wonderfully at home in both her parts. She played with great naturalness throughout; she is at ease with the verse, and her voice has the range. The bad taste of the play scene made her uncomfortable, nothing more; and in the closet scene she really looked at the area where the Ghost was and convinced you that she saw nothing. Too many actresses miss this point by not really looking. Edward Woodward's Laertes was of the sympathetic variety—fiercely earnest, simple, and slow in the uptake. Mark Dignam was a quick, foxy Claudius; it was a treat to watch his hands. Cyril Luckham's Polonius was in the good, serious, credible, elderly-statesman tradition of our best productions since Bromley Davenport's in Barry Jackson's modern dress *Hamlet*. Dorothy Tutin's Ophelia, looking very young and touching, showed that her voice is acquiring deeper notes and that she has the right kind of projection necessary for Shakespeare in a large theatre. I found her very far from being "a mouse on the rack", as one critic described her; she seemed to me to have more strength and sense than most Ophelias. Her sensitivity, I thought, was that of real youth, not of fragility, and I found her genuinely affecting in her madness. There were moments when a spasm of agony turned her expressive little face grey and haggard. No one seems to have much praise for our young Ophelias these days, but I like the way these young actresses manage to give what experience of schoolboy players has now shown us must be very much the kind of performance achieved by the Elizabethan boy-actor; and personally, I am grateful to them for not embarrassing me by too much "acting", as I have been, on occasion, in the past with older players.

The text was cut, but kept the Ambassadors and Reynaldo, and above all delighted me by restoring nearly all of ll. 1-74 in V.ii, in which Hamlet describes his foiling of the King's plot against his life—that destructive but traditional cut which has some three centuries of theatre practice behind it, although the importance of the lines, for the full realization of Hamlet's character, is fundamental. Actor and audience alike are trading on their knowledge of this passage if the one presents and the other accepts the Hamlet of the end of the play as the "changed man", the integrated personality, the complete Prince. For whatever the remoter causes—the success of the play scene, the killing of Polonius, the emotional scene with his mother, the encounter with Fortinbras—the thing that really jerks thought and action back into gear is the threat to his life, the supposed treachery of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, and his own immediate reaction in the shape of the sane, calculated, carefully-planned and successfully carried-through "avoiding action" of the forged and substituted warrant. In this long descriptive passage—not a soliloquy, it is important to note—spoken to the man of his heart, we have something new: we have never before heard Hamlet describing his deeds, only his thoughts. At last he tells us *how he acted*, instead of describing, without explaining to anyone, least of all himself, just why it is he does not or cannot force himself to act after the shock and doubt engendered by the Ghost's revelation. At last the thinker's brain dismisses the *why* with a brief but significant comment on "rashness", instead of turning its searchlight on motives and justification. With thought

and action linked, the complete Prince, "the courtier, scholar, soldier", who if he had been put on, was like to have proved "most royally", realizes himself for us—even as Prospero, when Gielgud shows us how, can live and suffer in what have often been described as the most bromidic passages in Shakespeare. Speak this Hamlet passage as experience of action, as Redgrave did, and without any effort the whole man, the "changed man" is there—poised, accepting with a most poignant serenity whatever destiny may bring, knowing "the readiness is all".

Stratford's opening production was *Romeo and Juliet* (8 April 1958; producer, Glen Byam Shaw) with Dorothy Tutin and Richard Johnson (last year's Orlando and Posthumus and Antony) in the name parts. This is Miss Tutin's first appearance at the Memorial Theatre, and the first Shakespearian part I have seen her play since she delighted everyone as Katharine in *Henry V* in Glen Byam Shaw's Old Vic production of 1951. She is best known to the London public for outstanding performances in *I am a Camera* and *The Living Room*. There is no doubt in my mind that her Ophelia, her Juliet and Viola will add notably to her stature in the eyes of audiences, for though critical praise for the first nights has been neither unanimous nor exciting, what she was doing when I saw all three in the fifteenth week of the season adds up to a real advance in her art and an increase of range. I was impressed by an added strength of attack and projection, the ready abandonment of understatement and throwaway in which she is movingly adept, and the adaptation to Shakespearian demands of that disarming candor and simplicity with which she delights us in modern work. Her speaking of the verse was admittedly uneven: she did not make the most of *all* her opportunities, every night. Who does, one may ask, in such roles as these, with only one Shakespearian lead behind her, and that a small one, played at the age of 20? But the tremendous emotional power that she brought to *The Living Room* is fitting itself to this other medium, and it seemed to me there was both additional warmth and control in her playing of Juliet and Ophelia. There is rare quality in her, and it was wise and far-seeing of Glen Byam Shaw to realize that this is precisely the moment at which to make her sure for Shakespeare, so that, like Peggy Ashcroft before her, in these early years of her career we can hope for a good balance between the classics and the modern.

I realize, writing some weeks later, that already my dominant memory of this production is and will remain—this Juliet. I have never been more enchanted by the sunny, childlike gaiety of her first scene; so light of foot, so eager to greet an opening world of experience. She enchanted by standing herself on the threshold of enchantment, on tip-toe for a flight into the arms of life itself, joyously ready to discover whether this was the same thing as the County Paris for a handsome young husband, and given over to the excitement of being grown-up, and the new dress and the first party. She was youth itself—so simply and naturally confident, that with the help of the satisfied and sympathetic approval of age and experience, very charmingly conveyed by Angela Baddeley as the Nurse and Rachael Kempson as a youngish Lady Capulet, we could be held in this timeless moment, untroubled by our own foreknowledge—a moment caught from fate, like "the lightning which doth cease to be Ere one can say it lightens", but perfect.

And then, the dance, and the vitality of her enjoyment! As it finishes, with a torch seized from one of the bystanders, caught up in the excitement of the movement and the lights and the music, she goes on dancing by herself for a moment after the others have stopped, for the sheer delight of it. I once saw Maud Allan, at a dance in her own house, waltz on in pure enjoyment for what might have been a minute, when the music stopped and her partner released her. I don't know how many other guests saw that timeless moment, but Juliet's held the house as entranced as the spectators on the stage.

It is tempting to follow her performance right through, but space forbids detailed criticism for this play. Summing up: she wisely did not go all out in the balcony scene but kept the fuller force of passion for the later tragic scenes, and especially the potion scene. There was warmth and ardor in her love as well as young ecstasy, and to the touching pathos which she has had at her command for some years she is now adding glimpses of tragic intensity; and the development that she achieves between the enchanted child of her opening scenes and the final agony of loss, is most movingly conveyed in the parting with Romeo and the mingled terror and resolve of the potion scene. I think I saw a very much better performance than the first night. The play moved swiftly: Romeo was very good, if not ideal; Angela Baddeley was admirable as the Nurse, and was particularly good in her scene with the banished Romeo, in Laurence's cell, when she lets herself be moved by his despair and takes him in her arms to comfort him as if he were her Juliet. Perhaps I have seen other Nurses do this before, but if so it has not impressed itself on me in the same way. Ron Haddrick was a somber, menacing Tybalt, Edward Woodward a lively, sardonic Mercutio, Mark Dignam in good fettle as Capulet; and Rachel Kempson, a proud and coldly-beautiful Lady Capulet, left us in no doubt which of them it was who kept the feud bitterly alive. Michael Meacham, who was a good Orsino, an individual Guildenstern and an effective Lysimachus in *Pericles*, was an unusually sympathetic Paris and deserves a special word for a good season's work. Motley's Pinturicchio-like settings and their lovely fifteenth-century costumes delighted the eye.

The year's rarity was *Pericles* (8 July 1958). It surprised everybody by its stage-worthiness. This is the third time it has been produced at Stratford. The first, as might be guessed, the date being 1900 and the company Benson's, was a "purged and refined" version. In 1947, with Act I omitted, it was produced by Nugent Monck with Paul Scofield in the name part. It was given at the Old Vic in 1921, and at the Open Air Theatre in 1939. In 1854, when Phelps made it the most spectacular of all his Sadler's Wells productions, it had not been seen on the boards in London for over a hundred years. Yet it must, in its time, have been genuinely popular—witness, six quarto editions between 1609 and 1636.

Tony Richardson, now Associate Artistic Director of the English Stage Company at the Royal Court Theatre, has in the last two years made his name as the producer of John Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* and *The Entertainer*. This is his first Shakespeare production, and it is vastly to his credit that without any drastic cuts, or indeed any invention that does not spring directly from the play itself, he has contrived to make this episodic and extravagantly improbable tale hold our interest continuously and easily, not by turning it into

something different but by emphasizing its inherent qualities and extracting from it the real, if mixed, values which must originally have accounted for its popularity. Even more than *Cymbeline*, it is a fairy tale, with similar folk-tale elements—a gorgeous mix-up of “matter of Rome”, oriental fable, chivalric romance and the popular narrative ingredients that provide the medieval origins of English fiction.

The author himself explains as much, summoning the “moral Gower”, as presenter or Chorus, to apologize to those “born in these latter times, when wit’s more ripe”, for his antique rimes, and “to sing a song that old was sung . . . at festivals, On ember-eves and holy ales”. From this the producer takes his cue. Some might have been tempted to get rid of Gower; not so Mr. Richardson. His author has given him Gower: it is his problem, therefore, to turn his necessity to glorious gain. Gower is an intermediary between an ancient tale and a sophisticated age. In *Henry VIII* the author insists that all is true: the audience must “think ye see the very persons of our noble story As they were living”. Here they are to see everything as images of truth, at one remove from reality. Gower is a story-teller, therefore a spell-binder, and this is where Mr. Richardson shows that his lively imagination and inventive talent are the genuine article, when with the aid of that equally imaginative and inventive stage-designer, Loudon Sainthill, he combines the author’s dramatic device of the chorus with a theatrical framework to give unity to the action of the play.

To a strange music—recorded, the program tells us, on “Ancient and Exotic instruments”—the play opens in complete darkness. Low down, at stage level, we become aware of flickers of light: the darkness dissolves . . . lifts . . . we have been watching the glint of the gilded blades of six great long-handled sweeps. Downstage, almost in the proscenium arch, to right and left, there are stepped and bulwarked rostrums, suggesting the beak and stern of a rowing galley. Rowers, three a side, pull steadily to the rhythm of a sea-shanty tune; the only words we hear are “Roll and go!” In the background there is a patterning of cordage and sails and spars against open sky; and downstage, with the six rowers, is Edric Connor, the West Indian singer and actor, who sings and speaks Gower’s linking narrative to this more intimate audience, not to us the theatre audience. This is the translation into theatrical terms of the dramatic intention of the chorus, which thus provides an admirable and most adaptable permanent setting for the whole story. The continual reminder of the sea theme, which is the very thread upon which the plot is hung, is exactly right. It anchors the rambling yarn to an atmosphere, and enables us to see it all through the eyes of the seamen’s crude and unsophisticated but vivid imaginations. As the story-teller weaves his spell, out of the background of ship and sky his magic summons the figures of his tale; and as they materialize he retires downstage, and when an episode ends he steps back into the scene, sometimes before the beings his fancy has evoked have all departed. We are not called upon for any personal suspension of disbelief; yet the marvels and horrors and crudities and improbabilities need not be toned down. The “relations of Mariners” were proverbial for a tall story long before the days of Sir Thomas Browne. The characters have no dimensional quality, no more depth than folk-tale heroes and villains. In this world of good and evil, vice and virtue are as flatly personified as in a morality, and visual impact is the important thing. The



gorgeous colors and opulent display of Loudon Sainthill's Græco-Byzantine costumes convey the melodramatic exaggeration of the sailors' ideas of Eastern splendor and pick up these symbolic figures, and also the moods and morals of the quickly-changing scenes, so that Acts I and II make a real contribution to the story as a whole by creating the fabulous world in which it moves. There is nothing dull about them when tackled in this way, with the aid of Edric Connor's large and genial personality, his warm chuckling voice, and the persuasive lilt of the true spell-binder.

The opening episode—incest at Antioch—catches the right note of barbaric violence and lust, all in brilliant blues, greens, purple and silver against a lurid red background. Antiochus and his men seem made of spikes and fantastic scythed spears, and there is a grim reminder of the fate that lies behind the riddle that the hero must read to win the hand of the King's daughter, when the heads of the suitors who have preceded him are borne in impaled on tall spears. Thence to Tarsus, where the starving populace, in dulled greys and greens and black, look almost incandescent with decay; and so to Pentapolis, red and gold for the triumphs and feasting, with Mark Dignam as Simonides—a delightful old codger with a twinkle in his eye—presiding over the revels as definitely a Good King. After this we shall not question either the simple characterization or the extravagances of the serious half of the drama. We know the world to which the story belongs, though I doubt if many readers have visualized it for themselves; and in comparison, what is to follow will seem the credible, sober, and human story of the loss and ultimate restoration of the wife and child of Pericles. With Act III the authentic line comes thundering in, the first wave of the Shakespearian tempest of loss and suffering: "Thou god of this great vast, rebuke these surges". When the actual storm is stilled Mr. Richardson is content to use the simplest means, as in the brief and moving scene where the learned physician, Cerimon, opens the chest in which the supposedly-dead Thaisa has been confined and revives her from her trance. He has used his convention with the utmost theatrical boldness: he continues to use it discreetly, and it does not fail him or us.

In remaining true to the framework and fairy-tale convention in his handling of the brothel scenes Mr. Richardson probably comes nearer to an understanding of the author's intentions than some of the literary critics who have commented on them. He sets the tone for the whole episode by having the scene hailed with rich, bawdy laughter by the sailors, as the brothel itself, complete with its preposterous, bedizened inmates, comes up in scarlet splendor upon the slowly-rising stage. These scenes are not to be grim: and I think they were not meant to be. Brothels and bawds and that ilk were good Jacobean fun, and his convention enables Mr. Richardson to play it straight and simple: the sailors have again given the cue, and we know where we are with this particular brothel, whether or not we agree. Confident that virtue can "see to do what virtue would", we can settle down to enjoy the comic bewilderment of the bawdiest of bawds, Angela Baddeley, completely unrecognizable in what one might call Lush Restoration Tawdry—"How would *you* dress a Græco-Byzantine bawd?" as I said to my companion who was captious about her costume—and of the most endearing of pimps (Patrick Wymark as Boulton), who have never, in the whole course of their naughty lives, come across anything



like Marina. For letting these scenes and their players play perfectly straight, but allowing himself that irresistible comment of the bead curtain over the doorway that rattled authentically at every entrance and exit, I give Mr. Richardson top marks.

What a producer should do about *sound*, when Pericles, in the recognition scene with Marina, hears the music of the spheres, is a problem as intractable as that of the breaking harpstring in *The Cherry Orchard*, and "the God Hercules now leaves him" in *Antony & Cleopatra*. The answer might be recorded sound, but it was not really satisfactory this time. One wants quivering sound "the aery region thrilling". Perhaps one day whispering microphones will breathe into the ears of audiences, but meanwhile these subtleties remain only doubtfully effective.

Richard Johnson was a sturdy, chivalrous and sympathetic Pericles, and in general spoke well, though he did not fully catch the vigor of the verse at the moment when Shakespeare first seems to assert himself in full strength. Patrick Wymark gave a beautifully-timed little sketch of Boult's "conversion". The cast throughout—and there were thirty-five of them to fill forty parts and also join the supers as and when required—accepted with the utmost faithfulness the convention within which they had their simple, formal being. The absolutely notable thing about Geraldine McEwan's Marina was the scene in which father and daughter are restored to each other. By straight, restrained, sincerely and deeply-felt playing, she made the recognition as poignantly beautiful as the Lear-Cordelia scene. That moment showed the potential reach of this young but experienced actress, and the quality that presumably she came to Stratford to cultivate, as she is very much of a star in her own sphere, with her admirable gift for satiric comedy. But this belonged altogether to another world.

Having mastered this apparently intractable material with imagination, inventiveness, good sense and fidelity to his author, Mr. Richardson in his next Shakespearian venture must prove himself a holy terror to his cast in the matter of speech and the values of words, their stresses and coloring and timing. His actors did not fully bring off all their best lines, which, though not too numerous, are known. But it was a notable production and a fine augury for his Shakespearian future.

There is "much virtue in 'if'", in the unifying power of a recognized convention, as *Pericles* showed. Accept the premises, agree to the convention—in this case, an angle of vision—and you have a consistent world in which character and events are credible. In the case of *Much Ado about Nothing* (26 Aug. '58; scenery, Tanya Moiseiwitsch; costumes, Motley), the use of an unexpected convention unified the play and restored it to its original shape. In the two productions of *Twelfth Night* (Old Vic, 1 April; Stratford, 22 April '58) the lack of any recognizable convention meant that there was nothing to give this inner cohesion which is essential to full artistic satisfaction. Critical opinion was divided, and ranged from simple enjoyment to condemnations of Stratford's version as schizophrenic and of the Old Vic's as horseplay. What was significant, in those notices I saw, was the praise for and genuine pleasure taken in individual performances regarded simply as acting, but not as relevant to Shakespeare's play; and it was with these that I found my sympathies ranged.

The most exquisite and the most popular of the comedies, *Twelfth Night* re-

mains so persistently in the current repertoire that in the last twenty-five years or so producers have been driven to feel, quite understandably, that they must "do something different" with it. This has had some good results—among others, the abandonment of the traditional or stock-company casting of the Heavy Woman for Olivia. But I would now almost gladly put up even with one of those handsome, matronly ladies of regal aspect—who used also to play Gertrude and Emilia and looked a fine figure of a woman as Hippolyta in the *Dream*—if only someone would give us a nice, straightforward, normal version, in an unfantasticated setting, in which the first charge upon the producer's skill should be to keep his company all playing together within a single acting convention. As all the characters belong within a recognizable social scheme this hardly seems an unreasonable demand. Further, the play has a dominant mood and an atmosphere within which it exists: "the comedy is a climate and the climate is the comedy". Love, not in a cold climate but in many masks, is its concern—romantic love, true love, first love, love-in-idleness, and, as anti-masque, self-love. The play provides its own simple unifying convention by setting the action within the normal scheme of personal relationships which obtained in the great English household of the 16th century. Between the various groups of characters there is no difference of class, only of degree. There is degree as within the one class of the gently-born, and it is part of the topsy-turvy pattern of *Misrule* implied by the title that degree will be sadly "shak'd" and authority flouted; but the practical joke played on Malvolio by Sir Toby, Sir Andrew, Maria, Fabian and Feste is analogous to those played on Beatrice and Benedick by their friends and the two waiting-gentlewomen. *Midsummer Night* and the fairies provided Shakespeare with a convention which evoked a comedy from the mistakes of bewitched lovers. Now the upsetting of the natural order of things which *Twelfth Night* allows will be reflected in the aberrations of love itself; and Bottom's dream of the love of a lady will be sharply transposed into the nightmare of self-deceiving, unamiable conceit and a bitter awaking to reality.

The Old Vic used a pleasantly decorative and singularly uncluttered permanent open-air setting, by Desmond Heeley, consisting of angled pergolas meeting in a broken arch and pediment with a central pillar, all raised upon a five-stepped rostrum, within the face of which, center-stage, was the oval, wrought-iron grating which was to serve for Malvolio's prison. The whole effect was simple, elegant and eminently practicable; and a vast improvement on most recent settings. The costumes, also Mr. Heeley, were of a free, late 17th-century style, with theatrical leanings, especially for Orsino; but with the advantage of very graceful dresses for Olivia and of the skirted coat, long waistcoat, knee-breeches, simple cravat and buckled shoes which suit Barbara Jefford so admirably for these girl-boy disguises. Sir Andrew's cassock-like Restoration-style long coat had the right old-fashioned, countrified touch; and there was clever comment upon Malvolio's character in the dandified touches added to his puritanical garb, though his lace-edged, calf-length, white nightgown was as farcical as something out of *Charley's Aunt*.

I liked Miss Jefford's Viola better than anything she has done in these last two seasons. There was more warmth in her playing, deeper and softer notes in her voice, and she has a particularly happy touch with these masculine dis-

guises, where her assumed sturdiness of poise and manner give an excellent equivalent of the boy-girl-boy impersonation of the Elizabethan stage. Jill Dixon was a charmingly young and eager and delicately pretty Olivia, and John Humphry was an imposingly handsome and authoritative Orsino. John Neville as a very earnest Sir Andrew did not wholly succeed in masking his own intelligence under glimmerings of a wry shrewdness, but he was in the right tradition of exquisite foolery; the Sir Toby of that sensitive actor Paul Daneman would have gained in its true humor had it been better paired with his "dear manakin's" and played on a less crudely bibulous, noisy and farcical level. Richard Wordsworth's Malvolio was a clever study but also farcical, and his lapses into cockney, which were extremely funny in themselves, especially in the letter scene, were out of the picture for the steward of Olivia's household, who is sick of self-love and is a most unloveable person but remains a gentleman.

Accents were, I fear, a gimmick—"something different". Judi Dench also had one as Maria, which she spoke as North Country throughout. And as usual, she was dressed and required to play in the soubrette tradition, with musical comedy cap and apron. A lively little actress can always make this entertaining in itself, and she has great gaiety; but this farcical "turn" is a very poor substitute for the Lady Olivia's waiting-gentlewoman, demure, humorous, as well educated as her lady, shrewdly playing and finally landing her big matrimonial fish, who is addressed as "gentlewoman" and "Mistress Mary" by the chief officer of the Countess's household. When Shakespeare wants country wenches he does not endow them with the wit and the wits of a Maria. Fabian, the other representative, with Maria, of Malvolio's immediate subordinates in the household, though not this time reduced to the indignity of rags and tatters as in one modern production I saw, bore no resemblance whatever to the Signor Fabian, gentleman-servitor, who can participate in the Malvolio plot and be in place to be called upon at the end for its elucidation.

At Stratford Maria and Fabian were similarly treated, and the latter had an uncouth accent foisted upon him which made his final intervention even more out of place. This Maria was, if possible, more difficult to fit into any social scheme than the Old Vic's. Miranda Connell, a nineteen-year-old newcomer to Shakespeare, was attractively garbed in the merry peasant style—a delicious, sturdy little *contadina*, who had no obvious connexion with anyone and belonged nowhere at all. I was delighted throughout by her spirited acting, her bubbling sense of fun, her gaiety of heart and an enchanting smile—the life and soul of the party, if there had been one to which she could conceivably belong. Patrick Wymark's Sir Toby had come up again in the social scale—definitely a gentleman, if a seedy one, with that fine sense of the value of all his words that marks this good actor's work. Richard Johnson as Sir Andrew was again the country gentleman; a bit of a boor, perhaps, or perhaps just a bit more successful than his Old Vic counterpart in suggesting that he was wood from the neck up; the same kind of touch of the countryman's native shrewdness, in flashes; and a bit too masculine and vigorous, one was inclined to say at first, for the gorgeous nonsense of the "duel" with Cesario, but for the fact that when we reached this scene he was at his funniest; and I am still laughing at the way Viola flew into his arms and they went on clinging together for protection when Antonio intervened. Mark Dignam's Malvolio, being

allowed to retrieve his proper gentlemanly status, took his real place in the scheme of things, spoke admirably, and had the requisite sourness. Michael Meacham's romantic Orsino, younger than usual, was raised by the style and numbers of his entourage far above countship to the theatrical equivalent of ducal if not regal status. Dorothy Tutin's Viola was warm, eager and lyrical, touchingly young and boyish in her page's garb. The simplicity and sincerity of her playing probably comes nearer, in its total effect, to the Viola of the Shakespearian stage, than do performances of greater emotional depth.

The novelty of Peter Hall's production was an Olivia socially demoted from the Elizabethan great lady to the Jacobean citizen-heiress, with the coquetish airs and urban graces of upstart rank. This was not, I understand, Miss Geraldine McEwan's idea of the character, and after seeing the quiet, youthful dignity and inner assurance she brought to Marina it seems unfortunate that she was not encouraged to realize her own conception, which would surely have been original but in key with the rest of the play. As it was, I doubt if most people, myself included, grasped the intention. *The Sunday Times* found it satirical, and described her as pert and squeaky, laughing at herself, her companions and Shakespeare; *The Observer*, disapproving, thought the play "ripped apart by naturalism and gimmicks", paid tribute to the charm and brilliance of her acting, and likened her to "a kittenish typist on holiday from her city office"; yet another critic compared her "perky" Olivia to that favorite figure of modern British folk-lore, Maudie Littlehampton. Which adds up to a general impression that though it was brilliantly done it was produced right against the grain of the play. It belonged to another world, another convention. Sophistication and the romantic mood do not take kindly to each other.

The mood found sympathetic expression in Signora Lila de Nobili's scenes and costumes, richly autumnal in coloring and suffused with the right golden glow, to which clever gauze-work contributed not a little. The opening scene fades in through gauze on a long gallery perspective, a string quartet playing upstage, while down right a Rembrandtesque artist sketches Orsino. He and his gentlemen all wear handsome cavalier costumes, in velvet or satin, ranging in tone from a deep purple through mauves, grays, mole and silver, to browns. Center stage there is a slightly raised circular platform, with tabourets set about: the two at its edge, downstage left and right, remained throughout, and in the shipwreck Viola's sea-captain clung to one of them as if it were a rock. Scenes and costumes are alike rich in pictorial associations. Cesario, in pale amber satin, looks exactly like the children of Charles I or the little cavalier boy in "When did you last see your father?"; and there is more than a touch of the Laughing Cavalier about Sir Toby. There is a walled garden in autumnal browns and greens, taking its tone from fading, seed-darkened sunflowers. Here, in a canopied watchman's chair, Sir Toby eats an al fresco breakfast at a table with a table-carpet straight out of Vermeer; there is a swing by Watteau, and Feste brings with him an air of pierrot and the Fête Galante. There are gauzes, too, for the outdoor scenes—one provides an archway, midstage; there is a background of romantic, stormy sky with flying cloud-rack, and glimpses of rugged coast and distant towers; and at the end, while the Fool sings his song of the wind and the rain, in the distance, half-seen through a transparency and caught up in a last gleam of radiance, the noble company moves to and fro in

a stately measure. There was great beauty throughout, but just a shade too much of it. The mixture was too rich, and I found the method a bit too self-conscious when a procession of gardeners entered to music, carrying in an elegant topiary garden which they set down along the edge of the central platform. It was visibly Illyria, but there were rather too many props that did not really matter, and altogether too much shifting of them.

There was much that was delightful in both productions, but the substitution of caricature for straight characterization, which wrenched individuals out of their places in the author's scheme of relationships, destroyed the enveloping mood, and the loss of this leaves the play with a hole in its heart. There has been a steady improvement in the theatre's handling of the *Dream* over the last 25 years, but its presentation of *Twelfth Night* needs re-thinking from start to finish.

Having deprecated the urge to do something different with *Twelfth Night*, one must in fairness allow that when these Shakespearian theatres have an outstanding success with a play, the next revival of it inevitably makes them nervous of challenging comparisons. The 1950 Gielgud-Ashcroft *Much Ado* is a case in point; and it is not surprising that Stratford has let eight years go by before staging it again. Judging by the enthusiastic first-night reception, given to it throughout and culminating in sixteen curtain calls, Douglas Seale's different way with this new production has been eminently successful, and it looks as if this not-so-popular comedy may once again prove the catch of the season, in spite of a somewhat tepid critical reception of the acting and a jocular irritability—usual when it is done for the first time—about the "trick" of transferring a play to an unlikely period or place. (After about ten years a permanent licence to transfer can be granted, and no more complaints made about a 19th-century *Hamlet*, for example.) Personally, I found it sheer enchantment.

What Mr. Seale has done is to set the action in Messina, as required by the text, and make the place count for something—for the romantic reverberations which the author apparently felt would not have been supplied quite so adequately by London or the Isle of Wight. With its delicate, light aquatint gaiety the opening scene started the audience off in exactly the right mood of gay anticipation. The "unlikely" period to which the play had been transferred was the eighteen-fifties; and it is worth noting that Stratford, Ontario, is running concurrently a *Much Ado*, dressed 1870, which is said to be very good indeed. There is no doubt that mid-nineteenth century costumes and manners have a decidedly romantic appeal for the present generation. When style is what is required of them in comedy, our younger actors and actresses in these clothes, or in Regency fashions, seem more at home, better able to carry them off with an air, than in equally formal and well-designed costumes of, say, the 16th century. All this is very apparent in the present production; but it is unlikely that when he was doing his re-thinking of this play a producer of Mr. Seale's calibre was ready to gamble his reputation upon crinolines and twirling carriage-parasols, strapped trousers and the nice conduct of the dashing cheroot. The real surprise his production sprang upon us was to bring the play together as a whole and to make the actual story count for more than it usually does—at a guess, for about as much as it did with its original audience. The most exciting thing about Barry Jackson's modern dress *Hamlet* was that it made you



aware, as you had never been before, of the whole play and of what a good play it was. The exciting thing about Mr. Seale's *Much Ado* is that it takes a firm grip of the dramatic structure of which one is conscious as a reader, but ignores, and is usually encouraged to ignore, in the theatre.

With a sure grasp of dramatic values and a feeling for shape disciplined by wrestling with the presentation of the histories, Mr. Seale was the right man to choose to put it to us that a whole is better than two parts, and to adjust the lack of balance created by the excessive response to the characterization of Beatrice and Benedick and the comparative neglect of the Hero-Claudio story in which audiences and actors encourage each other. We have fallen into the way of thinking that the play exists for the sake of the high comedy of Beatrice and Benedick, and are bored by what we consider a preposterous bit of plot-mechanics, even though we may be quite conscious that this is not the play written by Shakespeare for the Elizabethan stage, which, if it is to be given a sub-title, should be called "A Marriage has been Arranged". Don John's avowed aim is to wreck that marriage, but we refuse to take the villain and his melodramatic plot seriously, and wait eagerly for the resumption of Character and Conversation. We know—or if we don't we ought to—that the main plot has tragic possibilities, and that but for the disaster which was meant to destroy Hero's marriage the Beatrice-Benedick story could not have been swung over into seriousness: Character would have kept them still at their flying. The dramatic ingenuity of the linking of the two stories is important, if the piece is not to have its longueurs. The producer's problem is to find a convention which will persuade his modern audience to say, We do believe in villains! Mr. Seale's answer is, Villains are Victorian: this will produce in a modern audience the same kind of theatrical acceptance given originally to the plot. I know that I was not the only one for whom the convention worked perfectly. By alerting me into attending to everybody and everything, as if I was hearing and seeing the play for the first time, he shook me out of my theatrically induced habits, so that to my own surprise I found myself "believing" in the Hero story as never before. It is so nearly "modern dress" that the challenge stimulates in much the same way. I was particularly struck by the credibility this period gave to the church scene throughout, and the convincing human interest it gave to the scene in which Leonato and his brother challenge Don Pedro and Claudio, most admirably and seriously carried by Cyril Luckham and Donald Layne-Smith. As in her *Marina*, Geraldine McEwan was at her best in her most serious moment: her spirited denial of her guilt was absolutely "real" in its simple sincerity, and genuinely moving. The Victorian convention, needless to say, suited the character all through and this actress especially well in the conversation which Beatrice overhears.

Strange as it may seem that the Victorian should act as a serviceable intermediary for our fuller appreciation of the Elizabethan, in practice it works, not only in rehabilitating the serious plot and pointing the skill with which the arranged marriage and the real love story have been interlocked, but also by injecting fresh life and relevance into the minutiae of production. The jests went home and got the laughs the author intended: Beatrice brought off particularly well both her sustained bravura passages about husbands and marriage at the beginning of Act II. The pace throughout was brisk but mannerly, each



episode made its point crisply, and the whole had style. The costumes and gay uniforms were extremely elegant and helped both characterization and actuality as the best kind of contemporary costuming does and as period costuming often fails to do. The music was witty and properly and tunelessly reminiscent, and the dances unusually accomplished and effective. The outdoor scenes were airy and spacious, and the church impressive and Irvingesque without being overpowering. In fine, admirable team-work, inspired by fundamental brain-work, had given us a precision-finish production which kept us mentally on our toes, had brought the situation into closer and clearer focus, and by refusing to spotlight Beatrice and Benedick any more than the author does by making them two of the most entrancing characters he ever created, had retrieved for us a thoroughly well-made play in which every single group or character was able to hold its own in the way the author had intended, and was not only functional but actively *alive*.

I thought Googie Withers was a gay, open-hearted, radiant Beatrice, taking the center of the stage, whenever required, effortlessly and with compelling charm. She had all the warmth and vigor, as well as the humor: her eavesdropping was a delight; and she carried off the two crucial lines finely. The first must catch you by the throat, the other by the hair. She did both: the star danced; and she managed her "Kill Claudio!" admirably, in the low-toned intensity of urgent, passionate, personal appeal—a close-up, with all the force in "Kill". There was no laugh on her line; a controllable one came on Benedick's reply, keyed by his astonishment. My impression was, they *can* kill it, if they want to: but do they need to? They made me realize there was something to be said for both audience-reactions. Michael Redgrave is a nervous performer on opening nights. The technique and the outlines of his Benedick promised an engagingly humorous and masculine characterization when he has played himself in. Anthony Nicholls, looking like all the portraits of the Prince Consort as a young man, used his fine stage presence and his air of natural authority to make Don Pedro a more vital figure than usual. Richard Johnson, looking like a slightly sinister version of Robert Louis Stevenson, was a quietly and convincingly venomous Don John. Cyril Luckham's Leonato struck me as one of the most outstanding performances of the whole season; and there was a beautiful little sketch of Margaret by a newcomer to Stratford, Zoe Caldwell—a young Australian actress who has played some leading parts with the Elizabethan Theatre Trust. I do not remember ever having noticed a Margaret in this play before. Miss Caldwell would make a perfect Maria in that normal *Twelfth Night* that the next producer who wants to do something different might put on.

In concluding these notes on the two programs which together make up our national Shakespeare theatre<sup>4</sup>, I ought perhaps to explain to my American readers that, though we have now no equivalent of the Benson and Ben Greet touring companies, Shakespeare appears in our repertory programs, at the universities, in the amateur seasons, in festivals, etc.; and I should like to mention three uncovenanted blessings in particular that came my way this year. At the annual Harrow School performance I collected my first boy-Portia—an en-

<sup>4</sup> The Old Vic season normally runs from September to June, Stratford's from April to the end of November.

chanting, small, slender, delicately-featured, well-spoken young player, with the necessary dignity as well as the gaiety and humor. I also saw a new young actress, fresh from the R.A.D.A., play Portia in Lilian Harrison's annual week of Shakespeare for the Southwark Festival. She had, as they say, everything it takes—the looks, the voice, the beauty of speech, the radiance and warmth of personality, with graciousness and dignity and a most delicate humor. Her name is Deborah Spranger and I enjoyed her performance—Peggy Ashcroft's only excepted—more than any professional performance of the part I have seen for years. Finally, on the occasion of the annual celebration in memory of Ellen Terry, given in the Barn Theatre at her Smallhythe home, I heard Dame Sybil Thorndike, in a dramatic recital with Sir Lewis Casson, give the trial of Katharine of Aragon and the scene with the cardinals from *Henry VIII*. To her as to Dame Edith the years seem only to bring increase of power and beauty. This, too, was a magnificent performance, intensely moving, equally instinct with majesty, in parts more passionately conceived, more fiercely delivered, and spoken as superbly as anything I have ever heard her speak. These two authoritative performances alone would have made the year memorable for me; but when we add Gielgud's Prospero and Wolsey and Redgrave's Hamlet, and the productions of *Pericles* and *Much Ado*, together with an amazing amount of good, steady work and achievement on the more workaday level of which I have tried to give some impression, I think it will be clear that we have had an interesting, exciting and in some ways quite outstanding Shakespearian year.

#### London

# The Shakespeare Season in New York

ALICE GRIFFIN



HE 1957-1958 season of Shakespeare in New York evidenced a paucity of productions, with the New York Shakespeare Festival making the major contributions in quantity and quality. They totalled four out of six productions during the season, and among the bright spots of their series were the *Richard III* of George C. Scott, the *Rosalind* of Nancy Wickwire, and the directing of Stuart Vaughan. A *Two Gentlemen of Verona* by the touring Stratford (Ontario) Shakespearean Company and *Julius Caesar* by the Shakespearewrights completed the season.

Without the New York Shakespeare Festival, which unfortunately discontinued operations at the end of the summer because of lack of funds, there would have been only one locally produced professional production of Shakespeare; a discouraging reflection when it is recalled that his works are a staple in the world's theatre capitals other than New York.

The productions of the New York Shakespeare Festival were not as good as one hoped they would be; many of the actors, with all the earnestness in the world, had insufficient conceptions of their roles and lacked the capacities of voice and movement necessary for a Shakespearian interpretation. But taken as a whole, the virtues of the Festival outweigh its faults. On the credit side of the productions were clarity, liveliness and interest, which meant that school children for the first time in decades in New York were able to see live and vivid stage Shakespeare—and all free of charge. It is a sad commentary that the city which earns so much revenue from the legitimate theatre could not supply the small amount of funds producer Joseph Papp needed to continue the Festival.

One of the outstanding features of the series—*Richard III*, *As You Like It* (both at the Heckscher Theatre), *Othello* and *Twelfth Night* (outdoors in Central Park)—was the direction of Stuart Vaughan in the first two plays. Mr. Vaughan, as we have commented in earlier reports, has the ability to make a Shakespearian play move, to sustain the tension and excitement and to maintain clarity in action and dialogue for his unsophisticated, non-paying audience.

*Richard III*, which opened November 25, brought to light an excellent young American actor, George C. Scott, whose Richard was terrifying and pitiful at the same time. Disfigured by a livid scar across his eye, his mouth drawn to a tight line, and his gloved hand clutched to his side, this Richard was first revealed to the audience silhouetted in red against the central arch of the setting; he stepped forward on the extended apron and spoke the opening soliloquy directly to the audience, slowly and meaningfully. His was no mere tyrant but a many-faceted character—ambitious, cruel and ruthless, but tortured inwardly and more terribly than his victims whose falls we witnessed.

Only in the scene where he is entreated to accept the crown (III. vii) was the characterization inconsistent, for Mr. Scott succumbed to the temptation that sometimes besets Iago—he became a clown. Miming farcically and kissing babies to further his acceptance by the people, he dissipated the dramatic effect of the scene. The wooing of Lady Anne was exceptionally well done, with Richard's very strength and cruelty attracting the young woman. Among the cuts in this production which sacrificed subtlety to clarity was the scene of the appearance of the ghosts (V. v). The tents were set up simply—four spears with a coverlet draped over them. The ghosts appeared, but merely said "despair and die" to Richard, encouraged Richmond, and disappeared.

Most successful of the supporting cast was Sheppard Kerman as Hastings, who brought out very well the character's foolhardiness and later distress and who spoke the poetry with meaning and music.

In the second production, *As You Like It*, opening January 20, Nancy Wickwire's Rosalind was as excellent as Mr. Scott's Richard, but the over-all production of the comedy was not as successful because she could not dominate it as Mr. Scott had done the history play.

Her Rosalind ran the gamut—spirited, brash, tender, tremulous, joyful, downcast—and was always filled with a warmth and appeal that caught and held the audience's sympathy. It was a much more satisfying Rosalind to this reviewer than that of Katharine Hepburn's some years ago on Broadway, an interpretation which was much more cool and mannered. The Orlando of Robert Blackburn was suitably muscular, and their love story was played out against a frankly fairy-tale setting, with make-believe trees and fine music by David Amram.

George C. Scott appeared in this production as Jaques, and again was excellent. The trees are hung with snow in Arden in Act II, and the lean Jaques, standing apart from the company, was marked as the melancholy man before he spoke his first lines. His reading of the Seven Ages of Man speech was meaningful and impressive, acted as well as spoken, and a high point of the evening.

As the unwashed country bumpkins, William and Audrey, Jerry Stiller and Anne Meara played with a fine sense of comedy. Mr. Stiller, who had portrayed other clowns in Festival productions in the park the previous summer, got a tremendous hand from the audience on his entrance. His vitality, native shrewdness and comic improvisation as William revealed him as a "natural" as a Shakespearian clown.

Although the production was somewhat ragged at the edges and some of the minor actors could not cope with their assignments, the play was always alive and immediate, superior to the Hepburn offering, which was pretty as a Valentine, but reverent, removed and dull.

The Festival's summer productions deserve less space. Opening July 2, *Othello* lacked pace and was stultifying as it plodded through the evening. William Marshall's Othello was wooden but at least credible. Ellen Holly's Desdemona was inexcusably bad; her lines lacked meaning and her emotions were uncontrolled. Robert Geringer's Iago scored some telling dramatic moments, especially in his first broaching the subject of Desdemona's unfaithfulness (III. iii), Paul Shyre brought welcome comic touches to the foolish

Roderigo, and Gerry Jedd's bustling and outspoken Emilia was fine. Stuart Vaughan directed for the broad outlines and tension of action, but his leading actors let him down. *Twelfth Night*, directed by Joseph Papp, was more fortunate in its physical setting and costumes by Eldon Elder, which beautifully caught the spirit of the play, than in its performers. One could simply not accept Carol Gustafson as Viola. The play's clown were somewhat better than its romantic leads, although they had a tendency to laugh too much at their own antics. The best performance was that of Meredith Dallas as Malvolio, a role to which he brought style and a deft humor.

*The Two Gentlemen of Verona* made its appearance in March, in a limited run at the Phoenix Theatre as part of the American and Canadian tour by the Stratford Festival Company of Canada, which performs during the summer at its home base in Ontario. This was a special touring production, not one of the offerings of the previous summer.

There were no stars in the company, one of the reasons which apparently dictated the choice of play, but unfortunately the production did not show off the Canadian troupe to advantage. Their special characteristics, as seen in their offerings in Canada, are vigor and vitality, evidenced in such productions as *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *The Taming of the Shrew*, both performed without stars.

This *Two Gentlemen*, however, was refined, effete, and somewhat dull. Granted that the play itself is not one of Shakespeare's best, yet director Michael Langham should have made more of the production. He interpreted the work as a romantic comedy with overtones of farce, and set it in the romantic period of the early nineteenth century. Somehow he was not successful in his blend, because the audience seemed to laugh when they should not (as when the ladies faint at the end) and to restrain themselves when characters were working very hard for laughs, like Douglas Campbell as the Duke of Milan (Silvia's father). The work could have been a more amusing farce or a more dramatic romance, but it never seemed resolved as to how the audience should accept it.

Visually, this was as appealing a production of *The Two Gentlemen* as could ever be imagined. Tanya Moiseiwitsch used pale blue and dubonnet red as the chief colors for the four lovers. Her unit setting was simple, lovely and easy to tour—a grouping of slender white columns entwined with green leaves against a blue cyclorama.

The actors were equal in merit but none fired the imagination with a vivid and memorable performance. Eric House was Valentine; Lloyd Bochner, Protheus; Ann Morrish, Julia; and Diana Maddox, Silvia. The most impressive moment for this reviewer was when the action stood still, the beauteous Silvia stood on her balcony and the swains below sang the lyric—here was a spell of enchantment which the rest of the production achieved only intermittently.

Opening the 1957-1958 season was *Julius Caesar*, presented by the Shakespearewrights and directed by Philip Lawrence on an open stage. Both the production and the acting were straightforward, clear and swift in movement if not subtle. Sydney Walker was Caesar, Ernest Graves played Brutus, Joseph Ruskin was Cassius and Ronald Bishop, Casca, all of these performing quite acceptably. A particularly memorable directoral touch was the death of Caesar.

Here Caesar was not taken by surprise at the stabbing. He sees the drawn knife and moves away; then another is drawn. As Caesar speaks to the individual conspirators he faces each in turn; finally he covers his face and waits for the mass attack. Donald Goldman produced and designed this taut and thoroughly creditable offering.

### Hunter College



# A Lively Season at Canada's Stratford

ARNOLD EDINBOROUGH



CANADA'S Stratford Festival was very lively this year. It was lively with controversy, lively with wit and lively with excellence.

The controversy developed around the figure of Jason Robards, Jr., who played the part of Hotspur in *Henry IV, Part 1*. Mr. Robards, as American readers will know, is a "method" actor from New York who was making his first attempt at a major Shakespearian role. Such casting was suspect because Mr. Robards certainly had not the kind of "star" name to attract an audience, and just how a "method" actor could hope to fit in to a festival which has always needed better verse speaking was difficult to see. In the event, Mr. Robards spoke his lines in a tight-lipped, under-played fashion which stood out like a sore thumb among the English and acquired-English accents of the other members of the company.

This is not to deny that Mr. Robards is very competent in his own field. He has a virile and effective personality on the stage and clearly tried very hard to make Hotspur the rough, tough character that he imagined him to be. But out of it there came that not unusual distress which must always come when a bluff soldier's part is undertaken by a man who can't speak verse (Mr. Robards would make even less of a success, we might suggest, of Enobarbus in *Antony and Cleopatra* or of Falconbridge in *King John*—two similarly deceptive characters).

Nor is this criticism directed at an American accent for the playing of Shakespeare. Many scholars believe that the American accent is closer to Shakespeare's pronunciation than the present attenuated diction of the Old Vic and the companies which it has fostered or influenced. But where every other actor on the stage speaks in this English accent, except for regional British dialects, an American accent draws attention to itself without having any reason in the context of the drama to draw such attention.

The controversy about *Henry IV, Part 1*, did not stop at Mr. Robards. Taking a leaf from his predecessor, Mr. Michael Langham, the director, did what Tyrone Guthrie has done before; he deliberately rewrote Shakespeare. Thus, at the beginning of *Henry IV*, we had a solemn, static and entirely irrelevant coronation scene carried over from *Richard II*. This made nonsense of the explicit chronology of the first part of the play and set the whole thing off on the wrong ponderous footing.

The result was that *Henry IV, Part 1*, this year at Stratford, Ontario, was a fairly unrewarding performance. The King, played by Max Helpmann, was regal in bearing but hurried and indistinct in speech. The other courtiers—with the exception of William Hutt as Worcester—seemed to take their cue from him, and the necessary clarity of Hotspur was, as we have noted, missing.

The comic characters, too, tended to be more boisterous than engaging, except for Mr. Douglas Campbell's Falstaff, which was a thoroughly practiced and competent performance. But competence is not enough where Mr. Campbell is concerned, for from him, whether as Oedipus, King Claudius or Falstaff, we have come to expect greatness.

The single most satisfying performance in the play was Douglas Rain's as Prince Hal, and in the reconciliation scene between Hal and his father there was genuine pathos. But even Hal's character could not be left as Shakespeare had written it, since the play ended with him speaking a truncated version of Henry V's speech before the Battle of Agincourt.

After the disappointment of *Henry IV, Part 1*, it was a delight to watch the same director's treatment of *Much Ado About Nothing*. Mr. Langham's interpretation of this play was in every way excellent. It was in comparatively modern dress which, in a play so timeless, is a good thing, especially when that modern dress is so stylized that it does not shriek modernity (if it was any period it was perhaps late Victorian).

Benedick was played by Christopher Plummer, a man who is rapidly becoming a very remarkable Shakespearian actor. His display of cynicism, his wit and his beautiful ability to control his audience by true comic pauses is exceptional. And he had the perfect foil opposite him in Miss Eileen Herlie's Beatrice. For many people it was a surprise that Miss Eileen Herlie, known to the majority of the audience only as Gertrude in the film version of *Hamlet*, was such a very handsome woman. Here was abundant life, an elegance of form and feature, and a voice of special musical excellence. What Christopher Plummer could not do with his rapier thrusts, she could do with her voice's silver stiletto. Between them these two people proved that Shakespeare's humor is not out-of-date and that a modern audience, if given credit for some intelligence, will match that trust with a warm and sympathetic hearing.

No comedy, however, can sustain itself without a solid framework provided by the more sober characters. In *Much Ado About Nothing* this is particularly true since the balance between the mercurial wit of Beatrice and Benedick and the buffoonery of Dogberry and Verges is tenuously created by a plot so outrageous and so seemingly haphazard that it must be thoroughly believed in by the actors.

Bruno Gerussi thus made his villain larger than life, his Don John becoming a stammering, inhibited, almost paranoiac creature. John Horton's Claudio, though very unlikeable for most of the action, achieved a moment of pathetic nobility as he went to the tomb of Hero before the final happy ending. Again, William Hutt's beautifully played Don Pedro gave credibility to even the wildest actions of his part. (William Hutt, both as Don Pedro and as Worcester in *Henry IV*, made a minor triumph for himself of this year's Stratford, mainly because he speaks verse so well and acts with such restraint.)

In contrast, Tony Van Bridge, who wrestled with Dogberry, showed an essential shallowness in his role by trying to make a vaudeville part of it—and vaudeville is not part of Shakespeare's concept. If an actor does not believe Shakespeare's concept of the character he is playing, then he will show up very badly by the side of those who do.

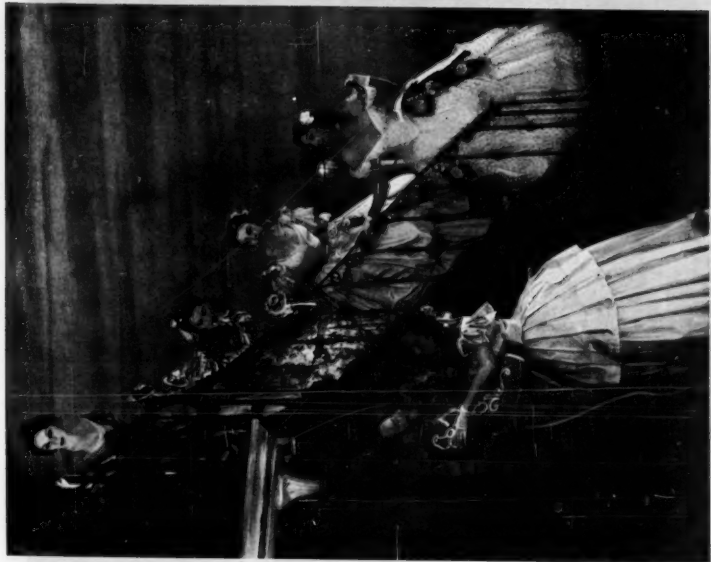
*Much Ado About Nothing* was thus a magnificent conception by the di-



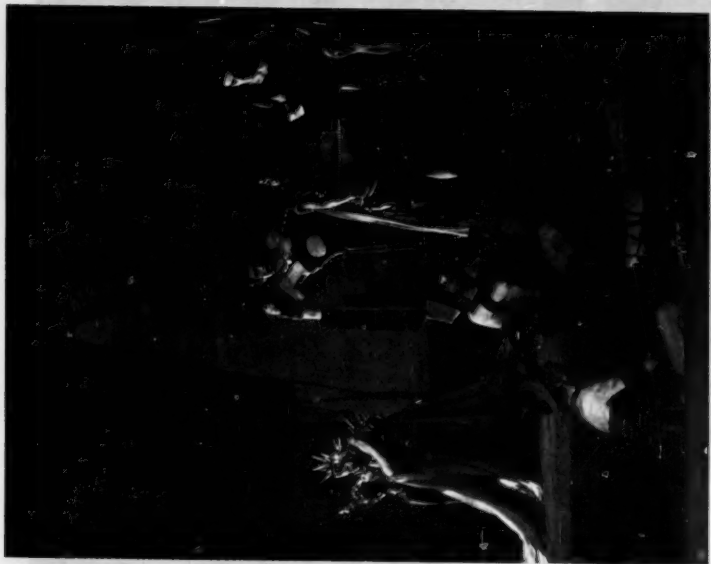
Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon—*Hamlet*. Hamlet (Michael Redgrave). Produced by Glen Byam Shaw; designs by Motley. Photo by Angus McBean.



Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon—*Romeo and Juliet*. Tybalt (Ron Haddrick), Capulet's Cousins (Mark Dignam and Donald Eccles), Lady Capulet (Rachel Kempson), Paris (Michael Meacham), Mercutio (Edward Woodward), Nurse (Angela Baddeley), Juliet (Dorothy Tutin), Romeo (Richard Johnson). Glen Byam Shaw, director; designs by Motley; music by Leslie Bridgewater. Photo by Angus McBean.



Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon—*Much Ado About Nothing*. Beatrice (Googie Withers), Hero (Geraldine McEwan), Ursula (Rachel Kempson), Margaret (Zoe Caldwell), Douglas Seale, producer. Photo by Angus McBean.



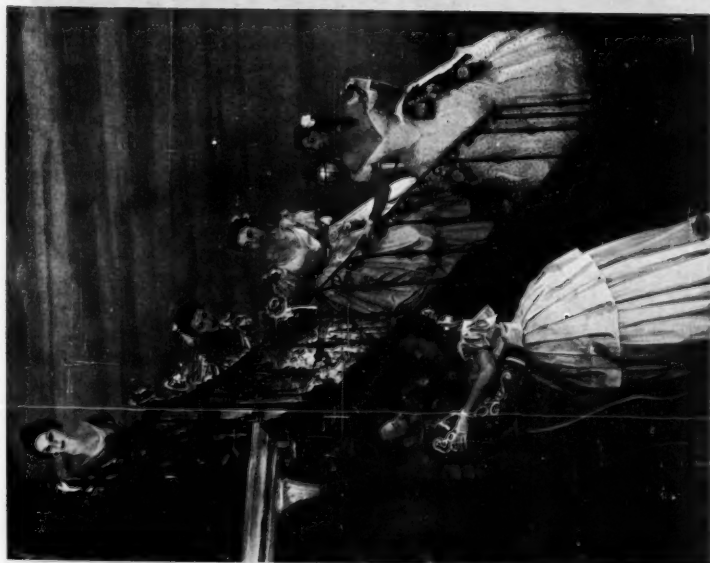
Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon—*Pericles*. Gower (Edric Connor) tells the Sailors of the wickedness of Antiochus (Paul Hardwick) and his Daughter (Zoe Caldwell). Tony Richardson, director; designs by Loudon Sainthill; music by Roberto Gerhard. Photo by Angus McBean.



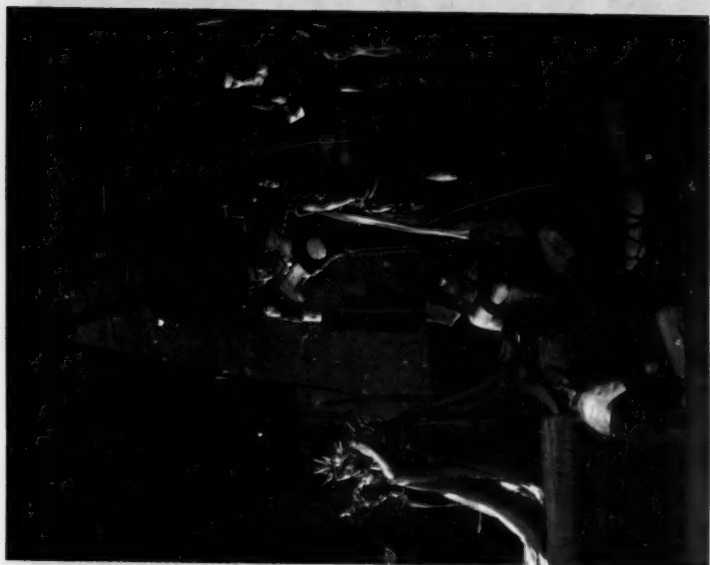
Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon—*Hamlet*. Hamlet (Michael Redgrave). Produced by Glen Byam Shaw; designs by Motley. Photo by Angus McBean.



Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon—*Romeo and Juliet*. Tybalt (Ron Haddrick), Capulet's Cousins (Mark Dignam and Donald Eccles), Lady Capulet (Rachel Kempson), Paris (Michael Meacham), Mercutio (Edward Woodward), Nurse (Angela Baddeley), Juliet (Dorothy Tutin), Romeo (Richard Johnson). Glen Byam Shaw, director; designs by Motley; music by Leslie Bridgewater. Photo by Angus McBean.



Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon—*Much Ado About Nothing*. Beatrice (Googie Withers), Hero (Geraldine McEwan), Ursula (Rachel Kempson), Margaret (Zoe Caldwell). Douglas Seale, producer. Photo by Angus McBean.



Shakespeare Memorial Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon—*Pericles*. Gowder (Edric Connor) tells the Sailors of the wickedness of Antiochus (Paul Hardwick) and his Daughter (Zoe Caldwell). Tony Richardson, director; designs by Loudon Sainthill; music by Roberto Gerhard. Photo by Angus McBean.





The Old Vic—*Twelfth Night*. Malvolio (Richard Wordsworth), Maria (Judi Dench).  
Photo by David Sim.



The Old Vic—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Oberon (Derek Godfrey), invisible; Demetrius (John Humphry) and Helena (Coral Browne). Michael Benthall, director; designs by James Bailey; music by Mendelssohn. Photo by Tony Armstrong Jones.



The Old Vic—*Henry VIII*. King Henry (Harry Andrews), Queen Katharine (Edith Evans), and Cardinal Wolsey (John Gielgud). Michael Benthall, director; designs by London Sainthill; music by Gordon Jacob. Photo by Angus McBean.



The Old Vic—*Hamlet*. Gertrude (Coral Browne), Claudius (Jack Gwillim), Hamlet (John Neville), Polonius (Derek Francis), Horatio (David Dodimead), Second Player (Brian Badcoe), Player King (David Waller), Ophelia (Judi Dench). Michael Benthall, director; designs by Audrey Gruddas; music by Gordon Jacob. Photo by Angus McBean.



American Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Conn.—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Snout (Woll Geer), Bottom (Hiram Sherman), and Quince (Morris Carnovsky). Jack Landau, director; scenery by David Hays; costumes by Thea Neu; lighting by Tharon Musser.



The American Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Conn.—*Hamlet*. Ophelia (Inga Swenson) and Hamlet (Fritz Weaver). John Houseman, director; scenery by David Hays; lighting by Jean Rosenthal; costumes by Alvin Colt.



American Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Conn.—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Titania (June Havoc), Oberon (Richard Waring), and Puck (Richard Easton). Jack Landau, director. Photo by Friedman-Abeles.



New York Shakespeare Festival—*Richard III* at the Hecksher Theatre, New York City. Richard III (George C. Scott) and Lady Anne (Marcia Morris). Stuart Vaughan, director.



Canadian Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Ontario—*Much Ado About Nothing*. Beatrice (Eileen Herlie) and Benedick (Christopher Plummer). Michael Langham, director; designed by Desmond Heeley. Photo by Herb Nott.



Canadian Shakespeare Festival, Stratford, Ontario—*The Winter's Tale*. Dorcas (Ann Morrish), Autolycus (Bruno Gerussi), and Mopsa (Tammy Grimes). Douglas Campbell, director; designs by Tanya Moiseiwitsch. Photo by Herb Nott.



Phoenix, Arizona, Shakespeare Festival—*Taming of the Shrew*, in the Phoenix Little Theatre. Prof. John Paul of Phoenix College, director; basic set by Phil Auth. Photo by Bob Davy.



Colorado Shakespeare Festival—*Julius Caesar*, in the University's Mary Rippon Theater. Caesar (J. H. Crouch, executive director of the festival) is stabbed by Casca (Alan Nash). Hal J. Todd, director; costumes by Inge Schmit.



rector. With his designer, Desmond Heeley, as a most able assistant, he had put sixteenth-century Messina into nineteenth-century Ruritania. This added to the fun, but it also gave solemnity to the wedding scene with much sonorous Latin and swinging of censers. The masked ball was a Straussian entertainment out on an open stage decorated with Chinese lanterns, which were doused by a subtly suggested storm at the end of the scene. Music, words, costumes and action blended to make *Much Ado About Nothing* an essay in lively excellence and the high point of the Stratford season.

This leaves *The Winter's Tale* for special consideration. Douglas Campbell, the man who has been one of the chief actors at Stratford since its founding, was its director, and though he is a virtuoso actor, he seemed to lack the conceptual comprehension necessary for a good director.

*The Winter's Tale* is a story of the wickedness and perversity of man which can only be exorcised and expiated through suffering. The final redemption comes with recognition and Christian forgiveness.

To bring this redemption about, Shakespeare not only uses the hackneyed trick of a recognition scene in the final act, but he suggests a subtle counterpoint throughout the scenes with Perdita and Florizel. In these scenes there are overtones of the Prodigal Son and of much other Christian symbolism. But there is also an underlying ritual quality of the cycle of birth and death, the seasonal ebb and flow of the prime life force. This blend of pagan fertility ritual (seen in other plays of Shakespeare to even greater advantage, notably *Richard III*) and ascetic Christian symbolism makes these scenes extremely important. They are much more than lyrical relief. They are, indeed, the third movement of a complex and closely-woven symphony.

Mr. Campbell did not see them thus and he let them become a mere clodhopper's delight, which made the poetry of Frances Hyland as Perdita seem forced and unnatural. Furthermore, they contrived to hold up the action and give much more attention to Autolycus than he should have had. To give Bruno Gerussi more attention than his character calls for is dangerous, because there doesn't exist a Shakespearian actor more adept at exploiting whatever minor advantages come his way. Autolycus became one of the major characters of the play and the theme was lost as a result.

*The Winter's Tale* thus became a somewhat creaky vehicle for some superb individual performances. Of these, Eileen Herlie's Paulina was the finest thing Stratford has ever seen. Her verbal castigation of Leontes was so controlled, so vibrant and, in the end, so moving, that it was worth the rest of the festival put together. Leontes, too, played by Christopher Plummer, was a credible character, even though Mr. Plummer seemed to start some of his more exacting scenes at too high a pitch with consequent unfortunate anti-climaxes. Bruno Gerussi's Autolycus was an impudently resourceful characterization, and Conrad Bain's Antigonus was a courtier who had dignity and poise. Jason Robards, Jr., as Polixenes was better than he had been as Hotspur, but still, particularly in the recognition scene, dreadfully out of place in such poetic company. Frances Hyland, who made her reputation in the part of Perdita in London's West End, was curiously unimpressive.

*The Winter's Tale* on superficial reading is very much a ragbag of a play. At Stratford this is what it appeared to be on the stage—a thing of shreds and

patches. But the shreds were strong and some of the patches brilliant enough to enhance, rather than lessen, the enviable reputation that this Canadian festival has now built up.

*Kington, Ontario*

# Stratford, Connecticut, Shakespeare Festival, 1958

CLAIRE McGLINCHEE



HE two plays that opened the 1958 season at Stratford, Connecticut, served to illustrate not only the infinite range of Shakespeare's genius but also the growing versatility of the cast members who have been with the Company now for several seasons.

David Hays's scenery was effective for the opening of *Hamlet* with the guards on the watch, but it was not good for the interior of the castle. The general picture suggested rather a section of a ball park with the bleachers backing up to a wooden elevated structure. The audience was both distracted and awed by the continual racing up and down the steps on the part of the actors. The agility of the players as they mounted and descended—the Queen even died on several levels—and as they darted in and out among the wooden pillars was admirable.

Jean Rosenthal's lighting was as always one of the high-scoring points of this production. Especially noteworthy was the change of light at Horatio's "But look, the morn in russet mantle clad. . . ."

Mr. Houseman wisely retained all the important soliloquies; in fact, the text was followed closely for the most part. Yet, why did Polonius send Osric instead of Reynaldo to check on the absent Laertes?

Geraldine Fitzgerald as the Queen was more royal in appearance and initial bearing than either Morris Carnovsky as Claudius or Fritz Weaver as Hamlet. She failed, however, to sustain Gertrude's dual role as devoted wife and mother, at times seeming even indifferent to Hamlet. In his "O, my offence is rank" speech, in III.iii—surely one of the greatest examples of dramatic irony in all literature—Morris Carnovsky was impressive, but he was at his best in the scenes with the angry Laertes on the latter's return from France.

The Polonius of Hiram Sherman had decided merit. First of all, he looked of an age to be father to Laertes and Ophelia rather than the Methuselah-like figure who is generally presented. Speeches as frequently recited out of context as the precepts speech pose a problem for the actor. That Mr. Sherman averted the danger of making these lines sound like a "memory passage" was to his credit. Polonius and the King, however, bestowed themselves too far away from Hamlet and Ophelia in the eavesdropping scene.

Inga Swenson was a believable Ophelia—beautiful and appealing. She caught well the arch humor of Ophelia's "Do not as some ungracious pastors do" speech. This is her one chance to show the spirit that Shakespeare gave her but which is denied her by many commentators. Miss Swenson's mad

scene was touching. Compliment should also be paid at this point to the costume designer, Alvin Colt. The beauty of Miss Swenson's voice in speech and in the fragments of song in the Mad Scene was in strange contrast with the harshness of tone in her replies to Hamlet in the Play Scene.

In general more attention should be given to voices in this Festival Company and to the reading of blank verse. One had to wait, actually, for the entrance of Fortinbras in Act IV to hear the full value of the poetry. Richard Waring has proved before his ability in this respect. Earle Hyman has an instinctive feeling for the lines. His Horatio was one of the best interpretations in the production, though his voice, noticeably better than it was a year ago, still has a certain thickness of quality which blurs the effect at times.

John Colicos was pleasant to listen to, and played Laertes with an impressive emotional range, from the youthful exuberance of his first scenes, his brotherly concern for his sister, and his filial deference to Polonius, to his unrestrained impetuosity and just anger when he returns to England and finds his father dead by violence and his sister mad. It is this over-quickness to revenge that makes Laertes the perfect foil to the slower acting, thoughtful, but *not* procrastinating Hamlet.

Jack Bittner's Ghost stalked majestically on the watch, but when he had lured Hamlet to a more distant rampart, he stood mid-way up the "bleachers", looking quite dishevelled and writhing in agony as he unfolded his tale. The effectiveness of his narrative suffered further because of his overly-strident tones. Shakespeare impresses with the dignity of this apparition. It is one of the few parts traditionally assigned to the poet as actor. Hardly would he have played it as Mr. Bittner did.

There was much to admire in Fritz Weaver's Hamlet. It had sincerity, and a moving dedication to the one purpose of revenge. He brought out well the pull between Hamlet's love for Ophelia and his renunciation of her in order to carry out his pledge to the Ghost, between his deep affection for his mother and the hurr and disgust he felt at her disloyalty to his deceased father.

On the other hand, there were strange bits of stage-business. After the Ghost had revealed to Hamlet the nature of his death, Fritz Weaver writhed prolongedly on the floor. This was not good. Bad news is not so received by adults. There has been a recent propensity among actors to sprawl and writhe at the slightest provocation. Other bits that detracted from Mr. Weaver's performance were the placing of the book on his head in II.ii, and his over obvious action in the scene of the mousetrap play. The King would have had to be positively obtuse not to grasp from these antics that Hamlet was setting a trap for him. In the Closet Scene, he seized his mother's locket, which apparently bore the image of her deceased husband on one side and that of Claudius on the other, tore it from her neck, and flung it away. Would Gertrude have worn both images and would Hamlet have flung away the locket that bore his dear father's picture?

Mr. Weaver used the Quarto reading of "pitch and moment" instead of the Folio "pith and moment" and the Folio's "dispriz'd love" instead of the Quarto's "despis'd love" in "the" soliloquy. His presentation of the passage was excellent. A novel touch was the virtual chanting of Hamlet's two rhymed quatrains at the end of the Play scene.

*A Midsummer Night's Dream* offers no particularly challenging parts, but it was given a generally delightful performance.

David Hays's scenery was highly atmospheric in this play. Tharon Musser's lighting proved that Jean Rosenthal has in her a compeer, and Thea Neu's costumes, especially for the tradesmen and for Oberon, Titania, and Puck were perfect. Credit should also go to Marc Blitzstein for agreeable music if we except the anachronistic use of strings (viols) and the Leroy Anderson effect of the drops of love-in-a-mist and the restorative herb as these were applied to the eyelids of various sleeping creatures. What Mr. Blitzstein's music lacks is the perfect fairy quality of Mendelssohn's score for the play. Russell Oberlin's rendition of various lyrics was as always a pleasure to hear, and the fairy dances, directed by George Balanchine, added to the beauty and enjoyment of the play.

A better casting of the tradesmen can scarcely be imagined. Each was perfect for his part and distinctly individual. Morris Carnovsky's Peter Quince stood out, especially as Prologue to the play. He and Hiram Sherman as Bottom were superior. Ellis Rabb's Starveling the Tailor was remarkable, too, both in the rehearsal scenes and as Moonshine in the play of *Pyramus and Thisbe*.

Although picturesque in her entrance as Titania, June Havoc lacked the illusion of youth to be truly pleasing in the role. She played the Fairy Queen with evident relish but with a constant jerkiness of motion instead of the appropriate grace. A peculiarly nasal quality in her voice was disturbing. As Oberon, Richard Waring was fully satisfying in every respect. Richard Easton's Puck was a constant joy—the trusty servant to Oberon and the mischievous Robin Goodfellow, who took undisguised pleasure in the confusion he caused by squeezing the fairy potion into the wrong pair of Athenian eyes. When he replied to Oberon's injunction that he execute a command speedily: "I'll put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes", we never doubted his ability to make what is still the record for this journey!

Jack Landau, who deserves much praise for this production, should have reserved the farcical business for the tradesmen. Shakespeare's romantic characters should not be confused with the comic ones. The Duke, Hippolyta, Hermia, and at times Helena, were played as if they were part of a burlesque. The quarrel between Hermia and Helena was in part distasteful rough-house, especially Barbara Barries's Hermia. One might well doubt that the fairies would bother straightening out the love quarrels of a virago. John Colicos' Lysander and James Olson's Demetrius gave a welcome vitality to these usually colorless roles. Patrick Hines's Egeus had a Polonius-like quality that did not suit the text.

Puck, Oberon, and the Tradesmen made this performance worth several times the journey to Stratford.

The highly stylized *Winter's Tale*, under the joint direction of John Houseman and Jack Landau, was a triumph of ingenious production. Costumes, lighting, scenery, dances, music—all were contributors to the agelessness of this play wherein time is neither B.C. nor A.D.—rather is it fairy time—so that the naming of Julio Romano as the sculptor of the statue of Hermione (V.ii) scarce seems an anachronism. The modernly accoutred man with the umbrella who spoke the Chorus (IV.i) symbolized the shift in mood from the tragic to the happy part of the play as he put down his umbrella and glanced signifi-

cantly at a slowly descending artificial sun, rather than emphasizing the sixteen year gap in time.

Never have the major roles in this play drawn the great names in the roster of Shakespearian actors; yet, they are neither negative nor easy parts to interpret. Leonces, as the true embodiment of jealousy, seems possessed of a virtual madness of this vice. John Colicos over-acted the part, obscuring what is in the lines by doing so. Notwithstanding, he sustained his interpretation through the many scenes admirably and was movingly, if slowly, repentant after the pronouncement of the Oracle. Nancy Marchand's Paulina was a gallant soul; Nancy Wickwire's Hermione deserved the highest praise—notably in the trial scene and in the final scene. Courtliness and sensitivity were the true fibre of Richard Waring's Polixenes.

James Olson, substituting for Richard Easton as Florizel, and Mariette Hartley, substituting for Inga Swenson as Perdita, were as charming youthful lovers as one would wish.

Camillo (Ellis Rabb), Antigonus (Patrick Hines), the Old Shepherd (Will Geer), the Young Shepherd (William Hickey), and the three Gentlemen (Jack Bittner, Severn Darden, and Hiram Sherman), were all excellent. Mr. Sherman particularly combined individualization of character with excellence of diction.

And what of Autolycus, that professional thief, that pedler whose pack is as full of delightful songs as it is of ribbons, gloves, and other trinkets? Earle Hyman played the part well, but his was a rather too heavy-footed Autolycus.

Long to be remembered was the gaiety and garlanded beauty of the sheep-shearing scene, filled with as many verbal flowers as there were posies in the ropes of blossoms that decked the stage. As this season at Stratford stands "... Not yet on summer's death, nor on the birth of trembling winter . . .", we reflect that poetical, fantastic, tragi-comedy in the fullest sense of the term, as it is, *The Winter's Tale* is at best an episodic drama. Yet we are indebted to the directors for including each season at least one of the less-frequently performed plays of Shakespeare and for bestowing on them no less attention than on the greater works.

Hunter College



# Shakespeare at Ashland, Oregon—1958

GLORIA E. JOHNSON



THE Ashland Shakespeare Festival arrived at a critical point in its eighteen-season history this summer. With the performance of *Troilus and Cressida*, it completed production of the entire canon, production in the true Shakespearian manner, without intermission, by a repertory company, on an Elizabethan stage. The three other plays of this summer's program, *King Lear*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *Much Ado about Nothing*, proved that this authentic staging can achieve unrivalled theatrical excitement. Ashland has progressed far beyond the possibilities of a mere community theatre. In imaginativeness and vigor its performances can now be compared with those at Stratford-on-Avon.

No name stars contribute to this status. The company is composed of a small fixed group of veteran actors and a large number of carefully chosen students and teachers of drama from all parts of the country, united by their common desire to enlarge their understanding of the plays. This scholarly impulse is encouraged by other aspects of the Festival. The Institute of Renaissance Studies gives courses on the Elizabethan background and sponsors intensive study of the plays, besides making available a steadily growing library of Elizabethan literature. In a series of public lectures, works related to the plays of the current season are discussed. This year Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* and Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* were read. Shakespeare's spelling, Shakespeare's sonnets, a conversation on comedy, and Shakespeare in South America were the subjects of a few of the Trinity Noons and Gresham Lectures.

This scholarly enthusiasm and skilled direction surmounted most minor problems. In *King Lear*, the artistic triumph of this season, they overcame the major difficulties that have made this tragedy one of the least often produced. "Too huge for the stage", A. C. Bradley pronounced it, but it was not too huge for this platform stage. The superb performance of Richard Graham as Lear surpassed that of many more renowned actors in its restrained power. Gielgud, for example, reached a high pitch of emotion in the early scenes that could not be sustained in the later. His Lear was kingly, but cold and severe, with no depths of warmth beneath the surface egotism. Richard Graham achieved a Lear of regal magnificence, but his richly resonant voice could break and falter in very human fashion, to recall "oppressed nature". From the first scene when he echoed Cordelia's "Nothing" in hurt bewilderment to his final anguished entrance with her body, he held his audience captive.

The rest of the company assisted this veteran actor, in his eleventh Ashland year, with fine ensemble playing. Edward Grover's Kent was a fully realized individual, not the mere personification of honest loyalty. Robert Towers' mercurial Fool with his delicate grace, haunting voice, and small stature, deftly

brought the King to a knowledge of his own nature, but also provided Lear with opportunity to be fatherly and protective. He gave "the finishing-touch to the pathos" that Keats described. Edgar, played by Paul Harper, sustained his lengthy Poor Tom scene with notable skill, but was often extremely matter-of-fact before his disguise, as when he responded to Edmund's startling description of their father's anger with a very flat and casual "Some villain hath done me wrong." Rosalyn Newport gave Cordelia spirit as well as sweetness. Goneril and Regan, well differentiated in their heights and in their voices, put authentic concentrated malice into their roles. In contrast Harold Gould made Edmund a pallid villain with no viciousness and no force. Part of his failure in this role may be explained by the fact that his early soliloquy, "This is the excellent foppery of the world", was entirely thrown away, delivered lightly to provoke laughter, not understanding. Part of his failure may also be the direct result of his success in the part of Benedick. His heart was certainly not in his evil machinations.

Robert Loper's direction can be commended for its consistency and for its good taste. The dramatic tension of the play was so skilfully built up that it swept the audience swiftly and steadily forward from one emotional peak to another. Rarely was this tension broken. Lear's mad scene with Gloucester and Edgar unfortunately staggered shakily when Lear's line, "Let me wipe it first; it smells of mortality," brought laughter. But the mood was recaptured. The usual revulsion at the blinding of Gloucester was avoided because the audience was so rapidly caught up in the pathos of the next scene, Edgar's first sight of his sightless father.

Wisely, only the simplest of stage effects were chosen. All tricks of lighting were avoided on the bare stage. A thunder sheet alone gave atmosphere to the storm scene. The effect of this simplicity combined with inspired acting was an overwhelming awareness of the play's emotional impact, a heightened perception of the tragedy. "The wonder is, he hath endur'd so long."

Mr. Loper also directed the highly popular, rapidly paced *Much Ado about Nothing*, but here the consistency of his inspiration might be questioned briefly, in spite of a thoroughly captivating production. Surely there was no need to convert the post-denunciation scenes with Leonato and Claudio and Don Pedro into low comedy by making Leonato deliver all his lines in a headlong rush.

The director's greatest assistance came from the two principals, Beatrice and Benedick. Patricia Moran gave Beatrice's voice a crisp masculine ring in her early independent scenes, and a softened inflection after the development of her feelings for Benedick. Miss Moran added a compelling stage presence to her own attractive appearance. Benedick matched this vibrant quality with cavalier charm that did not have to sacrifice honest integrity. Harold Gould gave a magnificent performance with numerous small touches that endeared him to the audience. The little embarrassed laugh that followed his avowal of love to Beatrice, "I do love nothing in the world so well as you—is not that strange?" was one of the most engaging of these touches.

Rosalyn Newport achieved the difficult task of imparting some color to the slim lines of Hero's part. Her piquant features and graceful bearing helped to fill in the slight outline sketched by Shakespeare.

The rest of the cast ably supported the main protagonists in a brisk and gay

production. The special merits of the repertory style were apparent in the versatility of Richard Graham and Edward Grover. Lear played Don Pedro with self-confident humor, and straightforward Kent became garrulous Leonato with complete success.

In the third play of the season the founder and Producing Director of the Festival, Professor Angus L. Bowmer, repeated one of the roles most closely associated with his name, that of Shylock. James Sandoe directed this *Merchant of Venice*, in which the tragic undertones were minimized when Shylock emerged as a grotesquely comic figure, not as the thoroughly evil villain that Macklin first introduced upon the stage, and not as Kean's sentimentalized representative of a misunderstood race. Bowmer used the heavily accented voice and plentiful gestures of the traditional stage comic Jew to establish his conception of Shylock's professionally ingratiating manner. His short, squat figure drew laughs instead of hisses as he scuttled off the stage after the trial scene, with no tragic dignity, but with nervous smiles and bobbing haste.

He had been vanquished by a brisk, clear-voiced Portia, who, neat in her velvet hat and lawyer's robes, had more the look of "a little scrubbed boy" than her clerk, one who knew what she was about and intended to finish the matter with as much dispatch as possible. Portia in the opulence of her Belmont surroundings was a lovely combination of womanly charm and sprightly humor. Margaret Vafiadis quite properly gave her a more commanding presence than she gave the part of Cressida.

William Nye was a suave Bassanio, as he was to be a coarse Diomedes. The two chief comic talents of the company, those of Nagle Jackson and Michael O'Sullivan, combined to play Launcelot Gobbo and Old Gobbo with much fun from the contrast between the nimble and the stiff-legged. Ellen Kay played the strong-minded Jessica with a convincing Eastern flavor. It was regrettable that her poetic lines with Lorenzo, "In such a night", were given so little importance. They were sacrificed, one felt, to the conception of *The Merchant of Venice* as a uniformly comic play.

The final play of the 1958 season and the last play of the canon to be produced at Ashland, *Troilus and Cressida*, suffered from lack of a single unifying interpretation. In his program notes James Sandoe confessed to mystification about the order of the play, about which G. Wilson Knight wrote: "In no play of Shakespeare is there a more powerful unity of idea." It would be interesting to see a production ordered around one of the most convincing scholarly interpretations of the theme, Professor Oscar James Campbell's theory of a comical satire.

Mr. Sandoe chose instead to emphasize another aspect of the play, a somewhat startling reading of Cressida's character. He saw Cressida "thawed into momentary warmth and then frozen permanently", one who "becomes a wanton before our eyes out of desolation and vengefulness", when Troilus failed to prevent her from leaving Troy. In his zeal to introduce a heroine different from the critics' usual practiced wanton or Hazlitt's "giddy girl", Mr. Sandoe was forced to ignore such lines of Cressida's as I. ii. 261, or I. ii. 270, lines more appropriate to Juliet's nurse than to a proper romantic heroine shocked by her highly improper uncle. Margaret Vafiadis found it a severe test of virtuosity to utter such lines as "Why have I blabbed?" or "Stop my mouth."

in tones of sincere and fresh young love. In her attempts to wrestle with such a contradictory characterization she spoke in an unvarying, uninflected voice that lacked color or conviction. Nor did this interpretation of Cressida prepare the audience to accept the familiar manner in which the Greeks received her in their camp. Ulysses was not referring to an unsophisticated girl when he remarked, "Twere better she were kissed in general."

Troilus as played by George Vafiadis was ever the sighing lover, almost unsympathetic in the monotony of his protestations. Pandarus provided the dominant tone of the play. In this part Michael O'Sullivan pranced about the stage with so much zest and gave his lines with so much relish that he narrowly escaped the perils of caricature. His vulgar chartreuse costume and leering comic features accented this bawdy enthusiasm. His final unsavory lines, delivered in a mocking, ringing voice from a darkly shadowed balcony, effectively underlined the degenerate atmosphere. Mr. Sandoe used many devices to establish this atmosphere in the play, including a convivial scene with several carousing couples in the background when Pandarus calls upon Paris and Helen. In contrast, Ulysses' philosophical reflections on order were delivered hastily, pedantically, with a total lack of emphasis, almost as if they were irrelevant, as indeed they were to this production of *Troilus*. Richard Graham appeared to have only the slightest interest in the part of Ulysses.

Several smaller parts, however, emerged as sharply defined portrayals. Ther-sites was played by Nagle Jackson, in his second Festival year, with an impeccable sense of timing and with an incisiveness that gave major importance to the scurrilous comments. Claude Jenkins, also in his second Festival year, gave Achilles an inflexible arrogance that provided an excellent contrast with the thick-voiced, thick-witted Ajax of Philip Reines. There were no dull moments in this production, even if a unifying conception of the meaning of the play was lacking.

In all four plays presented this season, the possibilities of the fluid, unlocalized Elizabethan stage were taken full advantage of. The result certainly belied W. J. Lawrence's dictum that "the idea of continuous performance as a principle cannot be entertained" mainly because it "called for powers of concentration given to few." The audience felt no strain watching these uninterrupted performances. They were fast, coherent, and moving, sharply pointing up the limitations of our picture-frame stage. The directors of these plays, in their delight at discovery of the mobility of their medium, occasionally overtaxed its resources. The balcony, for example, bore a tremendously heavy traffic. One scene often opened upon it before another had closed below. It was used for added convenience at times when there was nothing in line or location to suggest it. This overuse resulted in several awkward pieces of staging. In the opening scene of *King Lear*, for instance, Edmund was discovered upon the balcony while Gloucester and Kent discussed him below. This position exalted him quite unnaturally. Similarly, in *The Merchant of Venice*, Shylock had to address his important "Hath not a Jew eyes?" speech to Salerio and Solanio who were upon the balcony for no apparent reason. Again, these two figures were exalted unnecessarily, and Shylock was forced to assume a series of awkward postures as he looked up to them.

Then, too, in their desire to keep the pace of the plays swift, the directors

concentrated upon breath-taking exits and entrances. Many crucial lines were tossed away into the wings as a result. Antonio strode quickly upon the stage in the opening scene of *The Merchant of Venice*, having said most of "In sooth I know not why I am so sad", almost offstage, so that it was barely audible and became insignificant conversation. Gratiano and Salerio rushed on stage to take their places outside Shylock's house to await Lorenzo before Shylock had left the stage by the very entrance they used, so that there was a strange encounter between them as they passed. But these are minor criticisms of plays that were impressively and satisfyingly staged.

Ironically, the Festival's future is most uncertain when its achievement is most obvious. For unless funds can be raised to build a new theatre before rehearsals must start next year, this will be the final season of Shakespeare in Ashland. The present theatre building, built according to the dimensions of the Fortune, has been remodelled twice, and now provides only inadequate and unsafe space for players and equipment. The sufferance of the State Fire Marshal has permitted this season's performances. There is some hope that Oregon may rescue the Festival by converting it into a state theatre enterprise in time for next year's centennial celebrations. A tentative 1959 schedule of *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *The Life and Death of King John*, inaugurating a new plan to present all the history plays in chronological order, has been announced in the same dauntless spirit that has seen the Festival through crises in the past. Certainly there was no hint of foreboding in the dash and verve with which this summer's four plays were presented.

*Eugene, Oregon*



Middlesex, from the map in John Norden's *Speculum Britanniae, The First Parte* (1593). This is the first of Norden's county maps. The engraver was Pieter vanden Keere. See p. 596.



# The Phoenix Shakespeare Festival

ANSON B. CUTTS

**P**HOENIX, the booming and mushrooming capital of the nation's next-to-youngest state, has a long tradition of community drama. Its Little Theatre, now housed in a superlatively beautiful and ultra-modern playhouse seating 450, at the Civic Center, has been producing plays continuously for 37 seasons. Last year it staged Arizona's first Shakespeare Festival, and this year, from April 10 through 19, its second.

Like other current civic projects, these first two annual festivals have been young, exuberant enterprises, and resounding popular and financial successes. More important, their artistic quality was far above what one might expect of a nascent venture by a community theatre of amateur standing. Yet there were many sound reasons for this significant accomplishment.

Foremost among these was the Phoenix Little Theatre organization, which through long experience has perfected a marvelously efficient *modus operandi*, engaging the talents of a paid executive secretary, Edgar Anderson, and a technical director-scenic designer, C. Thornton Garst, plus a staff numbering as many as 880 volunteers annually, from all walks of life. This includes a backstage crew of 382, a box office staff of 43, 23 ushers, 8 hostesses, 388 actors, the corps de ballet of 14, and some 20 others. Probably the most unorthodox feature of PLT's set-up is the absence of a supervising director, each production being supervised by some guest director, many of whom have won their spurs on the professional stage.

Another primary factor in the festivals' success, and the one making them possible, has been the vision and self-dedication of Civic Leader and Shakespeare Scholar Dr. Alfred Knight,<sup>1</sup> an honorary life trustee and, since 1940, chairman of the Little Theatre board. It was he who conceived and helped finance the Shakespeare Section of PLT, which bears his name, established festival cash awards for dramatic and technical excellence, totaling \$1,200 annually, and donated more than 1,000 volumes of invaluable Shakespeariana to the adjacent Public Library. Helpful, too, in arousing public interest and understanding are the series of free lectures on the plays, given in the Public Library auditorium by Shakespeare authorities prior to the opening of each festival. Also at the Civic Center, and concurrently with the Shakespeare Festival, the Phoenix Fine Arts Association annually holds its impressive Festival of Arts, which attracted 20,000 people this year.

Both years three of the Bard's plays have been given three performances each. In 1957 they were *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Much Ado About Nothing*, this year *Othello*, *Taming of the Shrew*, and *Twelfth Night*. On each occasion

<sup>1</sup> Phoenix was saddened by the death of Mr. Knight on 30 October at the age of 84.

the first, second, and third were directed, respectively, by three seasoned Shakespeareans—Robert Begam, John Paul, and Frank Rowley Byers.

Begam had his training as a drama major at Yale University, where he directed *Romeo and Juliet* and *Julius Caesar* in the University Theatre, and wrote his thesis on *Macbeth*, before going into the law. Paul, who did graduate work in drama, also at Yale, is the dynamic chairman of the Department of Speech and Drama at Phoenix College, which possesses the city's only theatre-in-the-round. Byers holds an English professorship and is director of the Drama Workshop at Arizona State College and University, in suburban Tempe. His presentations there of *Othello* and *Taming of the Shrew* have been much admired in recent years.

The imaginative and adaptable basic set designed by Phil Auth for the festivals consists of an upper acting area with colonnade of slender, round pillars which can be rearranged in groups, or removed altogether, can be lighted to stand out against a dark background, or silhouetted against a luminous sky effect. This level is flanked at the sides by steps leading down to the lower acting area. Despite the effectiveness of the set in 1957, supplementary scenery was provided for both *Othello* and *Taming of the Shrew*. Only Prof. Byers, the purist among the directors, contented himself this year with the basic set and a minimum of props for *Twelfth Night*.

Begam's concept of *Othello* hinged on the belief that Shakespeare, for dramatic and poetic reasons, designed characters that were prototypes (rather than everyday types), in which plastic forms he concentrated the virtues, vices, weakness, strength, and emotions—the passions—which animate all humans at all times. Characters bigger than the ordinary, and possessed of a capacity to contain greater reality than the "real".

He felt that Shakespeare set the play in Cyprus, because, to an Elizabethan audience, this was an exotic location, one in which the characters could move free from any restraint of geographic and temporal reference. Consequently costumes, set-pieces, props, etc., were devoid of such specific connotation, although the costumes retained a neo-Elizabethan character. Lights were used to achieve stylized effects. The actors were imbued with the importance of presentational, rather than representational, characterization, and Iago was toned down to proper proportions, so as not to overshadow the name part, as frequently happens.

Begam cut and amended the script to fit this staging philosophy, while retaining all of the essential drama and poetry of the original. The first two scenes of Act III were eliminated, because of their strong period flavor, and in order to achieve continuous action, which was broken only once during the performance, at the intermission following Act III, Scene iii.

Performed by a Little Theatre cast (as *Macbeth* had been the year before), *Othello* benefited greatly from the inspired portrayals of Rosalyn Sistrom, as Emilia, and of Norman MacDonald, as Iago. The first year they teamed as Macbeth and Lady Macbeth, but neither so fully realized the potentialities and subtleties of those roles as they did in *Othello*.

English-born Mrs. Sistrom played Emilia with grace, restraint, and charm right up to her last-act tour de force, which was negotiated with a finished melodrama long to be remembered. She is an example of the retired profes-

sional in Phoenix on whom the Little Theatre is able to draw. As Rosalyn Boulter, she received her training at London University's Central School of Speech and Dramatic Art, along with Vivienne Leigh, Lawrence Olivier, and Alec Guinness. Following English successes, she was first seen on Broadway as Noel Coward's protégée twenty years ago in *George and Margaret*. Her husband, William Sistrom, a perennial PLT director, produced Olivier's memorable film version of *Henry V*, before coming to America.

Radio Commentator and TV Actor MacDonald, like Orson Welles a product of the Mercury Theatre, has been appearing in Shakespearian roles ever since San Diego's 1935 World's Fair, when he was a member of the professional company that launched its Globe Theatre, home of the present National Shakespeare Festivals. Creditably upholding their parts in the drama were Jay Kude, an imposing if occasionally lethargic Othello, who had played a roistering MacDuff in *Macbeth*; and Royce Weyers, making her debut as a pallid and appealing titian-haired Desdemona.

*Taming of the Shrew*, which followed, had an exemplary cast of Phoenix College drama students, who presented a youthful, lusty brawl of a performance, such as one witnesses rarely in a life-time of theatre going. Director Paul has acquired a reputation far beyond Phoenix as a teacher and director who achieves extraordinary professional polish in his productions with undergraduate actors and technicians. His unerring pictorial sense in the grouping and deploying of large numbers of actors made *Julius Caesar* the apex of the 1957 festival, and this year's offering attested equally to his skill in a more intimate milieu. Paul looked upon the play as a rollicking—even bawdy and low—comedy, with four characters holding the principal comic keys. These were Petruchio, Katharina, Grumio, and Biondello—all played to the hilt. Practically everything reasonably authentic and short of slapstick, in the way of stage business, was incorporated to enhance the humor. *Taming of the Shrew* in the Phoenix production became a play within a play, enacted for Christopher Sly, and consequently geared to the taste and level of the drunken tinker himself. Paul's feeling was that the play must have been written in a hurry and for the habitués of the pit.

As presented at the festival, it was first of all an entertaining piece for a specific audience. The fact that Shakespeare wrote it seemed of secondary importance, since the reaction of the audience was to a hilarious comedy, not a museum piece. To establish this mood of fun, frolic, surprise, and "Christopher Slyishness", the players entered down the aisles. Emphasis was placed upon the Sly portion of the play, and the epilogue (borrowed from the earlier, anonymous *Taming of A Shrew*) was adroitly utilized to complete the picture frame of the play-within-a-play.

In the role of Katharina, Roberta Blalock, well-known to Phoenix drama and opera devotees, had a part tailored to her particular saucy and insinuating talent as a comedienne. She threw herself into the portrayal with gusto, and fought like an alley cat when the occasion demanded. A perfect foil for her was provided by Ed Caldwell (Petruchio), whose 1957 Brutus also was a memorable achievement. His voice is excellently adapted to Shakespearian lines; his stage manner is authoritative; and in this latest characterization his comic flair had ample rein. Other standouts were Sim Varner, who made a fat

and funny Grumio; and Charles Bondi, a Biondello as stupid as they come.

The chief problem in producing *Twelfth Night*, as Prof. Byers' Drama Workshop understood the matter, was one of keeping in proper balance the diverse ingredients in Shakespeare's usual recipe for his romantic comedies—the high comedy, the low comedy, and the dramatic moonshine. The Bard himself has provided a remarkable system of checks and balances: the languishing love-sickness of Orsino and Olivia, tempered by the forthrightness of Viola; the over-blown self-importance of Malvolio, deflated by Sir Toby and his fellow conspirators. To translate all of this into stage terms, the Drama Workshop presented the poetic love scenes as pictures, slightly animated tableaux, set to music and played for the most part in the upper acting area of the festival set. The boisterous low comedy scenes took place with lively animation on the lower acting area of the forestage. Thereby, a marked physical differentiation between the two types of scene was achieved, while an easy flow of movement from one to the other was maintained by way of the stairs connecting the different levels.

Two other problems always confront a director of *Twelfth Night*: how to deal with some of the time-worn story devices, such as mistaken identity, which have lost much of their savor for modern playgoers; and how to obviate the too facile tying up of loose ends in the final scene. Byers drew together these diverse elements, even the ineptitudes, in a harmonious whole, by means of an appropriate musical setting. During some scenes (notably those in which Feste sings and strums), and during most of the scene transitions, authentic 16th-century music was played offstage on a harpsichord, closely resembling in sound the virginals on which Shakespeare's own Dark Lady played. If warrant for this innovation were needed, it is to found in the comedy's beginning, "If music be the food of love, play on", and in several charming songs woven into its fabric.

Everything in the decor was reduced to barest essentials—four benches to indicate various localities, grouped columns to serve as the box-tree during the gulling of Malvolio and as prison bars for the cellar scene, when they were eerily illumined by a baby spot on a darkened stage. In short, this was the most genuinely Elizabethan of the three productions, for was not the Throne of Denmark but a chair "when Burbage played"?

Particular fine performances were given by Beth Brokaw, who brought to the role of Olivia beauty, grace, dignity, and a charming voice; by Joy-Lynne Cranford Tanner, as a boyish and beguiling Viola; by Nancy Bennett, as an assured and sprightly Maria; by Robert McNulty as a stuffy and humorously compelling Malvolio; and by Walter W. Andrews in one of the most masterly portrayals of Sir Toby Belch this reviewer can recall anywhere.

Gratifying as the stage productions proved to be, the Phoenix Shakespeare Festival owed much to the colorful pageantry on the spacious greensward outside the theatre, and to the old English country fair atmosphere created by overhead banners and gaily decorated booths in which tea, coffee, and Elizabethan sweetmeats were purveyed by ladies in costume.

Before each performance the Festival Corps de Ballet, trained by Eileen Colgrove, executed graceful dances of Shakespeare's day, including a particularly enchanting locked-swords dance by six young men; Marian Root's Madrigal

Singers, supplemented by members of the Civic Light Opera Company, sang Elizabethan songs, sent from England for the occasion; and Scarlette Caywood for the second year presided over the proceedings from her flower-bedecked throne, as Queen Elizabeth I—all under the expert direction of former Little Theatre President Zoe Johnson.

But the final curtain was not the finale for the actors and backstage crews who participated in the festival. There remained the presentation of the Dr. Alfred Knight cash awards for outstanding excellence, which took place at the gala end-of-the-season Little Theatre banquet, fittingly held in Hotel "Westward-Ho." More than 300 participants and well-wishers applauded, as the donor read the names of the winners and personally congratulated them on their achievement.

Recipients for *Othello* were Jay Kude, Othello; Rosalyn Sistrom, Emilia; Norman MacDonald, Iago; Helen Begam, assistant director; and Bud Bert, lighting. Recipients for *Taming of the Shrew* were Ed Caldwell, Petruchio; Roberta Blalock, Katharina; Sim Varner, Grumio; Charles Bondi, Biondello; Bonnie Caveness, production manager; Lorrie Rogers, stage manager; and Bill Van Loo, supplementary set designs. For *Twelfth Night* the recipients were Robert McNulty, Malvolio; Walter W. Andrews, Sir Toby Belch; Joy-Lynne Cranford Tanner, Viola; Nancy Bennett, Maria; and Richard Norton, stage manager.

After this second Phoenix Shakespeare Festival, the many responsible for its success, a total attendance of 3,500 (as against 2,700 in 1957), a box office "take" of \$6,700, and a net profit of \$2,500, could say with justifiable pride, "All's well that ends well".

*Phoenix*





Bird's-eye view of London, from an inset in the map of Middlesex in John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*.  
See p. 596.



## Shakespeare in The Rockies: A Happy Beginning

ROBERT L. PERKIN

NATURE was more than kind to the first Colorado Shakespeare Festival, which opened Aug. 2, a pleasant mile-high summer's evening, in the Mary Rippon Theatre on the campus of the University of Colorado in Boulder. Not only did the daily threatened rain withhold itself from the three opening nights, but nature also proved so personal a presence that she actively and graciously participated, on cue, in the undertakings. Bernardo's . . . yond same star that's westward from the pole . . .

was palpably present, and the audience turned to look at it, shining down on Flagstaff Mountain, when that good soldier pointed from Elsinore's battlements. Sleepy sparrows hidden in the branches of one of the big Colorado blue spruces which grow upon the stage remained courteously silent before and after but bestowed a rustling, chirping grief on Ophelia's madness so appropriately that some playgoers subsequently inquired if these could have been off-stage sound effects. Two nights later, when lions whelped in the streets of Rome, a falling star arced across the Colorado heavens to compound the portents of dark doings in the Forum. The following evening began with black, low clouds, a night for gloomy musings on woman's perversity, but as Kate got kissed the stars came out to watch, and then a near-full moon peered down benignly on a masterful taming of a delectable shrew. Nature deserved a listing with the cast, or, at minimum, program credits.

I would not want to hint mysticism in meteorological coincidence, but perhaps one is permitted a speculation that these things also might have delighted an Elizabethan audience? Even more. I'd like to think they represented a gentle blessing on the earnest, inspired labors of a troupe of nobly talented young actors.

The Colorado Shakespeare Festival, newest addition to the roster of Elizabethan repertory theatres in America, opened with *Hamlet*. *Julius Caesar* was played Aug. 4, and *The Taming of the Shrew* on Aug. 5. The three plays then followed each other in that sequence for a two-week run through Aug. 16. It is anticipated the festival will be expanded in coming seasons to four or five weeks, and the plans, at present, envision a hard-core repertory of the more important and popular plays rather than any methodical working of the canon.

Choice of the plays for this year was a strong one, perhaps even a touch bold. Nearly everyone has had some experience of Shakespearean theatre, or its dilution, which can be brought to bear on the three plays selected. The *Hamlet* and sure-fire *Shrew* came off exceedingly well. As might have been expected,

the *Caesar* was the low point, although it was by no means a failure. In my view it was daring to have attempted it in a first season, and I give the Colorado company and its directors a high score on strong heart alone. Moreover, they essayed staging experiments which fully demonstrated their earnest. *Caesar*, it seems to me, can enjoy a measure of unsubtle success on action and eloquence, or on heavily underlined political implications, but neither of these is what the Colorado festival attempted, nor do I think what Shakespeare wrote. The record rather clearly demonstrates, however, that *Caesar* is a play of exceptional difficulties which continue to frustrate mature and wholly professional casts. Giving it an undaunted effort—particularly with the full-faced seriousness manifest in Boulder—becomes in reality an act of at least minor artistic heroism.

Total attendance was 7000 persons, a modest beginning, but a satisfying one which well exceeded expectations. The Rippon Theatre seats 983. The encouraging response led to immediate announcement of a slightly enlarged festival for 1959. The second festival will run seven nights a week, Aug. 1 through 15, and the plays will be *Macbeth*, *Richard II*, and *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

The festival staff had no shortage of experience. Many of its members are well and favorably known in summer Shakespeare circles. J. H. Crouch, who teaches English at the University and heads its year-round theatre program, is the continuing executive director. Dr. Crouch directed the excellent *Hamlet*, his tenth Shakespearian production at Colorado, and came from backstage to play a somber and pace-setting Julius Caesar for the second night. His guest directors were Hal J. Todd of Idaho State College and Gerald Kahan of Reed College. Dr. Todd directed and acted in the 1956 Oregon Shakespeare Festival at Ashland, and during the 1957 season appeared in the Old Globe at San Diego. In Boulder this year, he directed the *Julius Caesar* and played Rosencrantz. Dr. Kahan, for five years director of Wisconsin's Sheboygan Community Players, handled the Colorado *Shrew*, his third experience in staging the romp. He also was called upon as Marcus Lepidus.

The Rippon Theatre has been in use for more than two decades. It was designed by University architects in collaboration with George F. Reynolds, Colorado's famed Elizabethan stage authority and now professor emeritus. No effort was made to duplicate Shakespeare's theatre but only to provide an effective and flexible setting for dramatic and musical events of all kinds. The theatre is held in the U between two wings of one of the principal classroom buildings. Beyond a walkway arched at either side, a second building, also in the University's dominant style of native pink sandstone and red tile, forms a backdrop. The playing area has two wide, deep grassed levels and a smaller semi-circular apron at the foot of the gently rising tiers of stone benches occupied by the audience. A low flagstone wall separates the apron "pit" from the first level, and a graceful flight of broad stairs carries to the upper stage. Another useful flight of steps rises to the ornamental doors of the backdrop building. Wings are provided by permanent shrubbery and trees, and by two half-height sandstone quarter-circles topped by woodbine at left and right. The stage is easily seventy-five feet in breadth, and its depth equals that of the "house" itself.

Festival staging took full advantage of this handsome setting and generous space. Actors played up and down, over and upon the low wall, carrying the

action to the front row of the audience and even a step or two up the aisles. For the most part, they met the prodigious distances with poise and agility, and delays for entrances and exits were not noticeable. The freedom of space permitted, of course, full exploitation of pageantry (the procession to the grave in *Hamlet*), uninhibited action (Hamlet's duel and on-stage battles in *Caesar*) and great ease with asides and soliloquies. The tops of the quarter-circles appear to have been designed with *Hamlet's* Ghost in mind, and one of them was used for a powerful bit of terrifying violence in which Cinna the Poet seemed literally to be hurled down into *Caesar's* mob to be torn limb from limb in the veritable lap of the audience.

The much-beloved Dr. Reynolds was called upon to open the festival, and he thoroughly charmed the first-nighters as he has charmed generations of undergraduates. He noted that the University's Shakespeare tradition goes back at least to 1897 and that for fourteen summers one or more Elizabethan dramas have been presented under the stars in the Rippon Theatre. Although the current festival, planned carefully over the past five years, employs the first repertory company in the Rocky Mountain region, there has been diligence in whetting an appetite for it. No one person has done as much to cultivate a regional appreciation and hunger for Shakespeare as Dr. Reynolds himself.

Director Crouch cut his *Hamlet*, leaning strongly on the Second Quarto, to a three-hour production broken by two short intermissions. The text was one of the best features of an entirely superior *Hamlet*. It offered scenes seldom presented, and it drew into firm unity a play so well loved and known that, given half a chance, it will sweep players and audience off in all directions on looping flights which bear little relation to each other. Crouch was in charge all the way. The result was a production of brooding power and spinetingling grandeur. I can recall moments in other *Hamlets* which moved me as much or more, but never a presentation which seemed so whole in its purposeful and sustained impact. Full honors should go to the remarkable actor who treated the title role as though he had been born to it. More certainly will be heard from George Wall, a blond young man of great sensitivity, flawless diction, and commanding stage presence. Wall was one of the ten scholarship winners for this first season. Wisely and modestly, he attempted no definitive solutions and committed himself to no extremes of dogmatic interpretation. His admirable, empathetic Hamlet was a synthesis, with some of Freud, some of Leslie Howard and, yes, some of Goethe, but all of it "modern" in appreciations. Do not let me imply that his reading was cautious or lacked conviction, but his Dane was played with a humility which dug deep by its very frankness. Wall was skillfully supported. Denelda Nelson gave us that rarity of rarities, a sympathetic Ophelia who was neither simpering schoolgirl nor airy wraith. Claudius (Fowler Osburn) was dark of visage and deep of voice, every inch royal, and his prayer scene was genuinely touching. Gertrude (Ricky Weiser) proved so regal and lushly desirable a queen as almost to destroy the point of the play. For such a prize, foul murder and hot incest scarcely seem to be excessive sins. A good-voiced Horatio (William Mooney) was more than adequate, and the Laertes (Michael Montel) was properly fiery, though perhaps a bit too fidgety and given to wild eye-rollings.

As far as the *Julius Caesar* is concerned, I regret that the Boulder company

must contend with some rather deep-rooted personal prejudices, strengthened, I suppose, by a fresh consultation with Granville-Barker's preface to *The Players' Shakespeare* edition. I don't think I ever saw a *Caesar* which measured up wholly to what I wanted it to be and think it is. Moreover, I am not at all convinced this demanding, intractable play can be handled by young actors. It seems to require in nearly every crucial line an inner dignity which just is not given to young men, whose precious virtues are of other sorts. The Colorado festival production, I think, proved my point—both ways. The *Caesar* (J. H. Crouch) and *Brutus* (Fowler Osburn) came off best, and both actors had a few years on their fellow players. I do not conceive *Cassius* and *Brutus* to be mere skulking conspirators, mechanically doomed by their red-handed treason. Both characters—*Brutus* particularly, *Cassius* much less so, of course—are thoughtful men and have the stuff of tragic heroes. Every effort to reduce them to star-crossed schemers diminishes the play, and *Cassius* (Michael Montel) was read in Boulder simply as a neurotic plot-hatcher. *Antony* (Robert Cornwall) was played naively as a faithful, beautiful friend to *Caesar*, and not as a consummate self-server, hypocrite and demagogue. There seemed to be little grasp of these elements in the character; for one of the critical lines

Fortune is merry,

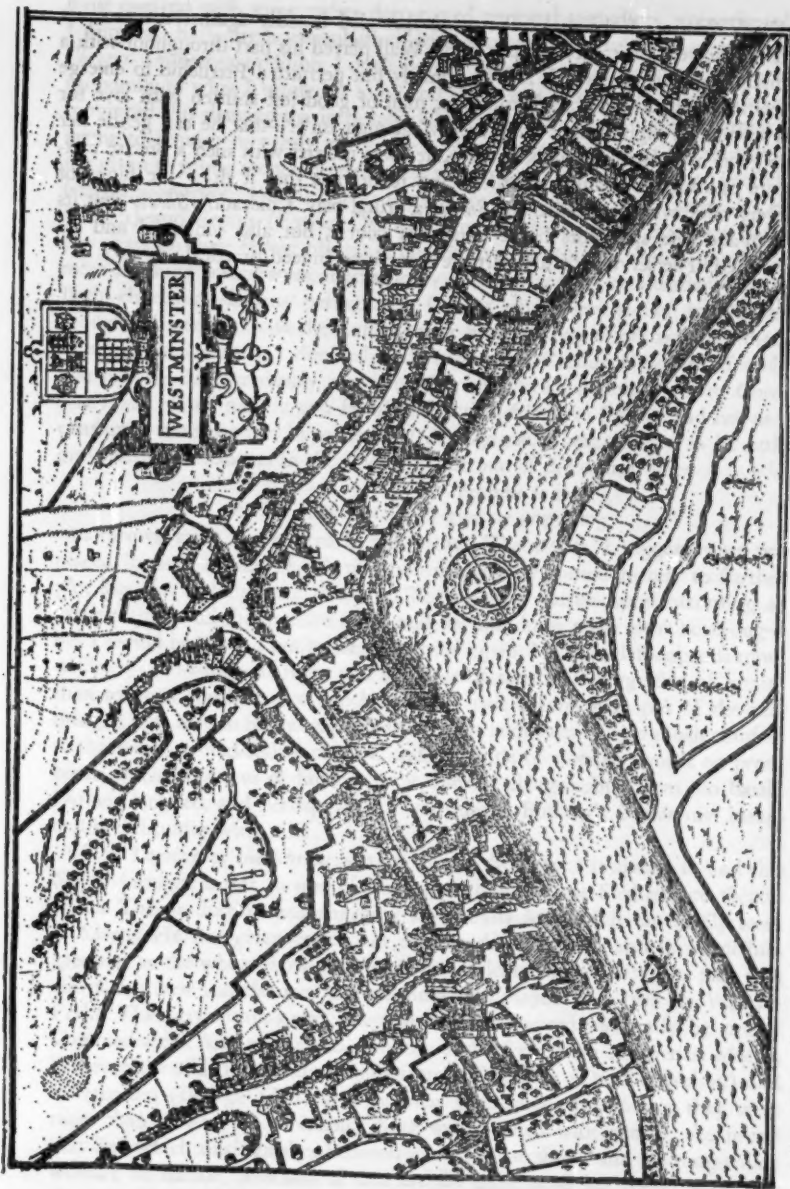
And in this mood will give us any thing.

was thrown away somewhere in the bushes. The words, I suggest, were not placed in their setting of a brute mob deliberately roused merely to further plot but also to help limn the man. The on-stage battles were interesting as experiments—and the impulse to fill and use that huge stage *must* be strong—but I would be content not to see them tried again. My disbelief suspends more willingly to off-stage alarums and a couple of spearmen suggestive of armies than to noisy mock battles which can only pale before memories of the real thing. There are too many warriors in modern audiences to give much comfort to those who would stylize combat, and the rattle of wooden swords on prest-board shields borrows of farce what it loses of clangor. But I am too harsh. No one laughed, and perhaps only I was uneasy. Boulder's *Caesar* met insuperable difficulties with valor.

*The Taming of the Shrew* was, of course, the delight it always is, and this *Shrew* brought extras to one of the happiest nights the Shakespeare theatre offers. The production was engaging structurally for its full use of *Sly* from *A Shrew*. He was given entire, not only in the Induction and as a sidelines spectator to the whole show but also in the epilogue which raises the part well above drunken stupefaction. *Christophero* was played to a turn by William Prah. The play-within-a-play effect also was enhanced pleasantly by use of *Commedia dell'Arte* masks and costumes and a free range of japeries. Mostly, however, the added dimensions came from a *Katherina* (Denelda Nelson) and a *Petruchio* (George Wall) who in their robustness never forgot they were more than clowns. Miss Nelson's *Kate* was touched with genius; she found that line which distinguishes between a truly curst shrew and a strong-willed woman, all female, possessed of that fire the male moth has found irresistible since time began. The "reform" speech at the end was spoken straight, almost convincingly; for the tables were turned, and the men supplied the essential irony with business. *Lucentio* (William Mooney) preened himself ass-like under

Kate's flattery of the male. Petruchio sprawled broadly against the banquet table, the very caricature of male pride. Wall played his part throughout with a disciplined swagger which lost no comedy but permitted Petruchio to emerge less the braggart than a self-confident man of good jest smitten with love for a woman of high voltage and sure—what man isn't?—that he can gentle her to good uses. Wall's final "kiss me Kate" was uttered with such a precise mixture of roughness, admiring pride and tenderness that it drew the fangs of every critic who ever called the *Shrew* a brutal play. Colorado's *Shrew* sent its man-and-wife spectators home happy, of course, but also contented and instructed. The services of high art are sometimes indeed practical.

Denver



Westminster, from an inset in the map of Middlesex in John Speed's *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*. See p. 596.



## Poets in the Parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate

MARY R. McMANAWAY



HE unpublished Parish Registers of St. Giles, Cripplegate,<sup>1</sup> now on deposit in the London Guildhall Library, add to the small store of biographical data available concerning some 16th- and 17th-century poets. These poets, in some instances, were also playwrights, and information about them is of interest to students of the period.

John Shaw(e) is identified as a "Poett" in the burial entry of his wife Margery on the 7th of July, 1609. It is impossible to be certain that the wedding of one John Shawe and Margaret Evans on the 1st of July, 1590, refers to the same man. Parish clerks were not always accurate, and Margaret might easily have become Margery. Was Mary, the daughter of John Shawe, "weaver", who was buried on the 7th of December, 1592, a child of this marriage? A John Shawe is listed as "scrivener" when his daughter Camelia was christened on the 16th of January, 1602. An entry on the 22nd of June, 1610, records the burial of John Shawe, "Yeoman", and another on the 23rd of March, 1613, the burial of Joyce, wife of John Shawe, "yeoman". I suspect these entries concern two separate men, but it is possible that these are the burial records of the poet, and of his second wife. On the other hand, the John Shaw, "Poett", may have been the John Shaw known to literary historians, who was described by Simon Wastel in 1623 (*A true Christians daily delight*) as his schoolmate at Westminster fifty years before, and a fellow student at Queen's College, Oxford. According to the *DNB*, this Shaw was vicar at Woking, Surrey, in 1588, was deprived in 1596 for non-conformity, and is supposed to have lived at Woking until his death in 1625. He was married and had two sons, John and Tobias. The *Short-Title Catalogue* lists two titles under the name of John Shaw: *Biblia summula* (1621), and *The blessedness of Marie, the mother of Jesus. A sermon* (1618).

Of more dramatic interest is information about George Wilkins, dramatist and poet. Kenneth Muir, referring in his preface to *The Painfull Adventures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre*<sup>2</sup> says, "Very little is known about George Wilkins." The dramatist is not the poet whose death is recorded in the burial register of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, 19 August 1603, but may have been his son, and also the "victualler" who testified in the Mountjoy-Bellott suit of 1612, according to the belief of Guy Sheppard Greene.<sup>3</sup> George B. Dickson lists three men of

<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere I am publishing hitherto unknown facts about actors who lived in this parish.

<sup>2</sup> University of Liverpool Press, 1953. P. iii.

<sup>3</sup> *George Wilkins*, abstract of a thesis at Cornell, February, 1926.

the name of George Wilkins in London.<sup>4</sup> (1) George Wilkins of the age of thirty-six or thereabouts who testified in the Bellott-Mountjoy case on the 19th June, 1612; (2) George Wilkins who was buried on 4 February, 1639, at the age of fifty in the parish of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate; and (3) George Wilkins who was buried on the 5th of April, 1675, from St. Paul's Church, Covent Garden. In addition there was the George Wilkins of Stoke, Kent, who in 1623 was living with his wife Sara(?) in Surrey. Mr. Dickson also refers to George Wilkins, "the Poet", who was buried in St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, in 1603 ("Halliwell Street" was his place of residence), and concludes that the poet of 1603 and the dramatist are different men. Now we find in the register of St. Giles, Cripplegate, the entry of the christening on the 11th of February, 1605, of Thomas, son of "George Wilkens, Poett", who surely could not have died in 1603. Whatever the relationship of these various men to each other, if any, a George Wilkins is known to have written, among other things, a prose version of *Pericles*, and has sometimes been named as collaborator with Shakespeare in the play of this name. This newly found evidence confirms the fact that the two "Poets" were different men, and makes it probable that the George Wilkins living in St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1605, was the playwright.

Connection with Shakespeare, real or imagined, makes particularly interesting any records relating to Richard Hathaway. Thought by some to be a relation of Ann Hathaway, he is a man about whom very little is known. In 1598 Francis Meres placed him among the "best for comedy", and E. K. Chambers lists seventeen lost plays in which Richard Hathaway had a part. A Richard Hathaway is listed as receiving a B.A. from St. John's College, Oxford, on 5 February 1591/2.<sup>5</sup> A man of this name had a son James who matriculated at St. John's College on 16 October 1635, at the age of 16, and received a B.A. on the 18th of June, 1639. He was entered as the son of Richard Hathaway of Frocester, Co. Gloucester, *sacerd.* However customary it has become in the twentieth century for men, already married and the father of several children, to matriculate in college, it does not seem likely that the Richard Hathaway who received a degree from Oxford in 1591 can have been the father of two children whose births are registered in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate prior to 1590. There is no record of a Richard Hathaway receiving a Master's degree from Oxford or Cambridge, but the "Richard Hathway, Master of Arts", whose daughter Dionyce was christened on the 13th of November, 1586, and the "Richard Hathway, scholmaster", whose daughter Margaret was christened on the 22nd of November, 1589, are almost surely the "Richard Hathway, Poett", whose son Edmund was christened on the 28th of March, 1601. Two other entries may or may not refer to the poet: Ales Hathway, widow, was buried on the 29th of March, 1606, and Elizabeth Hathaway, widow, was buried on the 17th of October, 1630. Meager as are these facts, they constitute practically all that is known about one of the collaborators in *Sir John Oldcastle* (1600), written for the Admiral's men as an attack on Shakespeare's *Henry IV.*

#### *Chevy Chase, Maryland*

<sup>4</sup> "The Identity of George Wilkins," *S.A.B.*, XIV (1939), 195 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Foster, ed., *Alumni Oxonienses, 1500-1714*. See also Foster's *Index Eccles.* and *B.M. Add. MS.* 15,670, p. 221.

## Reviews

*Some Aspects and Problems of London Publishing between 1550 and 1650.* By W. W. GREG.  
The Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. viii + 131. 21s.

In these six Lyell lectures, delivered in Oxford in 1955, Sir Walter Greg provides answers to many problems with which students of Elizabethan literary texts have wrestled for half a century. The incisive clarity of closely-reasoned argument which we have come to expect from the dean of bibliographers is due first to his easy familiarity with the relevant documents and texts but also to his distinguished skill in expository writing.

After a review of the decrees and ordinances affecting the Elizabethan book trade and a description of the extant records of the Stationers' Company to whose fortunate preservation we owe so much of our knowledge, two central lectures treat of licensing for the press and of copyright as a function of the company. The final lectures discuss imprints and patents, the role of the Master of the Revels as press licenser, and the troublesome problem of blocking entries. On the subject of licensing Greg provides the documentary evidence as to the constantly varying operation of the system by which Government effectually watched and controlled the output of the press.

But much remains and must continue to remain obscure unless more evidence comes to light than seems likely to occur. In the several decrees and ordinances creating licensing authority no exceptions are made for any class of books: all must be licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, or certain other officials or deputies from time to time clearly specified. Yet we find a wide variety of persons, great and small, licensing books, and their authorizations appear with rare exceptions to satisfy the wardens of the Company. The wardens, indeed, one of whose chief concerns before "allowing" a book was with proper licensing, appear in a great number of cases to have been satisfied with no license but their own. No official sanction for these domestic licenses, as Greg calls them, is known, but neither is it known that a warden was ever disciplined for this apparent usurpation or neglect of authority. I believe the probable explanation to be that the wardens, understanding the objectives of the licensing regulations, knew how far they could go, knew that it was to the interest of the trade to observe the spirit of the law, and were eager by exercising such authority as they could to extend the power and importance of the Company. The bishops and other designated officials on their part, knowing the Stationers to be a reasonable and well-governed body, were content to leave to them the routine daily decisions so long as they exercised good judgment. We must never overlook the part played, in the Elizabethan conduct of government, by influence, personal contact, and oral agreement, all of which by their nature tend to leave no trace in the record.

In Chapter IV, Entrance and Copyright, Greg discusses the origin and growth of the concept of copyright, entrance in the Stationers' Register as essential to copyright, and the effect of the widespread neglect of entrance in defiance of the regulation requiring it. He supports Sidney Lee's contention that, the officers of the Company being little concerned with the quality of a text when they

approved the entrance of a work, the right to a "stolne, and surreptitious" copy was valid and could if the owner wished constitute a bar to the substitution of a more acceptable version. These are important things to be said about copyright. But the subject of transfer, or assignment, of copies is not so unimportant as by allowing to it only a little more than two pages the author seems to imply. For the history of an individual copyright is likely to be more concerned with successive assignments than with initial entrance. He makes the point that entrance of an assignment could, and in some cases was clearly intended to, create a copyright where entrance had been neglected. But the case which he cites is a special one, for, though incidentally it records an assignment, it is in effect and wording a belated initial entrance. One could not, as the author shows, transfer what did not exist, and no copyright existed that was not entered. But in my opinion a significant point about transfer, and one on which the Stationers' Register contains abundant evidence, is that it was a private transaction between a buyer and a seller not in any degree dependent upon the recording of it in the Register, though the buyer of it often did have it entered as a matter of record, and for a fee the clerk was willing to make such an entry.

To students of Shakespeare the portion of the book of most immediate concern is that treating of the blocking entries of James Roberts, for Roberts appears to have been acting for Shakespeare's company and three of the five plays involved are Shakespeare's. In Greg's view, which was essentially Pollard's, Roberts between 1598 and 1603 entered the plays as an agent of the Chamberlain's Men, not with any view to immediate publication but to block their publication until such time as the acting company saw fit to release them. The precautionary step appears to have been successful for every play but *Hamlet*, of which a bad quarto made its appearance during the year after the entry. *Hamlet* is exceptional in another way as well, for there is, as Greg notes, nothing in the wording of the entrance to suggest that it is a blocking entry. What is hard to understand is that Ling and Trundle, the pirates (if such they were) who published the bad quarto of 1603, seem to have received not so much as a reprimand. If other blocking entries were successful it is most odd that this one should be ignored with impunity and that a flagrant challenge of the whole principle of copyright should be accepted with meek acquiescence. Is no alternative explanation possible? Might it not be that by 1602, when he entered *Hamlet*, Roberts' arrangement with the Chamberlain's Men was no longer operative, that his copy was the "bad" text, and that he then by a perfectly normal private assignment transferred it to Ling and Trundle? This would imply some breach in the relations between Roberts and the Chamberlain's Men, but such might have come only after the publication of the bad quarto in 1603 and after his last entrance of a Chamberlain's play, *Troilus*, early in February 1603. I do not mean to propose this as a probable explanation of the evidence—only to suggest that in discussing the *Hamlet* entry one must not be too ready to see it as a blocking entry and Q1 as a piracy, a violation of copyright.

Such shortcomings as I have found in this book are due mainly to the lecture form, in which of necessity the subject is cut into six neat segments. If I have thought two or three of these faults deserved attention in a review and have left little space for praise, it is with the feeling that the importance and the general excellence of the work will be rightly taken for granted. Any book by Greg will be automatically received as carrying the highest authority, and so this one should be received.

*On the Design of Shakespearian Tragedy* (University of Toronto Department of English Studies and Texts No. 5). By HAROLD S. WILSON. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957. Pp. [viii] + 256. \$5.00.

There can be no denying that what Professor Wilson is here concerned with is a matter of the first importance. It is no less than the interpretation of human life posited and presented by Shakespeare's tragic plays. He is aware that Christian images, Christian modes of thought and feeling, constitute an important structural element in these plays, but that nowhere do they explicitly dramatize a Christian's relationship to God. Moreover, he sees that in total significance these plays are not to be simply equated with one another, that, for example, *Othello* and *Macbeth* are sterner in temper than *Romeo and Juliet* or *Hamlet*: indeed, he is the more impelled to see diversity through his inclusion of *Troilus and Cressida* among the tragedies. He believes, however, that, if we study the plays in certain groupings, we shall find a total pattern emerging from this diversity. First he considers four plays which belong, he says, to the "order of faith": *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet* show the working of Providence towards the establishment of a new harmony in human affairs, with suffering and destruction as a necessary price to be incidentally paid; *Othello* and *Macbeth* present an opposing aspect of the working of Providence, its just punishment of sin. Then he turns to four other plays where the Christian reference is minimal: *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* present a scheme of secular values in relation to which the characters are tried and judged and are found to have a measure of nobility; *Troilus and Cressida* and *Timon of Athens* are comments on a world where such values are persistently neglected. Finally there come two plays, *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Lear*, in which the scope is wider and in which the value triumphantly affirmed, that of human love, is a derivative from Christianity but is not described in explicitly Christian terms: these plays, he suggests, constitute the "synthesis" which Shakespeare could reach through his exploration of the orders of "faith" and "nature", in each of which he has presented its "thesis" and its "antithesis" in different plays. Thus *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Lear* are the crown of Shakespeare's tragic writing. The ideas of the "order of faith" fit uneasily into a tragic frame, for the complete expression of this "order" is a Divine Comedy; to remain in the "order of nature" is to exclude much of one's experience and one's scheme of values; the "synthesis" of the crowning plays presents the furthest that a man can go in the exploration of the world while still adhering to the tragic view.

The reader must be impressed by the skill with which this has been worked out, and at the same time suspicious of the pattern's neatness. There are four plays representing each of the two "orders", and in each case there are two representing the "thesis" and two the "antithesis"; and, of the two plays representing "synthesis", one is concerned with the sexual love of a man and a woman, and the other with the love of parents and children. The scheme does not fit very well with commonly accepted views of Shakespeare chronology: for the "order of faith", the plays of "thesis" precede those of "antithesis", but this is not the case for the "order of nature"; nor would every scholar take the view that both *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Lear* follow *Macbeth* or *Coriolanus* or even *Timon of Athens*. Professor Wilson does not suggest that the logical order was also the chronological one, but he does leave us with the impression that, for such a tidy scheme to emerge, Shakespeare must have kept an eye on the arrangement and studiously filled in gaps from time to time.

A more important criticism can be made, however, and that is that there appears to be some forcing of the evidence to fit the plays into their categories.



Hamlet, we are told, is at the end of the play no mere revenger, but one who has submitted his will to "divine ordinance" (the brutal "Follow my mother" does not go easily with that); the account of the significance of the Ghost disregards the audience's familiarity with Senecan apparitions who are reliable witnesses in matters of fact; it is necessary for Professor Wilson's argument that there should be no pre-determination of the tragic action, yet he can be led to speak of the "inevitable" success of Iago's planning and of the "ineluctable" causes of Coriolanus' fall; Antony alone is made responsible for the decision to fight at sea and for his defeat, the irony in Enobarbus' words (III. xiii. 3-4) being disregarded; highly selective quotation is used to suggest that Cleopatra at her death is exalted without qualification; the word "serene" is used, surely inadequately and too easily, of the final impression of *Lear*.

These and other instances may suggest that the plays resist the kind of schematization that is here proposed. Yet, if Professor Wilson were content to note differences of dominant strain in the plays, we might give him much of his case. *Hamlet* does stand apart from *Othello* and *Macbeth*, and has at once a more relaxed use of Christian imagery and a less formidable impact than they; *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus* have certain resemblances in temper, partly derivative from the use of a Roman theme; *Lear*, though perhaps not *Antony* and *Cleopatra*, is more profoundly inclusive, more fully exploratory of evil, and yet more assured in its restricted affirmations, than the other tragedies. Professor Wilson's scheme makes us more aware of all this, even though we may not accept it as a scheme.

He should not, perhaps, be so confident that *Troilus and Cressida* was intended as a tragedy. We may agree that it was originally to have been printed in the tragedies section in the Folio, but Professor Wilson admits that he does not know why *Cymbeline* was also printed in that section. We may remember, too, that Meres called *Henry IV* a tragedy. Elizabethan comedy was indeed a wide category, including *Volpone*, *The Malcontent*, and *The Widow's Tears*. Professor Wilson, finding *Troilus* a tragedy, is forced merely to regret the epilogue. Nor is he convincing in arguing that *The Iron Age* preceded *Troilus*: in the earlier *Ages* Heywood had established an "additive" method, and he was not likely, therefore, to be interested here in the structural parallels or the interrelation of separate incidents that he could have learned from *Troilus*.

University of Durham

CLIFFORD LEECH

*The Theatre of Robert Edmond Jones*. Edited by RALPH PENDLETON. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1957. Pp. [xiii] + 196. 51 plates. \$12.50.

Robert Edmond Jones was the first American scenic designer to attain world stature and consequently world recognition, and it is very proper that his work should now be commemorated in this handsome volume. Born in 1887 upon a New Hampshire farm held by his ancestors since 1777, and educated at Harvard, Jones died in 1954; so his work for the theatre spanned and animated a long, important, transitional period of the American stage.

The book takes the form of seven tributary essays as text, 51 plates of Jones's scene designs, and a full chronological handlist of all his known theatre work. It is significant that the tributes are by such distinguished contemporaries and



successors in this field as Lee Simonson, Jo Mielziner and Donald Oenslager, while the other brief appreciations are by men and women of note. The beautifully reproduced designs are in black and white, a medium in which Jones frequently worked, and indeed it is interesting that he used color in less than half of the designs here given.

A season under Reinhardt in Berlin (1913-1914) gave his art roots in what was then called "the new stagecraft", stemming from the example of the Duke of Saxe-Meiningen in the 1880's, and revolting against the absolute scenic realism of that pre-war age.

But where some of the giants then emerging, notably Gordon Craig, remained merely dreamers, every account, both within and without this book, agrees that Jones was the practical dreamer, a dreamer whose dreams came true under the stage lighting in which he also created a revolution. The designer eloquently evoked the mood of the dramatist, often adding subtle touches; but every detail of setting, lighting, costumes and properties was also supervised by him with minute attention.

The proportion of Jones's work devoted to Shakespearian productions was not high, but it is important as his designs included the great Arthur Hopkins-John Barrymore productions of *Richard III* and *Hamlet* in the early 1920's, Robeson's *Othello* in 1943, and two different expressionistic sets of designs for *Macbeth*, one in 1921, also for a Hopkins production with Lionel Barrymore, and the other later set for a production that was cancelled.

It is upon these that his Shakespearian fame will rest, but there were other minor productions and projects. There was a *Romeo and Juliet* production in 1922, designs for *The Merchant of Venice* in 1914, *Much Ado about Nothing* in 1920 and 1925, *As You Like It* in 1925, and *Henry VIII* in 1944.

The design reproduced for the Wooing Scene in *Richard III*, with the wide arch at the back crossed by a raised portcullis, the lower spikes of which project downward like monstrous teeth, brings out the point made at the time by Arthur Hopkins that Jones's ruthless Tower of London, scoffing down on Richard's futility, had lifted all that took place into new theatre dimensions.

The *Hamlet*, with a towering archway open to the stars as background to a vast stair with rostra upon three levels, was the masterpiece, and the designer's sensitive use of lighting can never have reached greater effect than when the presence of the Ghost was indicated merely by a spectral play of light upon a wind-stirred background drapery. The handlist of all Jones's work at the end of the book can be faulted for omission to note that this setting was also used in John Barrymore's production at the Haymarket Theatre, London, in February 1925, though with an added Graveyard scene by Norman Wilkinson. The outstanding but severe London critic of that time, James Agate, said simply. "I declare this to be the most beautiful thing I have ever seen on any stage", a judgment this reviewer can confirm from cherished memory.

Mr. Stark Young writes of the first *Macbeth* that it was the most profoundly creative décor that he had ever seen in the theatre, but the design on p. 38 is open to question, as is Mr. Young's further description: "Three great tragic masks were hung to the front, high above the action, and from them vast daggers of light poured down, crossed, pierced, flooded the action below". This sounds and looks disturbingly like the designer's and director's not readily forgivable sin of being clever at Shakespeare's expense, which Jones was elsewhere so scrupulous to avoid.

The essay by Mr. Oenslager has the additional interest of letting us into the studio workshop with one ground plan and half a dozen working drawings and

costume sketches, while Mr. Kenneth Macgowan covers Jones's work as director rather than designer.

London

ST. VINCENT TROUBRIDGE

*Shakespeare Survey 11. An Annual Survey of Shakespearian Study & Production.* Edited by ALLARDYCE NICOLL. Cambridge University Press, 1958. Pp. viii + 157.

Shakespeare's romances are the main subject of the new volume of *Shakespeare Survey*. Three articles are devoted to *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* as a characteristic group of plays, three others deal with these three plays individually. This central series of articles is accompanied by about the same number of contributions on diverse Shakespearian subjects, by the annual reports on productions in England and elsewhere, and by the section on "The Year's Contributions to Shakespearian Study".

The opening article on "Shakespeare's Romances: 1900-1957" by Philip Edwards is a fine link in the chain of surveys over the scholarly work done in our century which has become a notable feature of the publication before us. Edwards sees no reason for being very proud of our critical achievement where the study of the romances is concerned. He offers fair descriptions of the most characteristic ways of explaining the peculiarities of these plays: of the tendency to see them as expressions of the moods and attitudes of their aging author; of the belief that we should understand them as Shakespeare's response to the changing taste of his audience and to the new stage conditions in the Blackfriars Theatre; of the urge to expound the plays as mythical, symbolical or allegorical representations of ulterior truths. Edwards rightly stresses a danger common to these three different approaches: they all tempt the critic to look through the plays at something else, and thus to neglect his true task. Edwards writes more hopefully about the new attempts to clarify the qualities and requirements of the "romance" as a dramatic genre. They may be the beginning of critical work that ignores "the illumination and the universality in the last plays", for some time at least, and tries to understand them "in terms of the formal requirements of romance and of the emotional response of the audience".

Clifford Leech's inquiry into "The Structure of the Last Plays" does not completely live up to the strict discipline imposed by Edwards' ideal. His analysis in terms of the five-act pattern usefully isolates certain peculiarities of the last plays, but it is distorted by an admixture of such existentialist criticism as appears in his final sentence: "Only *The Winter's Tale* faces the realization that repentance is not enough, that 'reunion' is a bogus word, that the only finality (within the world around us) is loss."

J. M. Nosworthy reminds us of the Elizabethan conception of the arts of music and the dance, which made it almost inevitable that they should become more essential in Shakespeare's last than in his earlier plays: the resolution of discord, the restoration of the Golden Age, and the renewal of man, being the basic themes of the romances.

J. P. Brockbank tries, with a light hand, to define the position of *Cymbeline* between history and romance, between naïvety and sophistication, and he points to interesting passages in Holinshed's *Chronicles* and other historical sources that appear to have stimulated the playwright's imagination. Nevil Coghill offers a successful defence of the stagecraft in six important scenes of *The Winter's Tale*, adversely criticized by scholars less advanced in the art of grasping the theatrical implications of the text. C. J. Sisson studies the figure of Prospero in relation to the role played by the belief in magic and witchcraft in

Jacobean life and politics. Magic and witchcraft clearly were "hot" subjects, and the playwright wishing to make use of them had to walk warily. Shakespeare was careful to dissociate Prospero from black magic: his hero is a beneficent white magician. A few minor inconsistencies in his magical practices are due to Shakespeare's deep reading in Ovid. Kenneth Muir assembles the evidence in support of Shakespeare's authorship of the non-Fletcherian parts of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, stressing, and developing by observations of his own, the argument from image-clusters.

Having written on a different subject in Vol. 10 of *Shakespeare Survey*, J. Dover Wilson now returns to his lively and humane account of the work done by the great textual critics of our century. The central figure in the present article is R. B. McKerrow; the most important event is his discovery that the orderly and regularized quartos cannot take an editor as close to what Shakespeare wrote as some of the texts which are disfigured by a great number of characteristic irregularities and imperfections.

An interesting account of the embassy of Abd el-Ouahed, sent by the King of Barbary to Elizabeth's court in 1600, is contributed by Bernard Harris, who thus acquaints us with no negligible source of first-hand information concerning "moors" for Shakespeare and his audience. A remarkable item among the illustrations in this volume is a rare satirical engraving, belonging to the early Caroline period: *The Funeral Obsequies of Sir All-in-New-Fashions*, contributed and commented upon by F. P. Wilson. Stage historians will appreciate the articles by Mark Eccles and J. P. Feil. Eccles collects evidence, mainly from law-suits, concerning the management of the Blackfriars Theatre in the years when it was used by The Children of the Chapel, and finds, among other remarkable facts, that the musician Martin Peerson had an interest in the company. Feil assembles such passages from the Scudamore Papers as throw light on the court performances under James I and, especially, under Charles I.

In conclusion we wish to draw attention to two among the remaining items of the volume: to an extensive correction, by Raymond Mander and Joe Mitchenson, of D. A. Russell's article on "Hamlet Costumes" in *Shakespeare Survey* 9, and to Roy Walker's skilful account of some outstanding English productions of 1957, in which Michael Benthall's *Timon of Athens* and Glen Byam Shaw's *Julius Caesar* are commemorated and criticized with particular care.

University of Berne

RUDOLF STAMM

*Shakespeare in his Age.* By F. E. HALLIDAY. London: Gerald Duckworth, 1956. Pp. xvi + 362, with 16 Plates and 12 Illustrations in the Text. 30s.

The object of this book is to give in 15 chapters, a Prologue and an Epilogue, a comprehensive account of the political, social, religious, cultural, and literary background of Shakespeare, to answer the question, what were other men doing at the various stages of his life?

The problem here is clearly first one of selection among the wealth of certain and uncertain materials at hand, then of coordination to give the picture as life-like and dynamic an appearance as possible.

Mr. Halliday sets about describing what in his opinion are the relevant events in England and even further afield in politics and literature, not forgetting music and the arts during the whole not only of Shakespeare's career as a dramatist, but during the whole of his life, a period, for England, of comparative domestic peace, of expansion, of consciousness of achievement, of confidence, of

prosperity, and of significant economic, commercial, and industrial evolution, which brought about a general improvement in the standard of life allowing the theatre to blossom along with music, painting, tapestry, and other minor arts.

London, as it then topographically was, is introduced to the reader after Stratford-on-Avon, Oxford and Cambridge, in the Prologue, where also other topics relevant for assessing the political, social, cultural, religious and economic elements with which Shakespeare came into contact are dealt with. Here Mr. Halliday dwells at some length on the paramount contribution of the Netherlands to the development of industry and art in England, owing largely to the refugees who worked there, and on the economic and psychologic importance of privateering and of the voyages of exploration beyond the seas, in which the spirit of enterprise and adventure found vent in those days. On the other hand Mr. Halliday does not stress enough the importance of continental travel, both for pleasure and study, as a powerful leaven in the life of the Elizabethans; on the contrary he prefers to underline its drawbacks: "moreover during the early years of Elizabeth's reign Englishmen were at last free to travel in Europe and inevitably brought back with them the foreign fashions that Shakespeare was later to laugh at."

The vogue of miniature painting at the hands of Nicholas Hilliard and Isaac Oliver, the stained-glass windows in the Gothic Cathedrals, the gorgeous country seats of the Sovereign and of the nobility, the part music played in social life are all in turn illustrated, always with an eye to throwing light on Shakespeare's interests as well as on those of his contemporaries. To complete the picture we should like to find here more about travelling in England in those days, about taverns and inns, the games played both in rural districts and in town by noblemen and commoners, about tournaments, jousts, fencing tilts, pageants, bowling, and folkdances, highwaymen, and—why not?—witchcraft and superstition.

The mention of the books that Shakespeare is likely to have read, and the works of his nearest predecessors in the field of lyric poetry lead the way to a clear excursus on the drama of the period just before Shakespeare's birth. The reader's attention is then focussed on the actors and the places where they performed in pre-Shakespearian days.

Part I, consisting of Chapters I-IV, tackles the years 1564-1588, from Shakespeare's birth to the Armada, bringing to bear from several quarters flashes of light to illumine those troubled years of Elizabeth's reign. An account of the Revels and their organization is an important feature of Chapter I, in which we are also reminded of the awful events in Scotland that led to Mary Stuart's imprisonment in England, when Shakespeare was a boy, of Hawkins' slaving expeditions, of Alva's massacre of heretics in the Netherlands, of the successful duel of English privateers against Alva, of Drake's first voyage, of the excommunication of Queen Elizabeth by Pope Pius V, of Ridolfi's plot, and, looming in the distance as if the crowning event of religious discords, of the ominous massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Chapter II of Part I, entitled *The First Theatres*, contains the suggestion that the idea of building the first public theatre in England, the Theatre, finished by 1577, may have occurred to Burbage during the Kenilworth entertainments in 1575. Here Mr. Halliday has new technical interpretations to offer of the scanty evidence extant, especially on the mooted question of the room reserved for the actors and the room destined for the audience.

1579 is pointed out as an *annus mirabilis* in English literature, and the rea-

sons for this are given, although in the general account of the literary panorama of England in that period not enough importance is given to the translations from the Italian and to French influence, nor to the presence in England of such men as Alberico Gentili and Giordano Bruno.

In Chapter III we draw nearer the hub of interest. After a cursory hint at striking domestic events such as the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, we get to the years when Shakespeare and Marlowe worked for the theatre in London. The vicissitudes of the several companies of players and the attitude of the Puritans to them are sketched after a recapitulation of the early work of the University Wits and the mention of some dramatic and non-dramatic works of those years, of which we find some echo in Shakespeare's plays. Mr. Halliday thinks that Shakespeare may well have seen young Alleyn performing as one of Worcester's boys, who were regular visitors to Stratford, and accepts 1587 as the year when Shakespeare went to London, probably in the wake of one of the five companies of players that visited Stratford in that year. The building in 1587 of the Rose Theatre by Philip Henslowe and the performance which very likely took place there of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great* are given due prominence as epoch-making events in Shakespeare's life. And on the happenings of the Armada year, when also Leicester the great favorite, and Richard Tarlton the popular actor died, the curtain of Part I falls.

Part II begins with an account in Chapter V of what is most aptly termed *The Dramatic Revolution*, one of the most lively sections of the book, with its account of the Marprelate controversy and of the later work of the University Wits. Mr. Halliday is inclined to think that Shakespeare may have joined the Queen's Company even as early as 1587. As far as the theatres are concerned the Swan, built by Henslowe in 1596, had important alterations in its structure; and in it Mr. Halliday admits that the spectators would be allowed to occupy all the area outside the apron stage, supporting his view by the fact that then for the first time we hear of spectators even sitting on the stage itself. By the way he points out the inconsistencies in the only extant drawing of the Swan made by J. de Witt.

The exploits of Essex and Raleigh are recalled in the next chapter, and the backstairs intrigues and discontent of Essex on one side and the Queen's displeasure on the other are recorded. The poetry of Donne, a painting by George Gower, the earliest known illustration of a scene from Shakespeare, *The Faerie Queene*, the first attempts of James VI to acclimatize the theatre in Scotland, constitute the material of the next chapter, ending with a judicious appreciation of the hints that Shakespeare may have taken for *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Richard II*, and *Henry IV* from some of the works printed in 1595-1597.

The death of Robert Cecil, which so deeply affected the aging Queen vexed at the rumours about her succession—as witnessed also by her sending Spenser's friend Lodowyk Bryskett as her secret ambassador to the Grand Duke of Tuscany—the atmosphere of disenchantment, so aptly reflected in Jonson's comedies, the building of the Globe and the Fortune, the powerful impression that Chapman's Homer must have made on Shakespeare, giving him the clue for many scenes in *Troilus and Cressida*, the visit to England of Don Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano, in 1601, the performance at the Globe on Saturday February 7th of Shakespeare's *Richard II* in connection with the Essex conspiracy, are the matter of chapters VII and VIII. And Part II comes to a close with the end of Elizabeth's reign. Thomas Middleton and John Webster come to the fore, the Jonson-Marston quarrel, in which Dekker too takes his share, develops into a regular war of the private theatres. These are the years when



Thomas Campion's exquisite songs and Daniel's *Defence of Rhyme* were penned, Pliny's *Natural History* was translated by Philemon Holland and Montaigne's *Essays* by John Florio. *Hamlet* is Shakespeare's contribution to the last year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, perhaps the last play she saw acted.

Chapter X, perhaps the best in the whole book as the various elements are so well welded together as to give a unified impression, covers the years 1603-1604, when Shakespeare's Company became the King's, when the pastoral comedy, *As You Like It*, was being acted for the first time, the years when James, here presented in a most unamiable light, took clearly an anti-Catholic attitude, and when English expansion beyond the seas was started on a sure basis. The following year of Shakespeare's activity is illustrated in Chapter XI, *Masque and Plot*, where our attention is directed to the Court and Revels, of unsurpassed magnificence, with the co-operation of Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, and the hatching and discovery of the Gunpowder Plot. From 1605 to 1608 Shakespeare turns to tragedy, and Mr. Halliday agrees with those finding the reason for this in the atmosphere of disenchantment prevailing in James I's reign, and in Chapter XII he traces the composite history of those years when Shakespeare wrote *Timon*, *Othello* and *Lear*, Beaumont and Fletcher tragicomedies and romance, and when satire was predominant in comedy with Dekker, Marston and Middleton. In Chapter XIII, after a hint at Prince's Henry's patronage of the arts, our attention is turned once more on the theatre, and Dr. Forman is mentioned as the only contemporary reporter of Shakespearean performances: why not recall here that he was the astrologer implicated in the Overbury murder?

The revels for the marriage of Princess Elizabeth, postponed owing to the death of Prince Henry, take up most of Chapter XIV, which gives us the setting for the production of some Shakespearian plays, notably *The Tempest*. In Chapter XV Mr. Halliday gives his version of the end of the Shakespeare-Fletcher collaboration, and traces in a few strokes the most striking events in England during the last years of Shakespeare's life. In the Epilogue, Mr. Halliday stretches his glance to the year of the Shakespeare folio.

The wealth of material and suggestions makes this work stimulating reading for all interested in the Elizabethan age. In this kind of work aiming at covering so vast a field the difficulty lies in giving the telling stroke of the brush to portray in foreshortening the physiognomy of an age, a foreshortening however that should allow us to sense the details as well. In Mr. Halliday's book the general picture, although rather crowded at times, blends the various elements so as to give us the impression of concentration, not of blurring; generalizations are avoided, the stress is set on fact and the author's or other people's hypotheses are clearly given as such. It is both a serious and an engaging work that will appeal to the student and to the general reader.

University of Florence

ANNA MARIA CRINÒ

*The Fine Art of Reading And Other Literary Essays.* By LORD DAVID CECIL. Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1957. Pp. 282. \$5.00.

There are not many books that can be read with equal enjoyment as literary criticism and as literature. This, by the Goldsmith's Professor of English at Oxford, is one of that select group. The first essay, which gives the volume its main title, should be read by every graduate student in the humanities and



every professor of literature, and I should recommend it to all undergraduate English literature majors.

Art is not like mathematics or philosophy. It is a subjective, sensual, and highly personal activity in which facts and ideas are the servants of fancy and feeling; and the artist's first aim is not truth but delight. . . . It follows that the primary object of a student of literature is to be delighted. His duty is to enjoy himself: his efforts should be directed to developing his faculty of appreciation. (P. 14)

Indeed, to enjoy literature as it should be enjoyed is a task of immense difficulty; requiring, in addition to common sense and uncommon sensibility, faith, hope, charity, humility, patience, and most of the other Christian virtues. It also involves a long and unhurried process of self-training. (Pp. 15-16)

Some people never even try to do these things, though they devote their lives to literary criticism. They take their first raw instinctive reactions as axiomatic; and instead of striving to widen their sympathies and correct their taste, they spend their energies in constructing a philosophy of aesthetics to justify these first reactions. (Pp. 25-26)

As the quoted sentences demonstrate, this essay is an *apologia* both inspirational and militant.

The essay on Shakespeare concerns itself with "the great comedies of Shakespeare's early maturity"—*Dream, Merchant, Much Ado, As You Like It*, and *Twelfth Night*, and their precursors, *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Two Gentlemen*.

Wit and poetry, laughter and sentiment, farce and fantasy, even a touch of pensive pathos, chase one another across the surface of these plays as naturally as sunshine and shadow over a stream on a breezy day of spring.

And the stream is not a shallow stream. It is here that Shakespeare's genius shows itself most wonderfully. He gives his plays not only unity and vitality, he gives them depth. They make a profound comment on existence. Not a moral comment like the comedies of Ben Jonson! Shakespeare, indeed, has his morality. He disapproves of spite and hard-heartedness, he mocks at vanity. Good sense also: Orsino's sentimentality, Jaques' misanthropy, are shown up for the immoderate absurdities they are, in the light of the genial smile with which they are portrayed. Yet these moral judgments are, as it were, by-products of Shakespeare's work, the involuntary and incidental utterance of his natural preference, not the living center of his inspiration. His comic vision reveals itself much less in them than in his penetrating and cheerful perception of the incorrigible weakness of the human condition. For he uses the fantastic far-fetched turns of his stories as parables to illustrate his conviction that all men, from the highest to the lowest, are the creatures of chance and circumstance. . . .

Shakespeare's distinctive vein of humour springs from this realization. Man, he says, is comic because he is, of his nature, a victim of illusions. (Pp. 44-45)

This, it seems to me, is valid, penetrating criticism. The comments on the individual comedies are equally enlightening and felicitous.

The other nine essays treat of the tragedies of John Ford, forms of English fiction, Jane Austen (two), Joseph Conrad, Walter de la Mare, Hazlitt, Pater, and some women letter writers.

Folger Shakespeare Library

J.G.M.

*The Irresistible Theatre.* By W. BRIDGES-ADAMS. Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Co., 1957. Pp. xiv + 446. \$6.00.

This book makes excellent reading. The well informed author carries his burden of knowledge lightly and writes with common sense and good humor. His point of view is theatrical, as might be expected of the man who organized the Stratford Memorial Theatre in 1919 and produced there thirty-six of Shakespeare's plays by 1936. Mr. Bridges-Adams traces the history of English drama from the Conquest to the Commonwealth period, but always in the background is Shakespeare, and several excellent chapters deal directly with Shakespeare's life and works. The material is well organized, and there are twenty-five good illustrations. Several chapters, including "Some Portraits" and "The Stage", are particularly good. A passage in Chapter 16, "Acting and Style", will illustrate the quality of the book:

... That art [Rhetoric] did not confine itself to the management of the voice, although the voice was of prime importance. Governed by the mind, it was almost equally displayed in gesture, posture and bearing. All these must conform to the contemporary notion of order, rank, degree. If one's rank was high, one must speak and move with nobility. Nothing could be more shocking than that a skipping king should amble up and down, or that a patrician Antony should draw plebeian tears and votes by publicly proclaiming himself a plain, blunt man who loved his friend; it was incumbent on the actor to accentuate the enormity of such betrayals by being himself as royal as royalty or as noble as any of Plutarch's noble Romans. ... A young actor of to-day might be embarrassed if at an audition he were asked to come into the room successively as a king, an earl, a knight about court and a knight of the shires up from the country. But in the drama of that time such distinctions mattered greatly; it is a thing to be borne in mind when we revive the plays to-day. The Elizabethan actor had to shew himself acutely aware of degree if he was to carry the judicious, and even the unskilful, with him. (Pp. 198-199)

There was no wallowing on the floor by Burbage after the departure of the Ghost in *Hamlet* I. iv!

In a book filled with details and references, a few errors are almost inevitable. The following should be corrected before the book is printed again. Chambers' *William Shakespeare* was published in 1930, not 1925 (p. vii); *Hieronimo* is spelled *Heironimo* six times on pages 109-112 and once again on page 135; it was Mr. Martin Holmes who first suggested that the van Buchell drawing of the Swan might depict a rehearsal (p. 406, note 9; see *Theatre Notebook*, X (1956), 80-83); and, as Professor G. E. Bentley pointed out (*T.L.S.*, 30 May 1942, p. 276), Sal Pavy's name was not *Salathiel*, as first given in Gifford's *Jonson* of 1816, but *Salmon* or *Solomon*. It seems likely that in the judgment about Peele's *Edward I* sufficient allowance has not been made for the corruption introduced by a reporter or a traveling company of actors (pp. 104, 121). I wish that more information had been given about playbills and about methods of admission to the theatre. But even so, this is the liveliest and best book for the general reader now in print.

Folger Shakespeare Library

J.G.M.

## SHORT NOTICES

*Shakespeare and Jonson* (The Macmillan Brown Lectures. Auckland University College Bulletin No. 51, English Series No. 9). By S. MUSGROVE. Auckland, New Zealand, 1957. Pp. 55.

These three lectures constitute another of the many comparative discussions of the two great dramatists of their age, but unlike most of the earlier ones these discussions are concentrated not on the antipathy of the two men and the dissimilarity of their plays, but on their friendship and the affinities of their work. The first lecture summarizes the evidence of their personal relationships, and though Professor Musgrove seems to me a little too hospitable to Restoration and eighteenth-century gossip and to the alleged parallelisms and allusions in passages in the plays, he is sound and persuasive in his presentation of Jonson's writings about Shakespeare, especially the Folio poems.

The second lecture in which the affinities between *Volpone* and *King Lear* are discussed will probably be for many readers the most stimulating of the three. These two plays, written to be performed by the same company at the same theatre and perhaps within a few months of one another, have not been commonly associated, but Professor Musgrove makes a most interesting case for the similar observations and moods in the two plays and even for the possibility of friendly consultations between their authors. He does not suggest imitation, though he notes a number of verbal similarities, but he does present interesting evidence of two very different creative minds responding to the same stimuli in the same environment.

The final lecture on "Jonson and the 'Romantic' Imagination" notes the relationship between Jonson's 'Romanticism', especially in the masques, and Shakespeare's, especially in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*.

Professor Musgrove would no doubt like to develop his ideas and observations about Shakespeare and Jonson more fully than the lecture form allows. This reader of his lectures looks forward to such a development.

Princeton University

G. E. BENTLEY

*Shakespeares Dramen*. By MAX LÜTHI. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1957. Pp. 474. DM. 20.

This work is addressed primarily to persons who already have some slight acquaintance with Shakespeare's plays, but it will often prove helpful and stimulating to the expert as well. Each play receives an essay of interpretation in which the author reveals not only a comprehensive knowledge of traditional criticism, but, what is more important, an easy familiarity with the plays themselves. He therefore observes a sense of proportion and is able to sort out the various problems and features of the plays which are really important for the reader and theatregoer. The feature of the work which the author wishes to emphasize is best expressed in his words: "Manche Forscher haben die Handlung als ein blosses Vehikel betrachtet, dessen wichtigste Aufgabe es sei, eindrucksvolle Charaktere ins Spiel zu setzen. Unsere Gegenwart hat ein neues Sensorium für die Bedeutsamkeit der dramatischen Situation. . . . In diesem Buche geht uns nicht um ein Nachzeichnen der Charaktere, ein Beschwören der Leidenschaften, der Atmosphäre, der Poesie: das ist von anderen, in man-

nigfach verschiedener Art, geleistet worden." Occasional fresh observations and insights are the result. In a full appendix the reader who wishes to look further into Shakespearean scholarship will find ample bibliographical suggestions on all important topics. The work is well planned and well written, far more readable than most handbooks. It can be recommended with enthusiasm to any person entering upon serious study of Shakespeare.

Northwestern University

V. B. H.

*The Idea of Honour in the English Drama, 1591-1700* (Gothenburg Studies in English, VI). By C. L. BARBER. Göteborg: Elanders Boktryckeri; Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1957. Pp. [368]. Sw. Kr. 25.

This interesting monograph is a study of cultural history based on dramatic materials and approached through semantics and statistics. Prof. Barber divides the noun *honor* into eighteen head-meanings, qualifying these by fourteen subclasses, and labeling each meaning with a mnemonic letter which he employs consistently thereafter, to the exclusion of the word or phrase for which it stands. Using as source material a total of 235 plays produced in the period 1591-1700, he traces with painstaking care all the changes in the separate head-meanings decade by decade (omitting, of course, the two decades of the theatrical interregnum), illustrating the pattern of each decade with detailed statistical tabulations. The semasiologist, accustomed to such a method, should have no trouble in following the argument; the general reader, especially one cursed with a bad memory, may have some difficulty. The constant use of letter-symbols (for example, R for reputation, C for chastity, Rc for reputation for chastity, and RcC for doubtful or equivocal cases), while no doubt scientific, convenient, and economical, requires close attention and frequent memory refreshment.

Surprisingly (because one tends to think of Elizabethan drama as dominated by characters always ready to "pluck bright honor from the pale-faced moon"), Prof. Barber shows that the use of the noun *honor* increased steadily throughout the seventeenth century. This increase coincided with the shift from a general, many-class audience in the Renaissance to a genteel coterie in the Restoration. Extremes in the frequency of the word range from none in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to 86 in Wycherley's *The Country Wife*—in which, we remember, appeared Lady Fidget, who had so much honor in her mouth that she had none elsewhere. But mere numbers do not tell the story. Prof. Barber demonstrates convincingly that those meanings of the word which relate primarily to the behavior of the gentry (who alone possessed "honor") change considerably; there is, for example, a steady loss of emphasis on glory, on military qualities and achievements, on Christian morality, and on high rank and worldly dignity. By the time of the Restoration honor had come to be "more concerned with private and family matters and less with public and political matters"; the emphasis had shifted to the preservation of reputation, to the code of the duelist, to the honor of the libertine who must not disappoint his mistress and must protect her good name, and so forth. In Restoration tragedy honor was idealized to impossibility; in Restoration comedy the concept was reduced to a mere code of conduct—"it isn't done". In short, the complex Renaissance meaning of the word became progressively simplified in the course of the century. Prof. Barber denies that these changes resulted only from the shift in the class composition of the audience and argues convincingly that the later audiences were affected by "a much wider social process".

For the student of language this study offers, if nothing else, a considerable extension of the N.E.D. entries under *honor*. The student of drama may find little to interest him in Prof. Barber's statistics, but much in his summaries, especially Chapter 10, which contains a meaty discussion of his findings with respect to his various head-meanings. Valuable also are the often penetrating and illuminating discussions of drama and society which appear in earlier chapters in support of his semantic decisions.

The Ohio State University

JOHN HAROLD WILSON

*Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature*. By JOHN PETER. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. 323. 45s.

This praiseworthy and rather successful attempt by Mr. John Peter to resolve the differences between Complaint and Satire will certainly sharpen the critical tools of scholars concerned with the Middle Ages and the early Renaissance in England. It may also be useful to critics of Shakespeare, Marston, and Tourneur.

Actually (and wisely) Mr. Peter eschews the short, quick definition of Complaint. He prefers rather to list and illustrate its themes and characteristics. As opposed to Satire, Complaint is abstract, general, impersonal, nostalgic, and morally earnest. Among its favorite themes are the clergy, cosmetics, death, doctors, lawyers, misers, upstarts, usurers, and women. These matters are discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, easily the most important chapters in the book. Scholars familiar with Tucker's *Versé Satire* (1908) and Alden's *Rise of Formal Satire* (1899) will welcome these sharp, measured verdicts and examples.

To Shakespeare Mr. Peter gives no special treatment though he cites him frequently and always favorably in numerous comparisons with his contemporaries. Thus in *Antony and Cleopatra* he finds that Shakespeare "does not rely on the moral assumptions of his audience", whereas Tourneur in *The Revenger's Tragedy* is "much closer to the technique of the Moralities", in other words much closer to the method of Complaint. Marston, too, whose borrowings from Shakespeare impress Mr. Peter forcefully, is enslaved by the themes and techniques of Complaint, a misfortune that Shakespeare skilfully avoided. A more direct approach toward Shakespeare's position on Satire and Complaint might have helped, though to be sure his position is implicit throughout.

Why Mr. Peter writes at such length about Marston when he so completely dislikes him is hard to say. He came indeed to bury Marston, not to praise him. Marston's satires, he avers, "provoke a decidedly adverse judgment . . . it is strange that so many critics should have failed to pass it unambiguously" (p. 177). His plays exhibit "the shocking waste that can ensue when a writer follows the promptings of an inspiration that is neither coherent nor attainable" (p. 254). In one short review it would be impossible to answer sixty-five pages of condemnation, but surely Mr. Morse Allen, Mr. John Wilcox, and Miss Ellis-Fermor have not missed the point so badly as this. Such open and avowed tilting with the reputation of a dead writer who has certainly never had more than his need of praise leaves one with a wry taste.

Since praise inevitably sounds better than blame, Chapter 9 on the tragedies of Tourneur is pleasanter and less irritating even when the reader may incline to a different point of view. Mr. Peter rejects a long line of critics who find *The Revenger's Tragedy* lacking in positive moral and social values, or who



detect in that play cynicism and disgust with humanity. Following Miss Bradbrook, he attempts to show that the play is "the reverse of an affirmation of evil", that "the moral scheme is everything". It is in fact a late Morality. This attitude fits Mr. Peter's thesis cosily. Convincing or unconvincing, it opens the ranks for further scholarly tilting.

In summary, *Complaint and Satire* is a valuable and welcome addition to the very brief critical literature on those subjects. The chapters on Marston and Tourneur are less impressive. The short, concise article in Appendix B, "The Identity of Mavortio in Tourneur's *Transformed Metamorphosis*", is most satisfactory—few critics will question the identification of Mavortio with Henry VIII. Similar treatment of Marston and Tourneur in concise articles would have made a shorter and doubtless a better book.

State College, Pennsylvania

BRICE HARRIS

*The Year's Work in English Studies*. Volume XXIV: 1954. Edited by BEATRICE WHITE. London and New York: Oxford University Press, for The English Association, 1956. Pp. 266. \$4.00.

As the new editors become accustomed to their exacting jobs, this survey achieves an almost unprecedented level of excellence. Most of the contributors to this year's volume have apparently taken into account the critical reception and long-range worth of the major items and have, at times, presented moderate statements of their own judgments. The result is a volume of lasting value.

Organization is of course constantly a problem. Since most literary research lacks the organizational and funded sense of direction enjoyed by scientific "teams", chroniclers of this research cannot hope to give continuity of critical discourse without forced groupings of items. The editors have wisely preferred to respect the individuality of each work, often giving it a paragraph to itself and without indulging in many transitional expressions. There is also, still, much overlapping of material; but this is inevitable, and even desirable, as when we get three interesting critiques of C. S. Lewis' *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century*. Madeleine Doran's difficult but searching *Endeavors of Art* also merits the two appraisals made of it. On the other hand, because so much of textual bibliography in 1954 was Shakespearean, there is sometimes uncertainty whether to go to the Shakespeare or to the Bibliographica section. Fortunately, as it turns out, one cannot go wrong; either section will be found to contain the material, ably annotated.

The Shakespeare chapter, written now for the second year by T. S. Dorsch, cannot be overpraised. Perhaps only one who has compiled a Shakespeare bibliography for the same year can fully appreciate the thoroughness and depth of Dorsch's work. He has thoughtfully read through most of the scholarly publications, for his summaries go deeper than the authors' own statements of intentions. He has also hunted down, and read, a surprising number of foreign works in several different languages—not to mention certain jargons of American scholarship often snubbed by English reviewers. His total silence concerning the *Esquire* article about Calvin Hoffman is perhaps charitable rather than neglectful. Of the festival literature which has inundated journals of all kinds there is only brief indication; but however important it may be to the theatre historian, this literature is not often a part of scholarship, and Dorsch does well to restrict himself to the coverages of men like Sprague and Downer.

In view of what Alfred Harbage has recently said in distrust of the Shake-



spare boom—that popular interest is too often concerned with the nonessentials—it is gratifying to notice that scholarly interest, as displayed in 1954, has been exemplary. Dorsch's chapter makes it clear that scholars are inclining toward closer and closer contact with the text and texture of the plays. Textual researches, though still too tentative to be fully utilized, have definitely improved editing. And it is significant that 1954 saw many important editions begun or extended. There was Sisson's attempt at a more basic type of editing; four new Arden and six Yale volumes appeared; and more than thirty translations were made into foreign tongues. Even the unlucky Yale facsimile, widely disseminated, was symptomatic of interest in reaching the true Shakespeare. Above all, 1954 was notable for studies in style and language; both the *Shakespeare Survey* and the *Jahrbuch*, as Dorsch points out, were dominated by these interests. In addition, however much they may exercise the bibliographer, the scattered notes dealing with emendations may finally be leading toward a Shakespeare more Elizabethan. Their most hopeful characteristic is that arguments for new readings are now almost outnumbered by pleas for rejecting former emendations. The New Conservatism may be the surest sign that Shakespeare makes sense today.

University of California, Los Angeles

PAUL A. JORGENSEN

*Shakespeare: A Portrait Restored.* By CLARA LONGWORTH DE CHAMBRUN. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, [1957]. Pp. x + 406. \$7.50.

*Shakespeare retrouvé: sa vie et son oeuvre* (1947) of the late Countess de Chambrun, a great personality and ardent Shakespearian, has now been translated. The publishers quote G. B. Harrison: "new notions about Shakespeare, especially when unfamiliar and perhaps disturbing, should be received with an open mind". Few are new: she relies heavily on the mythos. Many are debatable:

Shakespeare and his family were persecuted Papists, his plays reflect such loyalties; the deer stealing is true; he wrote autobiographical sonnets, *The London Prodigal*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy*, the Combe epitaph, invented tragi-comedy, collaborated with Marlowe; W. H. is William Hervey, the dark lady Avis; *P&T* concerns the martyrdom of Anne Line and Mark Barkworth (Bosworth), Brutus recalls Essex, Vincentio is "a psychological portrait of James I"; Florio taught Shakespeare Italian; *AWEW* is *LLW*; Marston's Posthast is Shakespeare; *Ham.* is not faultless, *Oth.* "impeccable"; the 1589 references are to Shakespeare's *Ham.*, *Ot* is "skilful and artistic"; he knew about the circulation of the blood; he visited Scotland with Lawrence Fletcher; he "knew enough Latin not to be over-influenced by" North in *A&C*; the Droeshout portrait is authentic and accurate; he projected publication of all his work; "we never had a better" critic than Rowe.

Besides open-mindedness and debate the book invites reinspection of many documents, quoted liberally but unreliably, otherwise hard to come by.

University of Arkansas

ALBERT HOWARD CARTER

*Henry V, 1600* (Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles No. 9). Edited, with an introductory note, by Sir WALTER GREG. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957. Pp. viii + [55]. 25s.

The series of Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles continues with this reproduction of the British Museum copy of the "bad" first quarto (1600) of *Henry V*.

The edition is a rare one; only five copies are known to be extant. Since it is a bad quarto it holds an especial interest for students of the play and of Elizabethan drama generally, for whom its availability in facsimile should be a particular boon; no list of variants can be expected to indicate the full extent of the divergence of the bad quarto text from that of the play's substantive edition in the first folio. For the matter of that, each of the Shakespeare quartos, good and bad, has its textual story to tell, and until we have a definitive old-spelling edition of the plays, the serious student must be in a position to evaluate it. For those who do not have access to the great library centers, the present series, with its stated purpose of providing "facsimiles of the twenty-three most important Quartos of Shakespeare's plays", is an indispensable aid to scholarship, and in editing it, Sir Walter Greg has put us all under still another debt of gratitude for his endeavors in behalf of our understanding of Elizabethan drama.

The present edition includes the editor's usual prefatory account of the facts attending the play's publication, together with a confirmatory list of obscure readings. The facsimile text is marginally divided into acts and scenes; and there are linear references to the Globe edition for such of the quarto lines as correspond to or approximate folio readings. The margin is further supplied with a system of dots and stars to designate, respectively, every fifth and tenth line of a signature. All of this apparatus has been so generously supplied, and is so genuinely helpful, that a reviewer feels almost apologetic to note flaws in it. Two such, however, there are. Since the marginal designations of act and scene are said in the prefatory note to "have . . . been marked according to the usual divisions", the designation of the quarto's opening scene as I.i can only be an error, for the quarto text omits I.i of the folio, and opens with the folio I.ii. And while Thomas Millington, one of the publishers of the quarto, is called by his own name near the top of page vi of the prefatory note, he has been metamorphosed into the dramatist Thomas Middleton four lines later.

*Vanderbilt University*

CYRUS HOY

*The Winter's Tale* (The New Clarendon). Ed. S. L. BETHELL. Oxford and New York: The Clarendon Press, 1956. Pp. 256. \$1.15.

S. L. Bethell's edition of *The Winter's Tale*, like all the volumes in the *New Clarendon Shakespeare*, aims at presenting the text so that it can be "easily read and understood" by the beginner. This purpose is generally well accomplished, especially because of the emphasis on "interpretation of words and phrases" and because of the sensible plan of placing short glosses at the bottoms of pages and reserving longer comment on more difficult passages for the notes at the end. The full introduction and the substantial selection of both new and old literary criticism given after the text are also valuable for the beginning student. (And the belief of the General Editor of the *New Clarendon Shakespeare* that "students can best be taught to criticize by the provision of material which they can use as a starting-point as well as a model" stands admirably in contrast with the school of thought that would have us, in teaching Shakespeare, scorn or at least disregard the criticism of the plays.) Occasionally one wonders, however, whether the analyses in Bethell's introduction are not needlessly complex for the beginner; as, for example, in his commentary on the style of *Winter's Tale*. And yet it is reassuring to many teachers of Shakespeare to note that, in Bethell's view, beginning students are still expected to be able to understand and to find valuable such discussions as those here of dating, source, and seventeenth-century production.

Many readers of Bethell's introduction will remember his earlier book, *The Winter's Tale: A Study*, a useful commentary on the play. In an edition planned for the beginning student, however, one might question the slanting of the entire introduction toward an analysis of the "inner meaning", that is, the religious implications, of *The Winter's Tale*, with which the introduction ends. The beginning reader of Shakespeare might be expected to appreciate the play more readily on many other less controversial and more clearly defined artistic grounds than that of Shakespeare's possibly religious implications.

But Bethell's intention throughout the introduction is mainly to lead up to his final remarks on Shakespeare's "inner meaning". His discussions of type of play, of source, of style, even of production are all vaguely related to his one main view of the play: that it expresses Shakespeare's "mature interpretation of life" according to the Christian faith. We are told in regard to type, that Shakespeare used an old tale "as a means of stating his 'philosophy'"; in regard to source, that while *Pandosto*, the source, was also called *The Triumph of Time*, Shakespeare's play "with its strong religious hope might well be called the *Triumph of Eternity*"; in regard to style, that the "apparent discrepancy between plot and character on the one hand and thought and style on the other would disappear if the characters 'stood for' something and the story possessed an 'inner meaning'"; in regard to production, that Shakespeare insisted in this play on the "double awareness" of both "play world" and "real world" made possible by Elizabethan techniques of staging, "as though he did not wish the audience to be too absorbed in the story, perhaps because he wanted them to be looking out for his deeper meaning." And then with the emphasis thus clearly marked out, Bethell proceeds to analyze the "inner meaning" of *The Winter's Tale*. The students are to see Perdita as the symbol of "the good life that Leontes forfeited through sin", or more basically, "the natural goodness which was corrupted in Adam and restored in Christ." Leontes, whose sin is jealousy, regains the symbolic Perdita after penitence and self-devotion. The type of commentary that Bethell presents is perhaps illustrated in the statement, "Renewed life and a healthy soul come to people and to kingdoms only by self-denial; and self-denial takes two forms, the penitence of the sinner and the self-devotion of the saint." Might not the beginning student of Shakespeare better appreciate *The Winter's Tale* for equally important and less conjectural artistic qualities?

Despite this over-emphasis of the religious implications, however, Bethell's edition, all in all, is an admirable one, prepared with care and presenting a clear and readable text of *The Winter's Tale*.

Wayne State University

GLENN H. BLAYNEY

*Shakespeare Commentary*. By ARTHUR E. BAKER. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1957. 2 vols. Pp. [12] + 482; [iv] + 483-[965]. \$15.00.

These two volume (first issued in England in 1938-39 in fifteen parts, the first thirteen of which were titled *Shakespeare Dictionary*) have been re-issued without revision in this country. Baker considers twenty-one plays and gives convenient summaries of Shakespeare's sources, with accounts of composition and publication. He also includes explanatory comments on historical, topical, and literary or classical allusions. Much of this material is outdated, and the commentary on characters given by Baker often seems most impressionistic and generalized. Though generally sound, Baker's work is no guide to further reading on Shakespeare because he refers to little or no American scholarship, nor

to any work on Shakespeare published since 1930. Therefore, an unrevised re-issue of these volumes, if they were meant for an audience of Shakespearian scholars, is unfortunate. To scholars all the material found in this compend is familiar. At best, the student beginning a serious study of Shakespeare, the high school teacher, or the library in need of a compact, well-organized gathering of source material and general reference may find Baker's work (even at this price) useful.

*U. S. Naval Academy*

M. E. BRADFORD

## Queries and Notes

### AN EARLY TUNE FOR THE FOOL'S SONG IN *KING LEAR*

PETER J. SENG

In the British Museum's copy (K. l. e. 9) of *Pammelia, Musicks Miscellanie* (1609; STC 20759) occur two staves of manuscript music that may preserve the original tune of one of the Fool's songs in *King Lear*.<sup>1</sup> The music runs completely across the foot of sigs A1<sup>v</sup>-A2, and written beneath it, in an early seventeenth-century hand, are the words:

Late as I waked out of sleepe I harde a prety thinge some men for sūdaine ioy do weepe, and some for sorrow singe fa la la.

The music fits perfectly the little song by the Fool in *King Lear*, and the words show obvious connection with it:

Then they for sudden joy did weep,  
And I for sorrow sung,  
That such a king should play bo-peep:  
And go the fool among.

(I. iv. 191-194)

The original of the Fool's song—and so also of the manuscript fragment in the British Museum's *Pammelia*—is, as Professor Hyder E. Rollins long ago demonstrated,<sup>2</sup> "A godly and vertuous songe or Ballade, made by the constant member of Christe, John Careless, being in prison in *kinges benche* for professing his word; whoe, ending his dayes therein, was throwen out and buried most Ignominiously upon a donghill, by the aduersaries of godes worde." The "Ballad of John Careless" is to be found in Sloane MS. 1896, fols. 11-12<sup>v</sup>, as well as at the end of a group of twenty-two of Careless's letters published in Miles Coverdale's *Certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable letters of such true Saintes and holy Martyrs of God, as . . . gaue their lyues for the defence of Christes holy gospel* (1564; STC 5886). There is considerable information about Careless in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs".

The opening stanzas of the original ballad are as follows:

<sup>1</sup> This song-book is bound up with three other music books put out by Thomas Ravenscroft (1592?-1635?): *A Briefe Discourse of the true (but neglected) use of Charactering the Degrees . . . in . . . Musicke* (1614), STC 20756; *Deuteromelia* (1609), STC 20757; and *Melismata. Musically Phancies* (1611), STC 20758. Both *Pammelia* and *Deuteromelia* have a large amount of manuscript music written on margins and blank pages, mainly in the same hand as the music on sigs. A1<sup>v</sup>-A2 of *Pammelia*. It seems likely that the writer was a musician or collector of music who had all four books bound together and then added other music to the collection by writing it onto blank staves, fly-leaves, etc.

<sup>2</sup> "King Lear" and the Ballad of "John Careless", *Modern Language Review*, XV (1920), 87-89; see also his *Old English Ballads* (Cambridge, 1920), p. 48.

Some men for sodayne joye do wepe,  
and some in sorrowe synge;  
When as they are in daunger depe,  
to put away mournyng.

Betwene them both will I begyn,  
being in joye and payne;  
With sighing to lament my synne,  
and yet reioyce againe.

That Shakespeare should have adapted this ballad for one of his Fool's songs is not at all surprising since contemporary references to it indicate that it was enormously popular. Three entries in the Stationers' Registers (August 1, 1586; December 14, 1624; February 9, 1635) are evidence of the ballad's long life; and its popularity is clear from the fact that it gave its name to the tune to which it was sung.<sup>3</sup> Thomas Nash twice refers to it in his works;<sup>4</sup> a medley in Thomas Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece* (1608), sig. C1<sup>r</sup>, takes two of its lines from it; and a prefatory sonnet to the second part of H[enry] L[ok's] *Ecclesiastes* [1597], sig. N<sub>3</sub>, incorporates the opening lines.

Two other songs are included on sig. A1<sup>r</sup> of the British Museum's copy of *Pammelia*. The first, "Now that the springe haith fild our veines with light & actiue fire", has John Hilton's name affixed. The attribution is correct since that song appears in numerous seventeenth-century song-books under his name.<sup>5</sup> The second song, "Prayse the Lord o my soule while I liue", is a musical version of the first two verses of Psalm cxlvi, composed by Edmund Nelham (d. 1646), which was printed in Hilton's *Catch that Catch can*, 1652, p. 122. The little song related to the "Ballad of John Careless", which immediately follows the psalm tune, is written in the same hand as the other two pieces, and appears to have been set down at the same time. The first stave of music on sig. A1<sup>r</sup> is identical in every respect with the handwriting of the two songs above it on what was once the blank leaf facing the preface; the second half of the song was written at the foot of the prefatory page on a hastily ruled staff only when it became clear that it could not be fitted onto sig. A1<sup>r</sup>.

All three songs can confidently be dated as composed before the middle of the seventeenth century. The "John Careless" tune itself, of course, may well be much older. It is, at any event, the only near-contemporary melody discovered so far for either the Fool's song, or for the "Ballad of John Careless".

#### Northwestern University

<sup>3</sup> "A declaration of the death of John Lewes", *Old English Ballads*, ed. Rollins, p. 55, is "To the tune of John Careless", and "The Confession of a Paenitent Sinner", *The Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. William Chappell (Hertford, 1879), III, 168, is "To the tune of O man in desperation; or, Some men for suddaine joyes do weepe".

<sup>4</sup> *Works*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1910), III, 104; V, 196.

<sup>5</sup> *Musick and Mirth*, part three of *A Muscull Banquet* (1651), p. 6; and on page 1 of the 1652, 1658, 1663, and 1667 editions of *Catch that Catch can*; also in *The Musical Companion* (1673), p. 1. The MS. version of Hilton's song is completely independent of the versions in the printed song-books, since it differs both in words and musical notation.



ca. 1700:

Edm. Holden

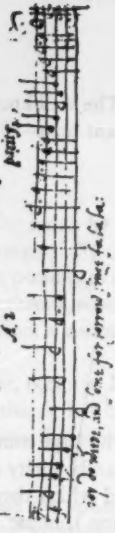
Now that the springe hath put us in a light & active frame  
 Give us some for the plains & every one a quire, singe away  
 of merry merry glee & success fill the brail & leaves to these Be thou to me  
 & every thistle, bane, spurge, floure, & haile thou my the full and full  
 maye be to the springe of this merry & merrye & merrye & merrye  
 Give us as long as I have any thinge you as long as I have any thinge  
 & will singe you as I will singe you to my god, & will  
 Give us as long as I have any thinge & will singe you to my god, & will



# TO THE VVELL DIS- -POSED TO READE, AND to the merry disposed to Singe.



**A**Mongst other liberall Arts, Musicks for her part, hath always bene as liberall, in bestowing her melodious gifts as any one whatsoever, and that in such rare manner, for diversitie: and ample measure, for multiplicitie, as more cannot be expected, except it were more than it is respected: yet in this kind onely, it may seeme some what negligently and yndulgent, in never (as yet) publickly communicating, but always privately retaining, and as it were, enshewing to all, this more familiar mirth and inward melodye. But it may be Musicks hath hitherto bene defective in this vaine, because this vaine indeed, hath hitherto bene defective in Musicks: and therefore, that fault being now mended, this kind of Musicks also is now commended to all mens kind acceptation. This did I willingly undertake, and have easily effected, that all might equally partake of that which is so generally affected. Catches so generally affected I take it quia non superant caput, because they are so consonant to all entendings shall ce-



For the first, and once for several times for the last.

TWO NOTES ON *HAMLET*

ANDREW S. CAIRNCROSS

*Hamlet* III. iv. 169

The well-known crux "And either the devil" occurs in only one of the three variant texts—Q2, the "Good" quarto—in the following context<sup>1</sup>:

- 160 Assume a vertue if you haue it not,  
 [That monster custome, who all sence doth eate  
 Of habits deuill, is angell yet in this  
 That to the use of actions faire and good,  
 He likewise giues a frock or Liuary  
 165 That aptly is put on] refraine to night,  
 And that shall lend a kind of easines  
 To the next abstinence, [the next more easie:  
 For vse almost can change the stamp of nature,  
 And either the deuill, or throwe him out  
 170 With wonderous potency:] once more good night,

Of the large number of amendments and conjectures on this crux, most assume the authenticity of "either" as co-ordinate with "or", and the omission of some word which they attempt to supply, e.g. curb (Malone), quell (Singer), mate (Anon.), house (Bailey), shame (Hudson), etc., etc. Only a few treat "either" as an error for some longer word such as "overcome" (Tschischwitz). Hardly any have seen that the amendment required should imply the contrary of "throw (him) out".

Yet the whole passage is based on antithesis. It begins with the obvious contrast of devil and angel. The monster, Custom, may be one or the other, forming and fixing, indifferently, good and bad habits to such an extent as to change our basic nature. The two are of course incompatible. Our adoption of bad habits may thus make way for the devil, and "use" or "custom" change "the stamp of nature" in his favor; the adoption of good habits, on the contrary—"the use of actions faire and good"—"gives a frock or Liuary" of goodness that "aptly is put on". The general conclusion, in lines 168-170, continues the antithesis, from the angle of the devil. He can be, on the one hand, "thrown out with wondrous potency", or, what? Obviously, received, taken in, to become a permanent guest; or, in the Biblical term that was clearly at the back of Shakespeare's mind associated with such imagery, "entertained". He was thinking of entertaining angels, as in Hebrews, xiii. 2.

This was C. J. Monro's conjecture, and it is the only one that is completely satisfactory. It supplies the contrast implicit throughout the passage; it is metrically right; it derives from a chapter of the Bible on which Shakespeare draws elsewhere<sup>2</sup>; the group of associations "devil—angel—entertain" occurs aptly in *The Merry Wives* I. iii. 51:

*Fal.* . . . he hath a legend of Angels.

*Pist.* As many diuels entertaine:

<sup>1</sup> Passages peculiar to Q2 are bracketed; printer's errors are corrected.

<sup>2</sup> *Ado*, III. iv. 27.

and the graphical explanation is the simple omission of one or other of the last two syllables of "entertain", probably the last, with subsequent rationalization by the proofreader, no doubt influenced by the proximity of "or".

I suggest, therefore, that we should read:—

For use almost can change the stamp of nature,  
And entertain the devil, or throw him out  
With wondrous potency.

*Hamlet V. ii. 218-236*

The rectification of a misplaced marginal insertion (whether made by the author, a scribe, or a corrector of a quarto from MS.) has been successfully used to restore the text in a number of Shakespearian plays.<sup>3</sup> It seems possible to add yet another example, in *Hamlet's* speech at V. ii. 218-236, on the theory, recently put forward by Dr. Alice Walker, that the F text was printed from a corrected exemplar of Q2<sup>4</sup> (the Good Quarto).

Here two incomplete lines, one of two feet, the other of three, occur in F at 220 and 232. The second is missing in Q, and it seems likely that it has been wrongly inserted in its present position in F instead of forming the complementary half of 220. In Q2, the passage runs:—

218 *Ham.* Giue me your pardon sir, I haue done you wrong,  
219/220 But pardon't as you are a gentleman, this presence knowes,  
221 And you must needs haue heard, how I am punnisht  
With a sore distraction, what I haue done  
That might your nature, honor, and exception  
Roughly awake, I heare proclame was madnesse,  
Wast *Hamlet* wronged *Laertes*? neuer *Hamlet*.  
If *Hamlet* from himselfe be tane away,  
And when hee's not himselfe, dooes wrong *Laertes*,  
Then *Hamlet* dooes it not, *Hamlet* denies it,  
Who dooes it then? his madnesse, Ift be so,  
*Hamlet* is of the faction that is wronged,  
231 His madnesse is poore *Hamlets* enimie,  
233 Let my disclaiming from a purpos'd euill,  
Free me so farre in your most generous thoughts  
That I haue shot my arrowe ore the house  
And hurt my brother

It will be noticed that the half-line, 220, is tacked on to the end of line 219 and that its complement is missing. The Q2 page has here ample space for marginal correction. Now in F, line 220, "This presence knowes," appears as a separate line, and the insertion, "Sir, in this Audience," as line 232. If it is a misplaced insertion, how did it get there? A probable explanaton is that the corrector's eye caught the line-ending "wrong" of 218, instead of "wronged", 230, as a guide to the place of insertion one line below. And, once inserted, the phrase

<sup>3</sup> E.g. *Romeo and Juliet* I. iv. 67-69 (Wilson, New Shakespeare); *Hamlet* I. i. 117-120 (Wilson, New Shakespeare). Numbering as in Cambridge edition.

<sup>4</sup> *Textual Problems of the First Folio*, 1953.

may well have been editorially adjusted to its (mistaken) context by such an alteration as that of "and" to "in".

Restore the insertion to its proper position, thus:

*Ham.* Give me your pardon Sir, I've done you wrong,  
But pardon't as you are a Gentleman.  
This presence knowes, Sir, and (or in) this Audience,  
And you must needs haue heard how I am punisht  
With sore distraction?

and the metre is restored; "this" balances "This"; and those present are addressed in their natural sequence—first the King's "presence", then the royal "Audience", and finally the individual specially concerned, Laertes. Nothing is lost between 231 and 233, where, indeed, the inserted phrase was rather pointless.

Glasgow

## AN ELIZABETHAN TIRING-HOUSE FAÇADE

RICHARD HOSLEY

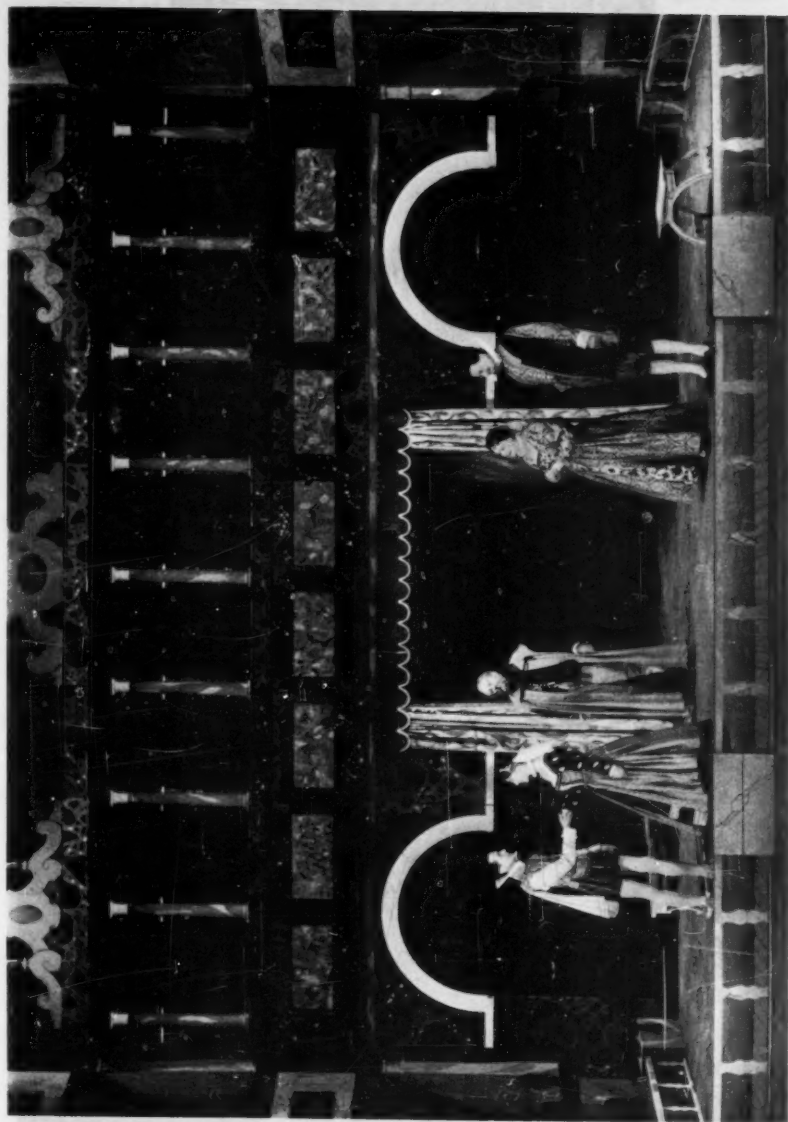
The photograph opposite p. 588 is of an Elizabethan tiring-house façade designed by Richard Southern for the 1958 season of the Bankside Players, directed by Robert Atkins. Based on the de Witt sketch of the Swan Theatre, the façade has double-hung doors opening on the stage, and a "Lord's room" instead of an "upper-stage". The Lord's room is practicable and can be used by players for speeches "above". There is also an "inner-stage" nine feet wide. This is concealed by an "arras" or traverse in such a way that the space between the doors can be represented as an unbroken wall (following de Witt) decorated with a painted hanging. The stage-rails are based on the *Roxana* vignette. The style of the façade is early Renaissance, the material represented being wood painted in imitation of marbles—vert antique (green), sienna (yellow), and white vein. The façade is adjustable to fit proscenium-openings of varying width or to stand alone on an "open" stage, in which case the side masking-pieces representing part of the playhouse galleries would be dispensed with. The length of the façade is twenty-seven feet, the height sixteen. It was used in productions of 1 and 2 *Henry IV* and *Much Ado about Nothing* in a number of provincial theatres in England and Scotland (spring 1958). The scene photographed is from *Much Ado*.

University of Missouri

## TWO HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED SETTINGS OF SONNETS FROM THE PASSIONATE PILGRIME

JOHN P. CUTTS

As long as *The Passionate Pilgrime* continues to be included in Shakespeare's works, and this is likely to be the case until some startling, new, and



A Tiring-House Facade Designed by Richard Southern for the Bankside Players, London. Photo by Kenneth Pratt.



Oregon Shakespeare Festival, Ashland, Ore.—*King Lear*. Gloucester (Jerry Turner) and Edgar (Paul Harper). Robert Loper, director. Photo by Dwaine Smith.



Stanford Players, Stanford, California—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, at Frost Amphitheater. Robert Loper, director; settings by Richard Hay; costumes by Irene Griffin; lighting by Paul Landry. Photo by Anita Fowler.



decisive evidence come forth, it is surely very much worth while drawing the attention of scholars to the existence of contemporary musical settings, hitherto unpublished, of two sonnets from that collection, together with their interesting textual variants.

The settings occur side by side in the folios of Bodleian Library MS. Mus. b. 1, a manuscript of John Wilson's songs catalogued by the Bodleian Library about 1656 and presumably presented by Wilson himself shortly before this.<sup>1</sup> The settings themselves are not particularly distinguished; both are melodically discursive and reflect the composer's weakness for persistent repetition<sup>2</sup>; nevertheless, they constitute an interesting contribution to our corpus of Shakespearean music. The songs are practically in *C* minor, but are written out as is so often the case in early seventeenth-century music MSS. with only *B* and *E* flat in the signature, *A* flat occurring as an accidental. I have carefully reproduced the original manuscript form except for the regularizing of the position of *A* flat.<sup>3</sup>

There is no reason to doubt Wilson's authorship of the settings, and as his they may be reasonably said to date after 1614, the year which is generally accepted as marking the beginning of his composing, though there is still some doubt whether the setting of "Kawasha comes in majesty" from the *Masque of Flowers* (1614), included by Wilson in his *Cheerful Ayres* (1660), is indeed his. Musical settings are referred to specifically on the second title-page of *The Passionate Pilgrime* (Sig C3 of the first and second editions of 1599—the leaf is wanting in the Folger Fragment of the first edition):

SONNETS/To sundry notes of Musicke./AT LONDON/Printed for W. Iaggard, and are/to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey-/hound in Paules Churchyard./1599.

Wilson's settings can in no way be associated with this title-page requirement,<sup>4</sup> which reappeared in the third edition of 1612.

This is not the place to re-open the discussion, so ably outlined by Rollins,<sup>5</sup> of the authorship of the two sonnets, since the music manuscript throws no light on the identity of the author of the sonnets, though some significance probably attaches to the manuscript designation of "Veanus, and young Adonis sitting by hir" as "First part" and "Faire Citherea siting by a Brooke" as "Second part". The two settings are obviously companion ones, but their titles here indicate that the poems themselves are companions.<sup>6</sup> The variants<sup>7</sup> from the printed text in *The Passionate Pilgrime* are too many and too important to allow the conjecture that Wilson was setting from this printed text, and we are only left with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. John P. Cutts, "John Wilson and Lovelace's 'The Rose'", *Notes & Queries*, CXCVIII (April 1953), 153-154; Vincent Duckles, "The 'Curious' Art of John Wilson 1595-1674: An Introduction to his Songs and Lute Music", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, VII (1954), 93-112; Margaret Crum, "A Manuscript of John Wilson's Songs", *The Library*, fifth series, X (March 1955), 55-57; John P. Cutts, "Bodleian Library Manuscript Mus. b. 1", *Musica Disciplina*, X (1956), 142-209, and *Seventeenth Century Songs* (Reading University School of Art Printing Press, 1956).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. H. Fellowes, ed., *Songs and Lyrics from the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher with Contemporary Musical Settings* (London, 1928), pp. 49, 51, where this tendency is noted with regard to Wilson's settings.

<sup>3</sup> Where no flat sign is given in the MS. and it seems necessary, I have indicated it by the use of brackets.

the supposition that his source of the two poems was a manuscript one. This is not surprising, for there are two other MS. versions of the poems, Folger MS.1.8 (the Warwick Castle MS. of c. 1625), ff. 21<sup>r</sup> and 22, Folger MS.2071-7 (Joseph Hall's Commonplace Book), ff. 197 and 197<sup>r</sup>, in both of which there are extensive variants from the text in *The Passionate Pilgrime*. Folger MS.1.8 designates "faire Citherea sitting by a brooke" as the "second part" of "Venus & Young Adonis sitting by hir". Folger MS.2071-7 contains the poems in reverse order separated by the couplet

There liues no man so settled in content  
That hath not dayly somew<sup>t</sup> to repent

Both poems in this latter MS. have the ascription "W.S." in a different hand and different ink, an addition for which Collier, who once owned the manuscript, was responsible.

It may be felt that the existence of the two sonnets together in yet another independent source may help to confirm Malone's suspicion, in his edition of 1780, that "several of these sonnets seem to have been essays of the author when he first conceived the idea of writing a poem on the subject of Venus and Adonis, and before the scheme of his poem was adjusted". On the other hand it may indicate that "Faire Citherea sitting by a Brooke" is another poet's (possibly Shakespeare's as some critics are inclined to believe) rehandling of "Veanus, and young Adonis sitting by hir", which appeared in Bartholomew Griffin's *Fidessa More Chaste then Kinde* (1596) three years before *The Passionate Pilgrime* was published. It is questionable, however, whether the sonnet belongs to the sequence *Fidessa* at all, since it has no affinity with that collection either in thought or mood.<sup>8</sup>

#### University of Alberta

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Leighton's *Tears or Lamentations* (1613) was reissued in 1614 with music, and on the strength of this C. Edmunds in his edition of *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1870), p. xxxii, believes that "there was once in existence an edition in which the Sonnets were accompanied by the music" and that this has disappeared. Sir Sidney Lee also conforms to this opinion in his edition of 1905, p. 7, note.

<sup>5</sup> *Shakespeare. The Poems* (New Variorum Edition, 1938).

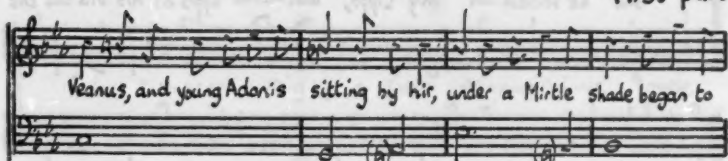
<sup>6</sup> The poems are by no means the usual "poem and reply"; nor are they in any sense continuous. Both seem to me to be the result of different verbal handling of the same subject and situation.

<sup>7</sup> The collation of the texts in Mus. b. 1, in Rollins' facsimile reproduction of *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1940) and in Adams' facsimile reproduction of the Folger Fragment of *The Passionate Pilgrime* (1939) is given in *Musica Disciplina*, X (1956).

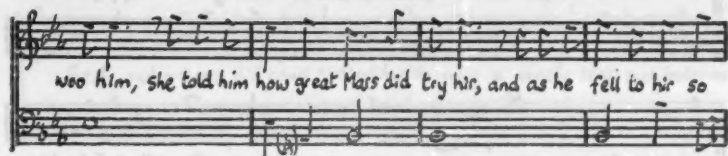
<sup>8</sup> Cf. Richard Greene, "Griffin's 'Fidessa'", *Notes & Queries*, X (November 4, 1854), 368. I agree with Greene that the sonnet does not belong to *Fidessa* at all, but am at a loss to explain how it came to be printed in that collection. Greene's explanation that the printer abused his powers is feasible, I suppose, but I can hardly accede to the opinion that one "salacious" sonnet printed as number II could be expected to increase the sale of an otherwise insipid collection of uninspired sonnets. Cf. Janet Dodge, "Minor Elizabethan Sonneteers and their Great Predecessors", *RES*, II (1926), 423-427; L. E. Kastner, "The Elizabethan Sonneteers and the French Poets", *MLR*, III (1907), 268-277, and Janet Dodge, *Les Sonnets Elizabethains* (Paris, 1929), p. 194, for details of Griffin's lack of originality and open plagiarism.

# Veanus, and young Adonis sitting by hir

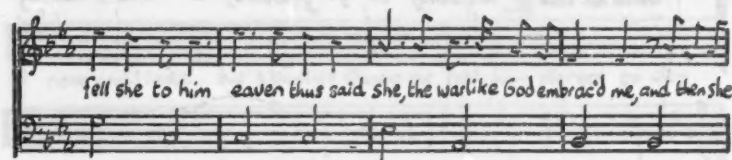
First part



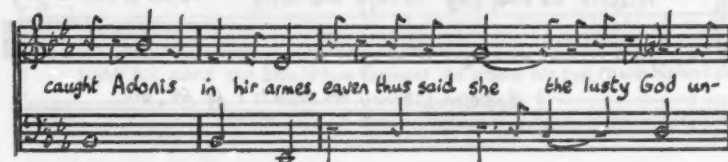
Veanus, and young Adonis sitting by hir, under a Mirtle shade began to



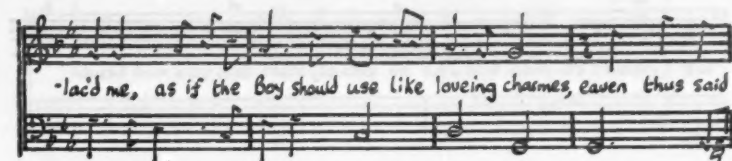
weo him, she told him how great Mars did try hir, and as he fell to hir so



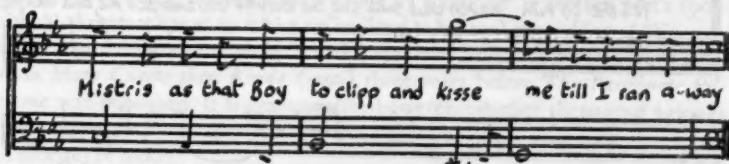
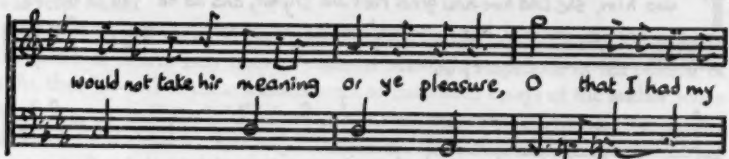
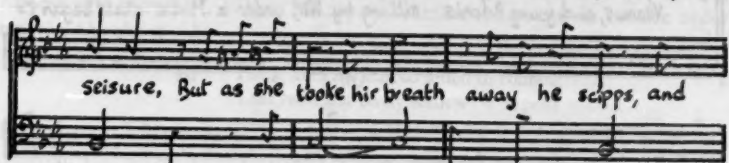
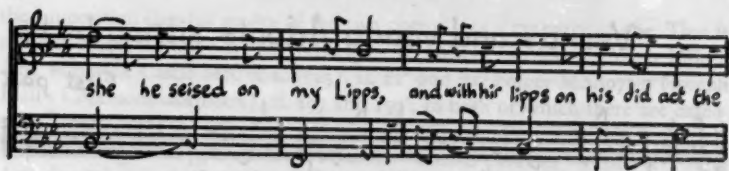
tell she to him eaven thus said she, the warlike God embrac'd me, and then she



caught Adonis in hir armes, eaven thus said she the lusty God un-



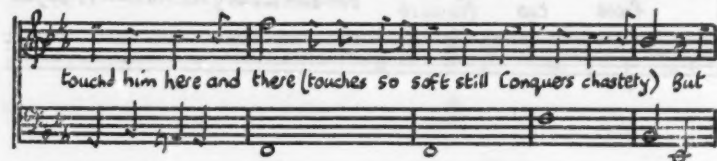
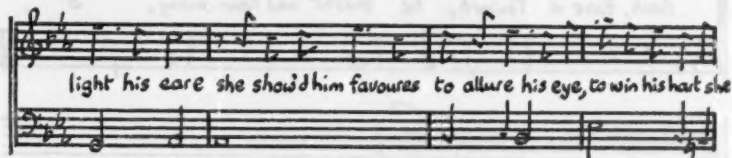
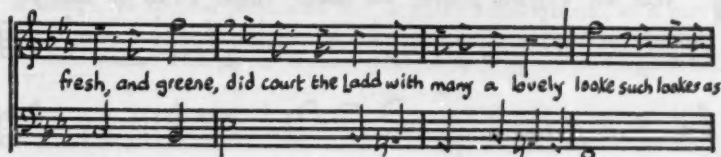
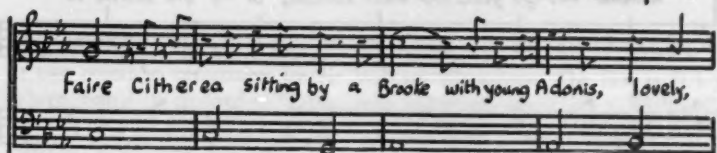
-lacd me, as if the Boy should use like loveing charmes, eaven thus said



Bodleian Library MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 69<sup>v</sup>, 60.

# Faire Citherea sitting by a Brooke

Second part.



whither unripe years did want conceit, or he did storne to  
take hir figgerd proffer, the tender Nibler would not take ye  
Baite, but blusht and smild at every gentle offer, Then fell she on hir  
Back, faire & Toward, he blusht and rann away, o  
foole too froward

Bodleian library MS. Mus. b. 1. ff. 60<sup>v</sup>, 61.



BLACKSTONE ON *RICHARD II*

J. C. MAXWELL

In his recent Variorum edition of *Richard II*, Professor M. W. Black refers at two points to conjectures by Sir William Blackstone. The first is II. i. 74, where "rein'd" is credited to "Ritson conj. following—according to Halliwell—Blackstone"; the second is a much more arbitrary transposition at II. ii. 20-21, cited as "Blackstone conj. apud. Cam." From these indirect references, it looks as though the original publication had escaped Professor Black; so it may be worth while to point out that this was the article by T. E. Tomlins, "Corrections of Shakespeare's Text, by Sir William Blackstone, etc. From his Original MS." (*The Shakespeare Society's Papers*, I (1844), 96-102).

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## Notes and Comments

### FRONTISPIECE AND ILLUSTRATIONS

The Frontispiece is reproduced in memory of Accession Day, 17 November 1558, of Queen Elizabeth I. The engraving, by Crispin van de Passe, was published in 1603/4. Only five copies are recorded. The illustrations on pages 454, 470, 484, 548, 554, and 560—all from originals in the Folger Shakespeare Library—give an idea of the appearance of some of the cities and palaces of Elizabethan England.

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### NEW THEATRE FOR OREGON SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL?

The theatre in which the Oregon Shakespeare Festival has produced all the canonical plays of Shakespeare has been condemned as unsafe and has been demolished. A campaign is in progress for \$275,000 for the construction of a new building. The funds must be in hand by Christmas 1958, if the 1959 season is to open on schedule. The valiant efforts of the Oregon Shakespeare Festival have been applauded by thousands who annually make their way to Ashland for the stimulating performances. People who enjoy seeing Shakespeare's plays performed and wish to aid and encourage the Oregon Festival are unlikely to have contributions declined.

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### WILSON RECEIVES EXPLICATOR AWARD

The Editors of *The Explicator* announce that their 1958 award for \$200 for the best book of explication de texte published in 1957 has been given to Professor Harold S. Wilson, of the University of Toronto, for his book, *On the Design of Shakespearean Tragedy* (see p. 565 within). Professor Wilson was until his resignation a few months ago a member of the Editorial Board of *Shakespeare Quarterly*.

### SHAKESPEARE MEMORIAL THEATRE COMPANY IN RUSSIA

The entire Shakespeare Memorial Theatre company from Stratford-upon-Avon, including musicians and technicians, will be in Russia from 8 December until 6 January. Michael Redgrave, Dorothy Tutin, Richard Johnson, Angela Baddeley, Coral Browne, Geraldine McEwan, Mark Dignam, Cyril Luckham, and Anthony Nicholls head the company (see p. 504 ff., within for review of the past season). They will give eleven performances in Leningrad and fifteen in Moscow, presenting *Romeo*, *Hamlet*, and *Twelfth Night* as at Stratford this past summer. This is the first time a leading British theatre company has played in Leningrad since the Revolution.

## Notice to Members

The increase in members, in dues and in popularity of *Shakespeare Quarterly* has been enormously offset by an even greater increase in costs. With over 100 new members during 1957 the Association had a larger deficit than in preceding years when dues and membership were less. Such deficits can be made up in two ways: by large gifts from one or two members, or by increasing the number of members who have contributing memberships in the Sustaining (\$25 per year) and Patron (\$100 per year) categories.

For some time a membership application blank has been inserted in each *Quarterly*. Won't you, as a member, remove yours and check a higher category of membership for yourself? All dues and contributions are deductible for Federal Income Tax purposes. It is the Directors' goal to make the *Quarterly* self-sustaining and insure its continuance to scholars and lovers of Shakespeare throughout the world.

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PROFESSOR JAMES HAROLD WILSON, of Ohio State University, has just published *All the King's Ladies: The Actresses of the Restoration*.





